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THE
PASTOR AND THE PRELATE
OR
REFORMATION AND CONFORMITY

SHORTLY COMPARED

BY THE WORD OF GOD, BY ANTIQUITY AND THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANCI-
ENT KIRK, BY THE NATURE AND USE OF THINGS INDIFFERENT, BY
THE PROCEEDINGS OF OUR OWN KIRK, BY THE WEAL OF THE
KIRK AND OF THE PEOPLE'S SOULS, AND BY THE GOOD OF
THE COMMONWEALTH AND OF OUR OUTWARD ESTATE;

WITH

THE ANSWER OF THE COMMON AND CHIEF OBJECTIONS
AGAINST EVERY PART:

SHOWING WHETHER OF THE TWO IS TO BE FOLLOWED BY THE
TRUE CHRISTIAN AND PATRIOT.

BY THE

REV. DAVID CALDERWOOD,

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

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And Joshua said unto the people, Ye are witnesses against yourselves. And they  
said, We are witnesses.—JOSHUA xxiv. 22.

*But*, 1 KINGS xviii. 21, *it is said*, And the people answered him not a word.  
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FIRST AMERICAN EDITION.

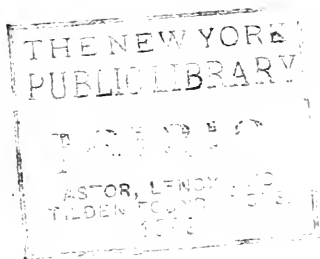
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INTRODUCTION

TO THE EDINBURGH EDITION OF 1844.

THERE are few events connected with the ecclesiastical history of Scotland more interesting to the student of Church History than those which happened during the greater part of the seventeenth century. The reformation from Popery was a glorious and happy consummation of religious liberty and truth to the people, who had so long been held in bondage and ignorance under the iron yoke of the Romish Church, and there followed after that eventful epoch a season of comparative rest and tranquillity to the Reformed Church. The Church of England, although reformed in point of doctrine from the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome, still retained the rites and ceremonies of that church,—ceremonies which were highly obnoxious to the Presbyterians of Scotland, and which they looked upon with the utmost horror.

King James VI. during his minority, and at the commencement of his reign, professed a strong attachment to the Presbyterian Church, and affected great dislike to episcopacy; but, after his accession to the throne of England, the splendid ceremonies of her church, and the flattery of her bishops, soon captivated his mind and pleased his vanity. The strictness and severity of the Presbyterian form of

church discipline so annoyed him, that he determined to bring the Church of Scotland into conformity with that of England, and, with this view, resolved to place the Scottish Church under the dominion and jurisdiction of bishops; but his tyranny met with the most firm and vehement opposition, and he soon found he had to deal with men who were not afraid to stand up resolutely in defence of their rights and liberties, and to uphold and maintain the purity and simplicity of their church government against such tyrannical innovations, and the whole period of the conflict was marked by scenes of controversy, contention, strife and bloodshed. Among those who opposed those oppressive measures of the king and the government, none were more zealous in endeavouring to thwart them than the author of this treatise,—which is now for the first time reprinted,—a brief sketch of the more prominent parts of whose public life may not be uninteresting.

DAVID CALDERWOOD was born in the year 1575. Of his birth-place, parentage, and early life, we have no means of correctly ascertaining. It has been stated that he was by birth a gentleman, which, indeed, is very probable, as few, except those in the higher ranks of life, received so liberal an education as Calderwood appears to have possessed. Being early destined for the church, he was sent to the university of Edinburgh to be educated for that end, where he applied himself with great assiduity and attention to the study of Theology, critical and practical, and devoted much of his time to the investigation of Ecclesiastical History. Being possessed of talents of a very high order, he took his degree of A. M. so early as 1593, and in 1604 he was appointed to a church in Crailing, near Jedburgh, where, by his virtues, public and private, and his faithfulness to his office, he gained the esteem and respect of all who knew him.

Calderwood, during his labours in the parish of Crailing,

manifested great dislike to the episcopal form of church government, and few were more strenuous in their efforts to maintain the purity of the kirk. With a view to reconcile the minds of the people to the change intended to be imposed on them, the King sent the Earl of Dunbar, Lord High Treasurer, down to Scotland, accompanied by two or three ecclesiastics, in furtherance of that purpose. In 1608, when Law, Bishop of Orkney, came endowed with the office of visitor to the presbyteries of Merse and Teviotdale, Calderwood, along with George Johnstone, minister of Ancrum, firmly and solemnly declined the bishop's jurisdiction, and protested against his authority,—information of which coming to the King's ear, his commands to the privy council were, that they should be punished in an exemplary manner. Their punishment was, however, by the influence of the Earl of Lothian, mitigated to confinement within the limits of their own parishes. In June 1617 Calderwood was summoned to appear before the High Commission Court, on the 8th of July, at St. Andrews. He accordingly obeyed the summons and appeared at the appointed time. The King himself attended, and entered into a long discussion with him regarding the protestation, in which he used many arguments and threats to bring him over to his own party, but he found Calderwood too firm and true to his cause to be intimidated even by a kingly authority. He was then removed and sent to the tolbooth of St. Andrews, but was afterwards brought to the jail of Edinburgh. The privy council then ordered that he banish himself from the kingdom before the following Michaelmas, not to return till it was the King's pleasure; and, on his giving security to that effect, he was liberated, and allowed in the meantime to go back to Crailing, but was forbidden to preach. Lord Cranston, who was his security, made an application to the King to have his punishment changed to confinement within his own parish; but without

effect. He then petitioned that his banishment might be delayed till the end of April following, as the season was dangerous for a sea voyage, and also that he might have time to get up his year's stipend. The King replied, that "Howbeit he begged, it were no matter, he would know himself better the next time; and, for the season of the year, if he drowned in the seas, he might thank God that he had escaped a worse death." Cranston, however, being so eager in his importunities, the King at last told him that he would advise with his bishops. The time was thus delayed till the 29th of August, 1619, when he set sail for Holland. In the meantime he had taken advantage of the delay thus afforded him of writing a book called "*Perth Assembly*," which was condemned by the council in December following, when the author was fortunately out of the way. During his exile in Holland he wrote several works of a controversial nature, and, among others, appeared his celebrated treatise called "*Altare Damascenum*." The title of this work is founded on 2 Kings xvi. 10, 11. It is one of great learning and research, and gives a complete view of the question at issue between the Presbyterians and Episcopalians, as to church government, discipline and worship. It is said that King James, after perusing it, sat for some time looking very pensive, and when asked by one of his bishops what ailed him, he told what book he had been reading. "Let not that trouble your Majesty," said the bishop, "I shall soon answer it." "Answer what, man?" replied the King. "There is nothing here but Scripture, reason, and the fathers."

In 1624, Calderwood returned to his native country, and remained privately a considerable time in Edinburgh. In 1638 he was appointed minister of Pencaitland, in East Lothian, and continued during the remainder of his life to take an active part in the ecclesiastical affairs of the period, and devoted himself to the investigation and arrangement of all

the memorials and documents which could be found connected with the history of the Church of Scotland. The General Assembly of 1648 were very desirous that he should proceed with, and complete, his History of the Church; and to enable him to carry on the work, they voted him yearly a pension of eight hundred pounds Scots. He accordingly completed the design, and has left behind him a work of great research and immense importance and utility. There were four manuscripts left of this valuable work. One of them is in the College Library of Glasgow; another is in the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh; a third was in the possession of the family of General Calderwood Durham of Largo, but has now been presented to the British Museum; and the fourth belongs to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.* An abridgment of this work, called "*The True History of the Church of Scotland*," was drawn up by Calderwood, and printed in 1678, under the auspices of Mr. John Carstairs, Mr. Robert McWard, and two or three others.†

In 1651, when the English army was lying in East Lothian, Calderwood removed to Jedburgh. He had not been there long when he took unwell and died, having attained his 76th year. He was a man of undoubted piety and virtue, and was one of the greatest champions for the cause of Presbyterianism the church could boast of. In learning and acuteness in controversy, few in his time could equal him, which his works abundantly testify. Besides his Church History, he wrote several other works connected with the controversies of the times. The following is presumed to be a tolerably correct list of them. They were mostly pub-

* Calderwood's larger History is now being printed for the first time by the *Wodrow Society*.

† See Appendix to the late Dr. McCrie's *Memoirs of Veitch and Brysson*, p. 495, &c.

lished anonymously, and printed in Holland. The list is drawn up by the Rev. Thomas McCrie, and forms an appendix to the Life of Henderson, by the late Dr. McCrie.

Perth Assembly, 4to., 1619; Parasyngma Perthense, 1620; The Course of Conformity, 4to. 1622; Defence of our Arguments against Kneeling in the Act of Receiving the Sacramental Elements of Bread and Wine, impugned by Dr. Michelson, 8vo. 1620; The Solution of Dr. Resolutus his Resolutions for Kneeling, 4to. 1619; Queries concerning the State of the Church of Scotland, 8vo. 1621; The Altar of Damascus, 12mo. 1621; Altare Damascenum, 4to. 1623; [This is an enlargement of the last-mentioned work.] An Exhortation of the particular Kirks of Christ in Scotland, to their Sister Kirk in Edinburgh, 8vo. 1624; The Pastor and the Prelate, or Reformation and Conformity shortly compared, &c. 4to. 1628; A Dialogue betwixt Cosmophilus and Theophilus, 8vo. 1620; The Speech of the Kirk of Scotland to her beloved Children, 8vo. 1620; A Reply to Dr. Morton's General Defence of three Nocent Ceremonies, 4to. 1623; A Reply to Dr. Morton's Particular Defence of three Nocent Ceremonies, 4to. 1623; An Epistle of a Christian Brother, &c. 8vo. 1624; A Dispute upon Communicating at our Confused Communion, 8vo. 1624; A Re-examination of the Five Articles Enacted at Perth, 4to. 1636; The Re-examination abridged, &c. 8vo. 1636; An Answer to M. J. Forbes of Corse, his Peaceable Warning, 4to. 1638.

A very interesting and authentic memoir of Calderwood is contained in Dr. Irving's "Lives of Scottish Writers," vol. 1, on whose authority the last nine of the above-mentioned treatises are ascribed to Calderwood.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

FOR no other is this intended, (not for him that readeth not, but casteth it by, or closeth his eyes lest he see truth, judging of things controverted by his own conceits, or upon report, and not upon trial; neither for him that is either so antichristian that he hath not the patience to read one page written against prelates and their hierarchy, or that is so unchristian that his earthly designs are his highest intentions, and esteemeth all motions about religion, that cross him or comfort him not in these, to be either seditious commotions, or nothing but idlements of indifference,) but for him who, above all things, loves to see the truth, and, above all things, loveth the truth, when he hath seen it, that is even for thyself, Christian reader, have we entered into this comparison of the Pastor and Prelate, and at thy hands do we expect the performance of two Christian duties; one is for thine own good: That thou wilt labour with thine heart for more feeling now than thou hadst faith at the first, when it was often foretold from the word of God and the woeful experience of former times, "That this transcendent hierarchy of lordly and lording prelates, brought in upon the kirk of Christ without precept or example from himself, would prove at last the ruin of religion." Now may be seen what was said before, that the government of the kirk and the worship of God are like the twins spoken of by Hippocrates, and that the one of them dwining away, and dying among us,¹ the whole face of the other looketh pale, and pitifully proclaimeth (if the cry of our sins would suffer us to hear), that religion herself is sick at the heart; for what is the daily increase of old papistry, the spreading gangrene of new heresies, the scoffing at holiness instead of imitating, the laughing at sin instead of lamentation, but the inseparable effects of this prelacy, and the ordinary practices of our prelates, the symptom of the sickness of Christian religion, and the causes of this cloud of wrath that so long hangs and hovers above us. Consider that (according to Bernard's observation of these blind-winding stairs that lead down to de-

¹ Perth Assembly, Preface.

struction)¹ this hierarchy which in the beginning seemed a weight so insupportable that they who took it upon them could not hold up their faces for sin and for shame, did appear soon afterward, albeit heavy, yet tolerable,—of heavy it became light, of light insensible, of insensible delectable, and of delectable it is at last become a matter of glorying: that which was a glory is become a shame, and that which was a shame is accounted a glory. Of late ministers could not be found to fill the void places of prelacy, now prelacies cannot be found to fill the void hearts of the ministers; so far have we turned from that which we lately were, and in so few years, that that which was nothing else but a rope of disgrace is wonderfully changed into a chain of pride. As thou lovest Jesus Christ and thine own soul, and would be loath to communicate in all the sins, and to involve thyself into the guiltiness of all the evils that this prelacy hath produced, take heed that thine eye be not dazzled with the varnish and splendour that the world hath put upon it (for in substance it is the same as it was at the beginning, and in the fruits hath proved far worse than at the first was feared); labour to keep thy judgment sound and affection sincere, still thinking of the painful pastor and the proud prelate as they were thought on since the reformation, and praying to God, as good men did of old, in the corrupt times of the kirk: that he would put to his hand and purge his vineyard; that he would whip buyers and sellers out of his temple; that he would strike Gehazites with leprosy, and that he would bring low such Simonites as now are so high, being lifted up by the ministry of Satan.²

Another Christian duty, Christian reader, we expect at thine hands for the good of the kirk,—that whatsoever be thy place, higher or lower, farther or nearer, unto his Majesty's person, who gladly would acquaint his Majesty particularly with the state of the kirk in his Majesty's kingdom of Scotland, as what it was once, what it might have been before this time, what it is become of late, and what it is like to be ere long; but either cannot for want of occasion, or dare not for awe of the prelates, whose courting is more to be feared than their cursing,—that thou would do what thou may to make this following treatise come to his Majesty's hands; for we, his Majesty's loving people of Scotland, who both love his Majesty's person and crown,³

1 *Quid non evertat consuetudo? quid non assiduitate duretur? quid non usui cedat? Primum tibi importabile videtur aliquid, processu temporis, si assuescas, judicabis non adeo grave, paulo post et leve senties, paulo post nec senties, paulo post etiam delectabit. Ita paulatim in cordis duritiam itur, et ex illa in aversionem. Bernard. ad Eugen.*

2 *Expurga Domine vineam tuam sentibus undique et labruscis oppletam: fac ut olim flagellum de funiculis et de templo tuo sancto nummularios expelle, vendentes ejice, eementes exturba, cunctos impios mercatores, nisi pœnitentiam egerint. Gieztas lepra pereute, Simonitas alte volantes, Satanæque ministerio in excelsum elevatos illide, ac dejice, &c. Nicol. Clemangis.*

3 *Ephestion φιλολογιστῆς, Craterus Φιλοβιβλιολογῆς.*

acknowledging the duty we owe to his Majesty, commanded in the first commandment after the first table, to come nearest unto that religion and piety whereby we worship God himself, who neither love schisms in the kirk,¹ nor witty reconcilements of truth and error, but would keep the truth in peace; who neither are puritans, nor Brownists, nor seditious, as men calumniate, but professors of the true religion as it was at the first reformed among us; and as it hath furnished unto us all the hope that we have of eternal happiness, we would show his gracious Majesty that, according to the saying of Solomon, "When the righteous are in authority the people rejoice," &c.² Our hearts were filled with joy and our mouths with laughter, when, at the first beginnings of his reign, we did not only hear the fame of his princely inclination to equity and righteous judgment, but did perceive the noble proofs thereof in trying the truth of things controverted, while his Majesty, with that worthy king, kept still one ear shut for the other party, and with that wiser king, when he declared that the wisdom of God was in him to do judgment, would have both parties to stand before him at once, that, hearing both, they might speed best, and go out most cheerful from his Majesty's face, who had the best cause. By this we were confident that his throne should be established, the nations swayed by his exalted sceptre, and our cause, which is no particular man's, but Christ's own cause, should be heard at last, and righteously determined, that every thing in the house of the God of heaven might be done after the will of the God of heaven, than which there can be nothing more reasonable, and which is the sum of all our desires. Our adversaries, upon the contrary, out of the experience they find of his Majesty's disposition to equity, and out of the consciousness they have of the iniquity of the cause that they maintain only because it maintaineth their greatness, have used all means to prevent his trial, have stopped, so far as may be, all ways of information, and, according to the crafty counsel given to Pericles, not being able to make account, have done what they can that they be not called to account.³ When commissioners were to go to his Majesty they would have none but their own, and when some that were not their own were chosen by a meeting of the kirk, they would not have them to go, which hath made us, after long waiting in silence, and many essays to resolve in end, there being no other way left unto us, with all submission of mind, to send up our Pastor and Prelate in print, who have been impeded by the prelates to come together in person; neither can it offend the prelate that the pastor speak the truth this one time for himself and the prelate, since the prelate so many times hath spoken his pleasure for both. Our silence and ceasing in the cause would give great worldly ease to ourselves, and greatest contentment to our adversaries, who now cry nothing but Peace, peace, that is, a peaceable possession of their

¹ 1 Tim. v. 4.

² Prov. xxix. 2.

³ Pericle dicente, non invenire se quo pacto ministerii rationem redderet, atque ideo conflictari: ergo inquit Alcibiades, quære potius quemadmodum rationem non reddas. Valer. Max. lib. 3. cap. 2.

honours and wealth and a cruel oppression of their brethren, but withal would prove us to be unfaithful both to our God and to our king;¹ for beside the obligation that is common to us with other reformed kirks, we stand bound by solemn oath, covenant and subscription, published in the world, to defend the doctrine and discipline of this kirk, and to oppose the hierarchy and all rites and ceremonies added to the worship of God. Silence in such a cause may be sin to other kirks, but to us it is perjury in the sight of God, and would also prove us unfaithful to our king; for howsoever the prelates profess in public, "That no ceremony no bishop, no bishop no king," and do suggest in secret the service that they can do to monarchy, they do but mind themselves and their own idol. That government of the kirk is most useful for kings and kingdoms which is best warranted by the word of God, by whom kings reign and kingdoms are established. The pillars of his Majesty's throne are of God's own making, —religion upon the right hand and righteousness upon the left. The pomp of ceremonies and pride of prelacy are pillars artificially wrought by the wit of man for setting up and supporting the Pope's tyranny, "No ceremony no prelate, no prelate no pope." When his Majesty's wisdom hath searched all the crooks of this controversy, let us be reputed the worst of all men, let us all be censured, silenced, confined, deprived or exiled, as some of us are, and have been for a long time, if the cause that we maintain shall be found any other but that we desire that God be served and his house ruled according to his own will, and if it shall not be found that the kirk of God, perfect in order and office-bearers without prelates and their ceremonies, may be governed upon a small part of their great rents, with more honour to God, with more hearty obedience to the king's majesty, with greater riches and glory to the crown, with greater contentment to the body of the whole kirk and kingdom, greater peace amongst ourselves, and greater terror to Satan and all his train of heresy, profaneness and persecution, as we shall be ready to demonstrate particularly, if this which followeth be not sufficient, whensoever his Majesty shall be pleased to require; and which we are assured his Majesty will perceive upon small consideration; for a mind inclined by divine power to religion and piety will at first sight discern and be possessed with the love of the heavenly beauty of the house of God, they both proceeding from the same spirit. God, all-sufficient, bless his Majesty, both in peace and war, both in religion and justice, with such success as may be seen, even by the envious eye of the enemy, to be from the finger and favour of God, and may he also make his happy government to be a matter of congratulation to the godly, and to be admired and remembered by posterity as the measure and example of their desires, when they shall be wishing for a religious and righteous king.

1 Si pacem non potest habere cum fratre nisi subdito ostendit se non tam pacem cupere, quam sub pacis conditione vindictam. Hieron. ad Theop.

THE PASTOR AND THE PRELATE.

PART I.

THE PASTOR AND PRELATE COMPARED BY THE WORD OF GOD.

The form of worship and government to be learned from the Word.
—What, then, is the Kirk's part?—The prelates agree not among themselves.—They halt betwixt two.—They would make a new ceremonial law.—The perpetual and due office-bearers in the kirk.
—No difference in Scripture between a pastor and a bishop.—No lord-bishop in Scripture.—No bishop of bishops or pastors in Scripture.—Every pastor in Scripture hath his own particular flock; none is without a flock, nor with a diocese.—The pastor hath power of ordination, which the prelate appropriateth.—The pastor hath the power of jurisdiction, which the prelate usurpeth and appropriateth.—No such majority of power of one pastor over another, as the prelate claimeth.—The pastor meddleth not with matters civil, but the prelate is more in the world than about Christ.—The pastor and prelate's form of prayer.—Their preaching.—Music.—Baptism.—Celebration of the Lord's supper.—Observation of the Sabbath.—Residencce.—Life and conversation.—The presence and blessing of God.—*Objection*, Bishops are warranted by the Word.—*Answer*, Showing that the prelate hath no warrant in the Word and the manifold difference betwixt the divine and diocesan bishop.

THAT the worship of God, and the government of the kirk, which is the house of God, are to be learned out of his own word, is a truth against which the gates of hell shall never prevail. For we ought to give this

glory to God, that all his books are full, and written on both sides. As the book of nature, the book of providence, and the book of conscience is perfect, so also the Scripture, which is the book of grace, is perfect. We ought to give this glory to the Son of God, that, as he is a perfect high priest for reconciliation, he is also a perfect prophet for revelation, and a perfect king and lawgiver for ruling of his own kirk and kingdom. We ought also to give this glory to the Spirit of God, that as he purposed to set down a covenant, a testament, and a perfect canon, so in fulness of wisdom he hath performed his purpose. We ought humbly to acknowledge, that the kirk hath no power (whether by translation of divine ordinances from the Old to the New Testament, under pretext of piety, or by imitation of the enemy, seem it never so charitable, or by man's invention, let it appear never so plausible) to make new laws, or to institute any new office or office-bearer, any minister, or part of ministration in the house of God. But that it is her part to see the will of God obeyed, and to appoint canons and constitutions for the orderly and decent disposing of things before instituted.¹ We call here the prelates and pastors of conformity to a threefold consideration. *First*, That they agree not among themselves about the matters in question: some of them affirming that their hierarchy is warranted by divine authority; others confessing it is only by ancient custom; and a third sort defending neither of the two, but that it is

¹ Polycleleti regula ad reges. Lesbia regula ad aquitatem opus. Bodinus in method.

apostolic.¹ Again, some of them make the form of kirk government to be universal and perpetual; others holding it to be conformable to civil policy, as if man might prescribe unto God what form of government is fittest for his house: for that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God. He that hath the seven eyes seeth better in his own matter than man that seeth nothing but by his light. Wisdom, that hath built her house, and hewn out her seven pillars, cannot be content that man's wisdom should devise and hew out the eighth pillar. *Secondly*, They should consider, that the arguments and answers that we give to them against their hierarchy and ceremonies, are the same that they are forced to use in defence of the truth against the papists; and the answers and arguments that the papists give them for traditions, for the pope's monarchy, and for their will-worship, they are forced to use against us in defence of their cause: resting thus in their lukewarmness, and halting betwixt two, for the love of the world; which hath made the papists to say, that the prelates disputing against them are puritans, and while they dispute against the puritans they are papists, and turn to their side. *Thirdly*, They should consider that the form of government and divine ceremonies under the law, were not removed to give place to

¹ *Jure divino disciplinam hierarchicam tuentur alii, alii jure humano tantum: alii non jure divino, sed apostolico, alius, και αποστολικη κτισει και πνευματικη θεσει, alii episcopalem majoritatem mutabilem contendunt, alii tuentur immutabilem, ut ex Juello, Saravia, Hookero, Dounamo, Barleo, Bilsono, Bancrofto Tileno, et aliis hierarchicis satis est manifestum.*

the inventions of man under the gospel. What is beside the particular precepts of God in Scripture is against the general commandment, "Thou shalt not add to the word that I have commanded," &c.; and therefore let us say with Augustine, "We are brethren, why strive we? our Father died not intestate, but made a testament, and died and rose again; the father lieth in the grave without sense, and yet his words are in force; Christ sitteth in heaven, and his testament is contradicted on earth,—let it be read," &c.¹ Let the pastor and the prelate be presented before the law and testimony; let the authority of the one and the other be pondered,—not in the weights of worldly avarice and ambition, but in the balance of the sanctuary; and let us measure their callings and carriage,—not by the cord of the canon law, but by the golden reed of the temple, and we shall soon see whether of the two hath warrant from God.

1. The PASTOR acknowledgeth no offices in the kirk after the extraordinary of the apostles, prophets and evangelists, but the ordinary of pastors, teachers, elders and deacons, appointed by Christ,² as sufficient for the weal of the kirk, and of every member thereof, in all things spiritual and temporal.

The PRELATE setteth up one hierarchy of arch-

¹ Quid litigamus? fratres sumus. Non intestatus mortuus est pater, fecit testamentum, et sic mortuus est et resurrexit. Tandem contenditur de hereditate mortuorum, quamdiu testamentum proferatur in publicum, et cum testamentum fuerit prolatum in publicum, tacent omnes ut tabule aperiantur, et recitentur. Judex intentus audit, advocati silent, præcones silentium faciunt, &c.—*Augu. in Psal. 21.*

² 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11.

bishops and lord-bishops,—having for the head the Roman antichrist, and for the train, suffragans, deans, achdeacons, officials, &c., never named in Scripture, nor known in the purer times of the kirk, against the weal of the kirk, and of every member thereof, both in things spiritual and temporal.

2. The PASTOR, according to the Scripture, putteth difference betwixt the names of the office-bearers in the New Testament, never calling the ordinary by the name of the extraordinary, nor the inferior by the name of the superior,¹ as the pastor by the name of the apostle or evangelist; but never putteth difference at all betwixt a pastor and a bishop,—making every pastor to be a bishop, and taking the pastor and bishop always for one.

The PRELATE maketh a confusion of names, that he may put himself in the place of the apostle, as the pope will be in the place of Christ; and, against all Scripture, will make so great difference betwixt a pastor and a bishop, that he will have no pastor to be a bishop, and that there be no bishop but the prelate.

3. The PASTOR can see no lord-bishop in Scripture, but the Lord's bishop only,²—a name of labour and diligence, and not of honour and ease.

¹ Barnabas is called an apostle, Acts xiv. 4, 14, because he was an apostle as Paul was; Titus and other two, 2 Cor. viii. 23, and Epaphroditus, Philip. ii. 25, are apostles or messengers of the kirks. Acts xx. 28; Philip. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 2; Tit. i. 7; where in the Syriac for the name of bishop is put the word that signifies the elder, 1 Pet. v. 1, 2.

² Only Christ Lord in his own house, John xiii. 13; Heb. iii. 6; Matt. xx. 25; κατακυριωσεν κατεξουσιαζειν; but Luke xxii. 23, the simple word κυριωσεν, that is denied to the apostles which was granted to

The PRELATE will admit no other bishop but a lord-bishop, which he hath made a name of honour and ease without labour or diligence.

4. The PASTOR is a bishop set over a flock, in respect whereof he is called a bishop, and not in relation to other pastors.¹

The PRELATE setteth himself as a bishop over pastors, and in respect of them is called a bishop, and not in relation to any particular flock.

5. The PASTOR is set over a particular flock,² that may convene together in one place, amongst whom he is to exercise the whole parts of the ministry,—as preaching, prayer, ministration of the sacraments and discipline, according to the trust committed to him by the Son of God, in whose name he is ambassador, from whom he deriveth his power, on whom he depends in the exercise of his ministry, and to whom he must be accountable, and to no other pastor or bishop.

The PRELATE both ordaineth pastors at large, without assignation of a particular flock (as if he were either making masters of art and doctors of physic, or as if ordination should go before election, which is as absurd as first to crown a king, or instal a magistrate, and then to choose him,) and setteth himself as a proper pastor over a whole province, and over many

kings, which the sons of Zebedeus sought, and for which the apostles did contend.

¹ Acts xv. 2; xx. 17; Phil. i. 1; 1 Pet. v. 1.

² Kirks of Judea, Gal. i. 22; kirks of Galatia, Gal. i. 2; of Asia, Macedonia, &c. ever in the number of multitude; as for Acts vii. 38, it is spoken of the whole nation of the Jews in the wilderness camping about the ark.

kirks in divers provinces, as well of those that he never saw, as of that where his seat is,—esteeming the pastors to be but his helpers and substitutes; as having their power from him, being obliged to render account to him, and whom he may continue and displace at his pleasure.

6. The PASTOR, with his fellow-presbyters, as he is put in trust with the preaching of the word and ministration of the sacraments, hath received also of Christ the power of ordination of pastors, where presbytery,¹ never used in the New Testament to signify the office of priesthood or order of a presbyter, can be no other thing but the persons or company of pastors laying on their hands, and that not only for consent, but for consecration, of which number any one may pronounce the words of blessing.

The PRELATE, for the honour of the priesthood, that is, out of his ambitious humour, taketh the power of ordaining pastors to himself,—denying that a whole presbytery without him may ordain a pastor, excepting the case of extreme necessity, as women are admitted to baptise; whereby in a manner he calleth in question the lawfulness of our ministry, these sixty years past, since the Reformation.

7. The PASTOR hath committed to him, by Jesus

¹ 1 Tim. iv. 14. Neither doth the apostle deny that to presbyters which he did himself with them, and which he ascribeth to Timothy. 1 Tim. v. 22, 2 Tim. i. 6. Neither the prelate himself denieth the power of ordination to the presbyter, but the exercise of the power which he arrogateth to himself. *Ordinat Deus per ecclesiam, ordinat ecclesia per presbyterium, ordinat presbyterium per episcopos, et pastores suos; singuli conferunt in unum quæ sua sunt.*—*Jun. animad.* 1187.

Christ, not only the keys of the inward and private court of conscience, but also of the outward and public court of jurisdiction,¹ for deciding controversies, making of constitutions, and inflicting of censures, they being both but one and the same power of binding and loosing. He hath the shepherd's staff in his hand as well as the shepherd's pipe at his mouth.

The PRELATE keepeth the staff in his own hand, and arrogateth to himself, even amongst them who never heard him, all power of jurisdiction (whether dogmatic, didactic, or critic, as it is distinguished,²) which the apostles themselves, notwithstanding their extraordinary gifts, would never do, but in all these parts of jurisdiction behaved themselves as presbyters.

S. The PASTOR findeth it to be so far against the word of God to claim any authority over his brethren, that albeit there be a divine order in the kirk, whereby there is one kind of ministry, both ordinary and extraordinary, in degree and dignity before another, as the apostles before all others, the pastor before the elder and deacon, yet he can find no minister, ordinary or extraordinary, that hath any majority of power over other inferior ministers of another kind,—as the pastor over the elder and deacon, far less over other ministers of the same kind, as the pastor or bishop over the pastor.³

¹ Acts xv. 6; xvi. 4; xx. 28, 29; 1 Cor. v.; xiv. 32, 40; 1 Thess. v. 12; 1 Tim. v. 17; Tit. i. 9; Heb. xiii. 17.

² Deciding of controversies, making of canons for order, or censuring of offences.

³ By Scripture no apostle hath power over another apostle, nor

The PRELATE findeth it to be so far against his place to quit his authority over his brethren, that albeit he hath no warrant for any other kind or degree of ministry than the pastor, yet he usurpeth majority of power over pastors, and taketh upon him both direction and correction; and that not social, but authoritative, to beat them at his pleasure.

9. The PASTOR is separate from the world to the kingdom of Christ, which is not of this world:¹ he will not be called gracious lord, nor strive for the right hand or the left; he should not follow the pomp of the world, but must shine in knowledge, diligence, and godly simplicity; he may not assume another ecclesiastical office, far less take upon him a secular charge; he may not divide the inheritance, nor burden himself with worldly affairs.

The PRELATE is separate from the kingdom of Christ, and thrusteth himself into the throng of the world,—he would be called My Lord, and Your Grace; and, without respect of age or gifts, preferreth himself to the most reverend pastors: he robbeth the nobility and magistrates of their places and dignities, and will have his cushion, his coach, and his courtly train: he is a lord of parliament, of council and session, a baron, a steward, a judge of civil and criminal causes; and why not bishop of the order of the garter, and count palatine, that at last he may have both

evangelist over another evangelist, nor elder over another elder, nor deacon over another deacon; but all are equal.

¹ Deut. xxxiii. 8; Ezek. xxxiii. 7; Zech. xi. 17; Matt. xxiii. 9; Luke ix. 59; xii. 13; xxii. 24; John xxi. 15; Acts vi. 2; Rom. i. 1; 2 Tim. ii. 4.

swords and the triple crown, as the Abimelech-like brambles of the world have done before.

10. The PASTOR taketh the sum and forms of prayer from the directions of God, from the Lord's prayer, and from the prayers of the godly in divers places of Scripture, the particular arguments and petitions from the present purposes, persons, places, times, and occasions, which, as the mouth of the congregation, according unto the grace given unto him from the Holy Ghost, he presenteth before the throne of God the Father, in the name of Jesus Christ.¹

The PRELATE would tie the pastor, (albeit he had the tongue of an angel,) and occasions never so contrary, to certain words, and a set form of liturgy, and would divide the prayer betwixt pastor and people, and by many idle repetitions, would bring both pastor and people under the guiltiness of vain babbling and popish superstition.

11. The PASTOR thinketh it the principal part of his ministry to labour in the word and doctrine, because woe is unto him if he preach not the gospel.² And when he preacheth he will have God's word only to sound in his own house,—reading nothing but the canonical text, and comparing scripture with scripture for edification, that he may save himself and those that hear him.

The PRELATE thinketh of preaching as accessory, and would have it worn out of use by a long dead

¹ Matt. vi. 7—9, &c.; Luke xi. 1; Exod. xxxii. 11; Num. xiv. 13; Acts ii. 5; xvi. 16, &c.

² Acts xxviii. 23; Rom. x. 15; 1 Cor. i. 21; ix. 16; 1 Pet. iv. 11; 2 John x; 1 Cor. iii. 12, &c.

liturgy. In reading he would have no difference betwixt the Apocrypha and the canonical Scripture, and liketh best such sermons as are stuffed with philosophers, poets, orators, schoolmen, and ancients in Greek and Latin, that he may preach himself, and be admired of those that hear him.

12. The PASTOR loveth no music in the house of God but such as edifieth,¹ and stoppeth his ears at instrumental music, as serving for the pedagogy of the untoward Jews under the law, and being figurative of that spiritual joy whereunto our hearts should be opened under the gospel.

The PRELATE loveth carnal and curious singing to the ear, more than the spiritual melody of the gospel, and therefore would have antiphony and organs in the cathedral kirks, upon no greater reason than other shadows of the law of Moses; or lesser instruments, as lutes, citherns, or pipes, might be used in other kirks.

13. The PASTOR ministereth baptism in the place of the public assemblies of God's people,²—it being a note of our Christian profession, and a protestation of our faith, and therefore should be celebrated publicly, as well as ordination of ministers, excommunication, confession of converts, or reconciliation of penitents.

¹ 2 Chron. xxix. 25. Not in the synagogues, but at the temple, and for that time of ceremonial worship. 1 Cor. xiv. 19. 26; Eph. v. 18, 19; Col. iii. 16.

² Matt. xxviii. 19, and all other places showing baptism to be a note discerning Christians from Infidels. 1 Pet. iii. 21, and such places proving baptism to be a sign of Christian profession. Matt. iii., the baptism at Jordan solemn, and what was done privately by the apostles, as sometimes was in the infancy of the kirk, which cannot now be a rule to us in a kirk constituted.

The PRELATE hath given place to private baptism, and thereby entertaineth the superstitious conceit of the necessity of baptism, bringeth in the absurdity of conditional baptism, and maketh a ready way for private persons and midwives to baptise.

14. The PASTOR, as the words of the institution prescribe, and after the example of Christ and his apostles, hath a table prepared for the celebration of the Lord's Supper :¹ he sitteth down in a public communion with the congregation, in the most-customable and comely form of sitting, far from all danger of idolatry; when he hath given thanks, he breaketh the bread sacramentally; when he delivereth the elements he uttereth the words of promise, 'This is my body, this is my blood, demonstratively; the people distribute the bread and cup among themselves lovingly; they eat and drink in such measure as they may find themselves refreshed sensibly; and as before the action they were prepared by diligent examination and powerful sermons, for trying themselves, so in the time of the action their ears and their hearts are filled with pertinent readings and pithy exhortations, and, after the action, dismissed with joy, with strength, and with spiritual resolution, to the great honour of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Christ, the terror of antichrist, the peace of the kirk, and the unspeakable comfort of their own souls.

¹ Matt. xxvi. 26; Mark xiv. 22; Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 23: out of which, compared together, the whole institution is to be learned, and not from the last place alone, since it containeth not all things belonging to the institution, Matt. xiv. 13; Luke xxiv. 30; 1 Cor. x.

The PRELATE pretending the words of the ninety-fifth Psalm, and, after the example of antichrist and his followers, hath turned the table into an altar-like cupboard,—the table gesture of sitting into the adoring gesture of kneeling (with no better excuse of idolatry than is expressed in the obscure terms of *abstractive ab objecto*, and *objectum a quo significativa*),—the public communion into a private action betwixt him and the communicant,—the sacramental breaking into a preparative carving before the action,—the enunciative words of the institution into a form of a prayer or oblation,—the Christian distribution into a steward-like partition,—the refreshment of eating and drinking into a pinched tasting,—the preparatory examination and preaching into a schismatical disputation about kneeling and sitting,—the spiritual exhortations in the time of the action, either in a dumb guise and comfortless deadness, or in a confusion of the readers reading, and his own speaking at the giving of the elements, both at one time,—and the spiritual joy, strength and resolution after the action, into terrors of conscience in some, the opinion of indifference in all matters of religion in others, and of looseness of life in many, to the mocking of God, the re-entry of antichrist, rending of the kirk, obdurning of the papist, stumbling of the weak, and grief of the godly.

15. The PASTOR thinketh it no Judaism nor superstition, but a moral duty to observe the Sabbath.¹

¹ Gen. ii. 2, 3; Exod. xx.; Deut. v.; Numb. xv. 32; Neh. xiii. 15; Isa. lvi. 2; lviii. 13; Joel i. 14; Psal. cx. 3; John xx. 16, 26; Acts ii. 1; xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 1; Gal. iv. 9, 10; Col. ii. 16, 17; Rev. i. 10.

Because, *first*, the observation of one day of seven, albeit it be positively divine, yet it is not ceremonial nor for a time, but unchangeable, and obligeth perpetually, as is manifest by the time when it was appointed before the fall, when there was no type of redemption by Christ, and by numbering it among the ten precepts of the moral law, written by the finger and proclaimed by the voice of God, which cannot be said of any changeable law. Neither can it be called perpetual and moral in this sense, that a certain time is to be allotted to divine worship; for then the building of the tabernacle and temple, the new moons, and other legal festivities, containing in them a general equity, might as well be accounted moral. *Secondly*, the change of the Sabbath from the last to the first day of the week is by divine authority, from Christ himself, from whom it is called the Lord's day, who is Lord of the Sabbath, who did institute the worship of the day, and rested from his labours that day, whereon all things were made new by his resurrection, and sanctified it, even as in the beginning God rested from all his works on the seventh day, and blessed it. He thinketh it no more contrary to Christian liberty than it was to Adam, in his innocence, to keep one of the seven, and therefore he laboureth to make the Sabbath his delight,—observeth it himself—and by his doctrine, example and discipline, teacheth others to do the like; and to cease not only from all servile works which require great labour of the body, but from all our own works whatsoever, drawing our minds from the exercises of religion, and serving for our own gain and commodity, except in the case of

necessity, caused by divine providence. He would have it well considered wherein the Jews were more strictly obliged than Christians, and what liberty we have that they had not. Beside the Sabbath he can admit no ordinary holidays appointed by man, whether in respect of any mystery, or of difference of one day from another, as being warranted by mere tradition, against the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, but accounteth the solemn fasts and humiliations unto which the Lord calleth, to be extraordinary sabbaths, warranted by God himself.

The PRELATE, by his doctrine, practice, example, and neglect of discipline, declareth that he hath no such reverend estimation of the Sabbath. He doteth so upon the observation of Pasche, Yule, and festival days appointed by men, that he preferreth them to the Sabbath, and hath turned to nothing our solemn fasts and blessed humiliations.

16. The PASTOR findeth that every part of his office, and every name whereby he is called in Scripture, doth call upon him to be personally resident,¹ and where he resideth, to be a terror to the wicked and a comfort to the godly.

The PRELATE either waiteth upon council, session, or court, or dwelleth so far from his charge, that the speech of Caranza (proving the necessity of the personal residence of bishops), may be applied to him: "He is a bishop, but without overseeing,—an am-

¹ Caranza proveth the necessity of the residence of bishops, by five places of the Old Testament, by three out of the evangelists, and five out of the apostolic writings; and how can he be a bishop, a shepherd, a watchman, &c., that is a non-resident.

bassador, but runneth where his errand lieth not,—a captain and soldier, but far from his station,—a father and steward, but suffereth the children to perish for want of food.” Or if he happen to be resident, his lordship is a protection to the papist, to the carnal professor, and to the idol-minister and idle-belly, and such a vexation to the vigilant pastor, that he had much rather he were a non-resident.

17. The PASTOR must be so unblameable, that he have a good testimony of them that are without.¹ He must rule well his own house, having his children in subjection, with all gravity, not accused of riot, or unruly. He must be sober, not given to wine; he must not be greedy of filthy lucre, nor covetous; he must not be a brawler, a striker, or fighter.

The PRELATE mocketh at conscience, gravity, sobriety, modesty, patience, painfulness, &c., and calleth them puritanising.

18.—The PASTOR laboureth to keep faith in a good conscience, and, by the blessing of God upon his labours, findeth the increase of the gifts of God in his old age, and the grace of God growing in the hearts of the people.²

The PRELATE, by losing a good conscience, maketh shipwreck of faith, and by the curse of God upon his sloth and defection, may find himself like Balaam, who seeking horns did lose his ears—that is, seeking preferment he lost the gift of prophesy, and may see

¹ 2 Cor. i. 12; 1 Tim. iii. 2—8; iv. 12; 2 Tim. i. 13; Tit. i. 6, and ii. 7.

² 1 Tim. i. 19; Jer. xii. 10; xxiii. 1—5; Ezek. xxxiv. 2—23; Zec. xi. 15—17; 2 Pet. ii. 15, 16; Jude xi.; Rev. ii. 14.

grace decayed, and worn out of the hearts of the people.

The Prelate's objection.—The PRELATE will object, notwithstanding all the evil that hath been said, or that ye can say against him, that the name, the calling, the power, and the life of the bishop, is set down in the Word.

The Pastor's answer.—The question is not of the bishop, but of the prelate or diocesan bishop, whether he be the divine bishop. Haman could think upon no man but himself, when the man was named whom the king would honour; even so the prelate imagineth no other bishop to be spoken of in Scripture but himself. And as Alexander the great took Jupiter's ominous salutation, *ὦ παιδιον* [O child or babe,] for *ὦ παι Διος* [O son of Jupiter,]¹ even so in the prelate's ambitious ear, every word of a bishop sounds honour unto him. But the truth is, that the pastor, and not the diocesan bishop, is the bishop divine.

1. The diocesan bishop is but one, in a diocese, over many kirks.

The divine bishops may be many in one city, and over one kirk.

2. The diocesan bishop hath a form of ordination of his own, different from the ordination of the pastor.

The divine bishop hath no other but the ordination of the pastor.

3. The diocesan bishop preacheth at his pleasure, and is not obliged to preach by the nature and necessity of his calling.

1 Κατὰ τὰ ῥήματα ἀριστοῦ συλλεγμένων. Dixit Arist. in Metaphys.

The divine bishop is bound by his calling to preach with all diligence.

4. The diocesan bishop hath no particular congregation for his flock, to feed with the word and sacraments.

The divine bishop is tied to a particular flock.

5. The diocesan bishop is, for the greater part, a secular person.

The divine bishop is a person merely ecclesiastical.

Therefore the diocesan bishop is not the divine bishop, neither doth the word of God acknowledge any diocesan kirk, or any prelate or diocesan bishop charged with the care of many particular congregations, and having majority of power to direct and correct other pastors.

PART II.

THE PASTOR AND PRELATE COMPARED BY ANTIQUITY, AND THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANCIENT KIRK.

Antiquity, and the primitive kirk, the fathers of two sorts.—The maintainers of conformity forget themselves about antiquity three ways.—The pastor is not older than the New Testament, the prelate would fetch his prelacy from the Old Testament.—The pastor, and not the prelate, warranted by Christ.—The pastor, and not the prelate, warranted by the apostles.—The pastor keepeth his place and authority in the primitive kirk, when the prelate beginneth to work, and to be constant moderator, or perpetual president.—The pastor seeketh no honour but by his doctrine and life; the prelate forsaketh this way, and taketh him to the world.—The pastor witnesseth for the truth, in the time of defection, which is wrought by the prelate, perverting all after he is once entered.—The pastor complained of that which he could not mend, and the prelate persecuted them that complained.—The pastor desired, and urged a reformation, which, by all means, the prelate refused.—*Objection*, The Christian kirk, for three hundred years, had such bishops as we have now.—*Answer*, Showing, in many particulars, the difference between the primitive bishops and our prelates, who are like unto the Roman bishops, in the most corrupt times.

WE reverence the hoary head and name of antiquity, but, withal, we know that there is antiquity of truth and antiquity of error, and therefore would make difference betwixt original antiquity, or that which was from the beginning, and of the first institution and

antiquity of custom, or that which is of long continuance. They that take themselves wilfully to custom, against the first institution, resolve, not unlike the Council of Constance, when they set down their blasphemous act, *Non obstante*.¹ We do not disregard the practice of the primitive kirk after the apostles, especially it being compared with the ages following, but would have it, in comparison of the apostolic kirk, to be esteemed but derivative, as which admitted many changes, from better to worse, both in doctrine and discipline. We honour the fathers, but so that we give the first honour to the Father of fathers, besides whom we have no father—to his Son Jesus Christ, the only prophet, whom we should hear—to the Holy Ghost, who only teacheth us the truth, and to the Holy Scripture, which only carrieth their divine authority. Wishing all that are studious of the truth, in the point of the controversy in hand, to take notice of these two things: *First*, that the maintainers of conformity many ways forget themselves in the matter of the authority of the fathers, for albeit they daub us with the fathers, the ancients, and all antiquity, yet they themselves will not hear the voice of the fathers in their disputes, whether against papists, whom they answer with the same exceptions against the fathers which we bring in this cause against them, or in their

¹ Licet Christus post cœnam instituerit, et suis discip. ministraverit sub utraque specie panis et vini hoc veneribile Sacramentum: tamen hoc non obstante, sacrorum canonum auctoritas et approbata consuetudo ecclesiam servavit et servat, &c. Caranza summa conc. Const. sess. 13. distinguitur a Juristis, ipsa primitiva ecclesia in primam et secundam.

disputes with us, when the fathers make against them;¹ and, thus, while they profess that they honour the fathers, they do but mock them, sometimes putting upon them the purple robe of authority, and at their pleasure pulling it off again. Next, they forget themselves in this, that albeit they know that the witness and not the testimony, is to be believed, they allege, notwithstanding, some counterfeit, some corrupted authors, and some late schoolmen,² for the ancient fathers, against us. Becanus, Calvin, Beza, Martyr, Juell, &c., bring them against the papists, who deny not their authority. And, *thirdly*, they disregard the order of divine dispensation in the course of time, not without ingratitude to God for his gifts, and to good men for their labours, by preferring the meanest, that carrieth the name of antiquity,³ unto the worthiest instruments of that blessed work of Reformation, who had, above all that went before them, many

¹ Whitgiftus, Socratem Novatianum et Puritanum vocat. Saravia contra Bez. dicit Hieronimum aperte Arianum esse, Dounamus contra omnes patres, negat Petrum Romæ episcopum fuisse, &c.

² Quales sunt, auctor libri, qui canones Apostolorum inscribitur, Clemens, Romanus, Ignatius, Dyonisius, Areopagita, Egesippus, Dorotheus, &c. De quibus, Mortonus contra pontificios, Larvati isti auctores pueris terriculamento esse possunt, viris autem cordatis, esse ludibrio debent.

³ Vitium malignitatis humanæ, ut vetera semper in laude, præsentia sint in fastidio. Tacit. Miraturque nihil, nisi quod Libitina sacravit. Horat. Nec nos sumus nani, nec illi gigantes, sed omnes ejusdem staturæ, et quidem nos altius eveci, eorum beneficio, maneat modo in nobis quod in illis studium, attentio animi, vigilantie et amor veri, quæ si absint, jam non nani sumus, nec in gigantum humeros sedemus, sed homines instar magnitudinis humi prostrati. Ludov. vivis de causis corrup. art. lib. 1.

great helps of the languages of human literature and of printing, and to whom many secrets were made known by the accomplishment of prophecies, especially concerning the antichrist, who, being conceived in the apostles' times, was brought forth and brought up unwittingly by the fathers, who looked for the antichrist from another quarter, which maketh them to be incompetent judges in the matter of hierarchy and ceremonies thereof. The Romanists themselves, who profess to be the greatest favourers of the ancient fathers, are forced to blush at many of their gross and shameful absurdities, and to confess, that many things that were of old either doubtful or altogether unknown, are now to the meanest become clear and certain. Some of them have exploded it as an impertinent similitude, that we, being compared to the ancients, are as dwarfs upon the shoulders of giants. The other thing that we would have the studious reader to take notice of is this, that of the prelates and maintainers of conformity seeking the fountain of antiquity, and uncertain where to find it, some go back to the Old Testament, to bring the prelate's pedigree from thence; some would bring his descent from Christ; some from the apostles; and a fourth sort from the primitive kirk. But before they get a sight of their own prelate in his pomp, in his power, and in his busk of ceremonies, they must go farther down the stream, till they come in sight of the antichrist, and there they shall see him not far off, waiting on, as may be apparent by this which followeth:—

1. The PASTOR acknowledgeth the difference of the kirk and ministry of the Old and New Testaments;

seeketh neither type nor pattern of his office from the Levitical priesthood, but bringeth his oldest warrant from Christ and his apostles, and exponeth the ancients, as Jerome and others, who insist on the similitude of the ministers of the Old and New Testaments,¹ as speaking by the way of allusion, and not from any warrant of divine translation.

The **PRELATE**, searching the fountains of Nilus, would bring his descent as high as from Levi, as if the chief priests, who had no episcopal authority over their brethren, were turned now into prelates; the inferior priests into pastors; and the Levites, who had no proper care of the poor, were changed into our deacons. He bringeth the ancients to reckon this genealogy, but with such success as the sons of Habaiiah had, when they failed in reckoning their line from Aaron, and so proved unworthy of the priesthood, Nehem. vii. 63, 64.

2. The **PASTOR** hath an ordinary and perpetual office appointed by Christ, but the office of the apostle and evangelist was extraordinary, and to continue but for a time. So that howsoever antiquity useth the words of apostle and bishop amply, calling the apostles bishops, and bishops or pastors apostles, and successors to the apostles, yet neither is the one kind of office compatible with the other, nor can the one properly be said to succeed the other, so different are they, as well in respect of charge as of gifts and discharge of duty;² for the superior doth not only do

¹ Mutato sacerdotio mutatur et lex. Heb. vii. 12. Ex figura communi, sine exemplo, nihil concludi necessario potest. Jun. de pontif.

² Apost. et evang. primum officia, deinde duo extraordinaria, sig-

that which the inferior may not do, but his manner of doing of that which is common to both, is far higher and more eminent.

The PRELATE, repelled by the office-bearers of the Old Testament, seeketh to enter with his directive power and jurisdiction among the ministers of the gospel, but with like success. For a pastor and doctor, his power over pastors and doctors suffereth them not to be. He urgeth to be taken in with the apostle or evangelist, and to be esteemed successor to them,¹ but his office and theirs is not compatible; for formerly their office was extraordinary and without succession, and materially his office is not contained in their offices, as is the office of a pastor; there being no example in Scripture, without the office of apostle or evangelist, of such power as the prelate claimeth. Whether his life and form of ministration be apostolical, all that know him may discern.

3. The PASTOR, and not the prelate, is the first minister (by the prelate's own confession) whom the apostles appointed in kirks when they first planted them. The pastor, and not the prelate, is the minister whom the apostles in their time did approve; and the pastor, and not the prelate, is the last minister to whom the apostles, when they were to remove, or were near unto death, did recommend the care of the kirks; and

nificans officium apostoli et evang. continet in se officium presbyteri eminenter, sed non formaliter, officium autem episcopi hierarchici, nec eminenter, quia non datur episcopatus extra apostolatam, quem contineat eminenter, sicut datur presbyteratus.

¹ In gradum nemo successit apostolis et evang. in caput succedunt pastores ordinarii.

therefore the pastor, and not the prelate, is the minister warranted by the apostles.

The PRELATE, denied of Christ, would father himself upon the apostles, and finding no warrant from their doctrine or practice in Scripture, albeit the Acts of the apostles contain the history of many years after Christ's ascension, he seemeth to be sure of the ecclesiastical history recorded in the apostles' times,¹ and by apostolic institution, a begun succession of bishops in Jerusalem, Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, &c. But here also he standeth without, because the bishops of those places were either apostles, and therefore could not be properly bishops, or else ordinary pastors, of no greater place nor power, except for age and gift, than other presbyters labouring with them. Such were Linus, Clemens, Cletus, Anacletus,—fellow-presbyters at Rome at one time,—one of them living some space after another; and, to show the order of succession from the apostles against heretics who urged it, they were numbered as if they had not lived at one time; and in the line of succession were called bishops by Eusebius, and others after him, agreeable to the corruption of their own times,² when now men had, of their own head, put a difference betwixt a bishop and a pastor, and not according to the purity

1 Intervallum illud ab ult. c. Act. apost. ad medium, Trajani imperium plane cum Varrone *αδηλον* vocari potest. Joseph. Scalig. prolegom. in Chronicon Eusebii.

2 Uti hiatum expleret Euseb. *εκ των υποθεσεων*, Clementis nescio cujus (non est enim ille eruditus Alexandrinus *ὁ στραματευς*) και εκ της *πυταβιβλου* Hegesippi, non melioris scriptoris sine delectu, ea deprompsit. Idem.

of the primitive times, of which they did write, when a pastor and a bishop was one and the same.

4. The PASTOR is the divine and apostolic bishop, of the lawfulness of whose calling and power in the primitive kirk, after the apostles, there was no question. The pastor by consent of antiquity, (when now, by human wisdom, the constant moderator was brought in and called the bishop) had right and power, not by grant, but by his office, not only to preach the word, minister the sacraments, and use the keys in binding and loosing the conscience, but also, with the fellow-presbyters, to ordain ministers;¹ and in the presbyterial, provincial, and national assemblies, to decide controversies, to make constitutions, to inflict censures, even upon bishops, and, by his pastoral authority, to do all things necessary for the edification of the kirk; and this right and power, that God gave him, he maintained in some kirks in the most corrupt times, when now antichrist was set in his chair, and prelacy, for the most part, of human was become satanical.

The PRELATE, holden at the door by Christ and his apostles, after their times, by the ambition of some pastors and simplicity of others,² when he had long

¹ Who dare condemn all those worthy ministers of God that were never ordained by presbyters, in sundry kirks of the world, at such times as bishops, in those parts where they lived, opposed themselves against the truth of God. Field, book iii, cap. 39.

² *Paulatim quamvis patribus nihil minus cogitantibus, gradui episcopali aditus humanitus apertus, per quem mox ingressa ambitio, gradum istum initio quidem in Oligarchiam, ac tandem in horrendam illam Antichristianam tyrannidem œcumenicam evexit, haud satis scio an unquam abolendam nisi semel sublatis quibus eo ascendit gradibus, in ordinem divinæ institutionis redigatur.* Beza de grad. cap. 23.

hung on, got in the foot to be constant moderator ; but not finding entry at the first for his great head, made up of sole ordination, of monarchial jurisdiction, of civil power, worldly pomp and superstitious ceremonies, he hideth his mitre in the mystery of iniquity, going on with it foot for foot, and draweth in, by fraud and force, one limb after another, till at last, after many ages and much working (for he attained not to the degree of an archbishop till after the Council of Nice,) he showeth himself lord in the house of God, having no more of the first institution of a bishop, than the ship *Argo* had of her first building, when, after her expedition, she had lain at a full sea some hundreds of years, or the beggar's cloak, patched with many clouts and colours, that hath passed through some generations, which he, it may be, makes more of than of a parliament robe of the first shaping.

5. The PASTOR, as became the humble servant of Christ and a minister of the New Testament, procured and maintained the dignity and true honor of his ministry, by holding forth the glorious light of the gospel in his doctrine, and the shining light of holiness in his conversation ; esteeming the preaching of the glad tidings of peace to be the beauty of ministers, and righteousness their robe and ornament.

The PRELATE took him to the contrary course for his credit, and transformed the beautiful simplicity of Christ's kingdom into the glory of the kingdom of the world. Albeit when he was of his old stamp his greatest dignity was his chair, and faithful teaching the flower of his garland, yet now, degenerating from his first sincerity, and being infected with secular

smoke, he came to be cast in the mould of the first beast. His chair gave place to his consistory and throne. His jurisdiction and government, honoured with the title of pre-eminence, carried all the credit. Teaching, as a base work, was given over to the petty presbyters, and every office in the kirk was counted a dignity worthy of honour, less or more, as it had more or less jurisdiction annexed; as those are more or less honourable in the commonwealth, that have more or less civil authority; and thus prelacy came up, and preaching came down, and the kirk became more worldly than the world itself.

6. The PASTOR, when all was going wrong, some raising contentions, others gaping after honours, the brains of many being big with heresies, all given to heap up superstition and atheism; and the prelate, with his popish hierarchy, possessing both the holy city and outward court, he then gave testimony to the truth, kept still the temple, and, within the temple, kept in the light, as two olive trees growing up by the sides of the candlestick, and dropping down from the branches oil into the lamps, for the comfort of such as Jehovah-Shammah had chosen for life, and would save from the deluge of defection.

The PRELATE, once possessed into the kirk, never ceased till he had changed the kirk into a court; power ecclesiastical into civil policy; the Scripture into tradition; the truth into heresy; sincerity into superstition; the worship of God into idolatry—as the worship of images, saints and bread-worship; the pure ordinances of God into masses, altars, images, garments, fasting, and follies of Paganism and Judaism,

like a smoke out of the bottomless pit, growing grosser and thicker every day; and, in the midst of the mist, built up his greatness upon the ruins not only of the kirks, but of the commonwealths of the world; for when the stars of heaven fell into the earth, the mountains and islands were moved out of their places; and as this unhappy milt swelled big in the body, with wealth and honour, the life of religion became faint, the princes and nobles of the earth, like the noble parts in the body, decayed, and the meaner ones, like the hands and feet, withered away. The Pope's felicity was the whole world's misery, and so was the prelate's to several nations and provinces.

7. The PASTOR, and with him the godly of the time, wearied with long opposition, poured out their heavy complaints, that the grief of the kirk was more bitter in peace than either under persecution or heresy:¹ that she had brought up and exalted her sons, and they had despised her. If a professed heretic should arise, she could cast him forth of her bosom; if a violent enemy, she could hide herself from him; but now, whom could the kirk cast out, or from whom shall she hide herself? All are friends, and yet all are enemies; all are domestics, and yet none seek her true peace, for all seek their own things, and not the things of Jesus Christ. They are the ministers of Christ, and serve the antichrist. He complaineth that devotion had brought forth riches, and the mother

¹ *Ecce in pace amaritudo mea amarissima, amara prius in nece martyrum, amarior post in conflictu hereticorum, amarissima nunc in moribus domesticorum, &c. Bern. super. Cant.*

had devoured her daughter :¹ that of old the bishops were of gold, and the cups of wood, but now the bishops have changed their metal with the cups :² that of old, Christians had dark kirks but lightsome hearts; but now, lightsome kirks and dark hearts :³ that the prelates inquired what rent the bishopric rendered, and not how many souls were to be fed in it : that their bodies were clad with purple and silk, but they had threadbare consciences : that their care was greater to empty men's purses than to extirpate their vices : that when they consecrate a prelate, they kill a good man by advancing him : that no greater evil could be wished to any man, than that he be made Pope : that in the estate of the kirk, heaven is below and earth is above ; the spirit obeyeth, and the flesh commandeth : that in the mouths of the prelates was the law of vanity, and not the law of verity ; and that the lips of the priests under them, kept secular, and not spiritual knowledge ; and when he searched the causes of the kirk's misery, he condescended upon the neglecting of Scripture, and multiplication of men's inventions ; the ignorance and idleness of prelates, like dumb dogs that could not bark,—their covetousness above the Pharisees'. They suffered doves to be sold in the temple, but these sell both kirk and sacrifice. Their pride and ambition declared in their great

1 *Devotio peperit divitias, et filia devoravit matrem. Bern. super. Cant.*

2 *Olim fuerunt lignei calices, et aurei sacerdotes: nunc contra sunt aurei calices et lignei sacerdotes, vulgo jactitatum.*

3 *Olim habuisse Christianos obscura templa, sed lucida corda: nunc contra habere lucida templa sed obscura corda. Et sequentia.*

horses, and other superfluous pomp, and that, as sons of Belial, they have cast off the yoke, not enduring that any should ask them, why they do so and so: the unequal proportion seen in the kirk, when one is hungry and another drunk; some so enormously overgone in riches and pomp, that the weakness of the rest is not able to bear them.

The PRELATE, still mad of avarice and ambition, stood upon the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth that they should not blow, and opposed himself against the doctrine and complaint of the pastors,—condemning them for heretics, giving out against them decrees of corrupt councils, thundering them with anathematisms, and persecuting them by fire and sword. He punished the clergy under him more severely for the neglect of a ceremony than for sacrilege or adultery; and finally, lest his fraud and falsehood should be known, he forbade all men the reading and using of the holy Scriptures.

8. The PASTOR, and all good men that longed and laboured for the Reformation of the Christian kirk, for the space of five hundred years, as the Waldenses, Marsilius Patavinus, Wickliffe and his scholars, Husse and his followers, and all such as the Lord used for instruments in working the Reformation, as Luther, Calvin, Brentius, Bullingerus, Musculus, &c., did teach that all pastors are of equal authority by the word of God, and all that space of time urged this point of reformation, as without which no success could be expected in the reformation of the doctrine and worship.¹

¹ Dr. Reynold's letter to Sir Francis Knowles, concerning Dr. Bancroft's sermon, 1588, maketh this clear.

The PRELATE knowing (as it was often preached and written all that time of five hundred years) that the main cause of the corruptions of the kirk was his own place, his pride, and his avarice, and that the desired and urged reformation of the kirk, which was now brought to that pass, that as one says well, she could neither bear her own disease nor yet suffer remedy, behoved to begin at himself, the greatest bile in all the body, by all means held off reformation as his own ruin; and when several nations were bringing it about, he could never be moved to give his consent, so dear was his mitre and belly unto him.

The Prelate's objection.—The PRELATE will confess, that it were better to have no bishops than such monsters as the Roman kirk brought forth, but prideth himself in antiquity, and affirmeth that the Christian kirk in all places, for the space of three hundred years after Christ and his apostles, had bishops in every thing like himself, and that afterwards the shepherds became wolves.

The Pastor's answer.—That which Tertullian in his time said unto the Gentiles, may be replied to our prelates,—“Ye boast of antiquity, but your daily life is after the new fashion.” Mr. Phantastico at Athens, whensoever he perceived any ships entering into the harbour, strongly apprehended that they were his own, and used to seize upon them, as if they had been his own indeed. So deal our prelates with the ancient bishops, they come no sooner in their sight, but they take them for their own, albeit they be very unlike unto them, for were they living, they would blush and be ashamed that such should be called their successors; as Angelo, the famous Italian painter, pourtray-

ed Peter and Paul, for the use of a cardinal at Rome, with red and high-coloured faces, showing thereby, that if they were living, they would blush at the pomp and pride of the prelates of that time. Our prelates are rather of the late Roman cut, and not so like unto the primitive as unto the popish bishops, who, comparing themselves with others before, and ours now come after them, might say with the poet:¹

Our parent's age, worse than their predecessors,
 Hath brought us forth more wicked, their successors;
 Ere it be long, if we continue thus,
 We will bring forth a brood more vicious.

1st, For the primitive bishops (after that the name of bishop, common to all pastors, began to be inappropriate) were neither ordained by bishops nor metropolitans, but only chosen by pastors, to be their constant moderators, or perpetual presidents, but without warrant from God or his truth.²

¹ *Ætas parentum, pejor avis tulit nos nequiores, mox daturus progeniem vitiosiore.* Horat.

² *Ex his Ambrosii et Hieronimi constat primum, in ipsis ecclesiæ primordiis nullos tales episcopos fuisse, quales postea instituti fuere, scilicet qui suo jure reliquis e clero præessent; unde colligitur et non esse id ipsum a Christo, et apostolis institutum: et (quando quidem in eccl. id sit optimum quod primum) ecclesiæ fore consultius, ut omnes presbyteri pari censerentur et jure et gradu. Secundo constat ne tum quidem, cum hic episcoporum a presbyteris distinctorum ordo, sive gradus est constitutus, fuisse episcopos tamquam monarchos, &c. Chamier de œcumen. pontif. lib. 18, cap. 5, sect. 6. Respondeo patrum auctoritatem nihil efficere, ratio, quia non ostendunt nullum unquam tempus extitisse cum essent episcopi pares presbyteris, sed tantum inæqualitatem esse vetustissimam, ac vicinam apostolorum temporibus, quod nos ultro fatemur. Idem Chamier, lib. 10, cap. 6, sect. 24.*

Our prelate must first, by a simulate form of election, be made my lord elect, and then receive a new consecration, with a new guise of ceremonies drawn from the Roman pontifical, as little known to pure antiquity as the words themselves of ordination, consecration, &c.

2d, The primitive bishops, looking more to the beauty than dignity, suffered violence, and were constrained, by pastors and people, whether they would or not, to receive the charge.

Our prelate, when the bishop is an old man, then he standeth diligently and learneth fast, but only how to make credit at court, and when after long expectation the place is void, by posting, promising, and propining, he procureth himself to be chosen, first without the knowledge, and then against the will both of pastors and people.

3d, The primitive bishops knew not such a creature as was designed afterwards by the proud name of an archbishop, who should be a bishop of bishops, having power over comprovincial bishops, his suffragans.

Our prelate prideth himself in this proud title, and will have one and the same creature to be metropolitan archbishop and primate, that what he may not do as metropolitan, he may do as archbishop, and what he may not as archbishop, he may as primate, and as another pope.

4th, The primitive bishop was in the presbytery, like the consul in the senate,—as first among the presbyters, he moderated in their meetings, reported matters previously done, and asked the voters what they concluded: he saw it executed upon others, and was subject to it himself.

Our prelate, in the presbytery, will be like a king in his council, and thinketh his authority no less without the presbytery than with it; and what the synod may do with the archbishop, that he may do without the synod.

5th, The primitive bishops dwelt so near together, that six of them convened in a cause that concerned an elder, and three for a deacon. In a synod they convened in great numbers. Privatus was condemned by ninety bishops. Against Novatus were convened eighty-four bishops. In some synods two hundred and seventeen; in some two hundred and seventy.

Our prelate spreadeth his wings over several hundreds of kirks, lying in divers provinces, wide as Merse, Lothian, Fife, Angus, Mearns, &c.

As, therefore, our prelate was shown before not to be the Lord's bishop, authorized by Scripture, so is he not man's bishop, made up in the primitive times of the kirk, but the same that we had before the Reformation, the same with the Italian, Spanish, or French prelate under the Pope, and the same with the anti-christian prelates in the most corrupt times of the kirk, especially the last five hundred years; excepting his subordination to the Pope, by which exception our princely prelate is made greater than the popish; and what was written of the popish prelate in those times, is now again reverified of ours, as of their civil offices and advocations:

Vintoniensis armiger,
Præsidet ad scacarium;
Ad computandum impiger,

Piger ad evangelium.
 Sic lucrum Lucam superat,
 Marcam marco præponderat
 Et libræ librum subjicit.

Some bishops metropolitan
 Preside at the Exchequer;
 For counting he's a busy man,
 To preach the gospel slacker.
 Lucre worth is more than Luke,
 And merks than Mark weigh better;
 He sets the pound above the book,
 And cares not for the matter.

Of their zeal in urging ceremonies upon others, while they failed in substance themselves, the old poem called *Asini Pænitentiaris*, wherein the wolf confesseth himself to the fox; and the fox to the wolf, and both are absolved; but the poor ass, trusting to his innocence for absolution, was condemned to die by the other two, for no other cause but that, in his extreme hunger, he had been so profane as to eat the straw garters of a religious pilgrim.

Immensum scelus est injuria, quam perigrino
 Fecisti: stramen surripiendo sibi.
 Non advertisti, quod plura pericula passus,
 Plurima passurus, quod peregrinus erat?
 Non advertisti, quod ei per maxima terræ
 Et pelagi spatia sit peragrandia via?
 Totius ecclesiæ fuerit cum nuncius iste,
 Pertulit abstracto stramine damna viae.
 Cum sis confessus, cum sis convictus, habes ne
 Quo tales noxas oculuisse queas?
 Es fur, ignoto cum feceris hoc peregrino:
 Seis bene, fur quali debet honore mori.

How great a sin were this to thee
 A pilgrim poor to wrong;

Hadst thou not mind what dangers he
Had travelled far among ?
Couldst thou not think that he, dull ass,
B'hov'd pass through sea and land ;
That nunce of holy kirk he was,
Running at their command.
Thou hast confess'd, convinced thou art,
Nothing thy crime can hide ;
Thief, thou didst eat his straw garters,
Death shall thee now betide.

PART III.

THE PASTOR AND PRELATE COMPARED IN THEIR JUDGMENT AND PRACTICE ABOUT THINGS INDIFFERENT.

Many controversies and contentions about things indifferent.—The pastor resteth not in the estate of a kirk that is indifferently good, but would be at further reformation; the prelate inclineth to defection.—The pastor thinketh not that indifferent which doth good or evil to the people's souls; the prelate accounteth that indifferent which doth neither good nor evil to his worldly estate.—The pastor thinketh nothing indifferent that is warranted by the word; the prelate every thing that is not fundamental.—The pastor findeth the direction for ceremonies to be as perfect under the gospel as it was under the law; but the prelate addeth unto it as if it were imperfect.—The pastor appointeth no new thing in the worship of God; but the prelate is a new lawgiver.—The pastor is so far limited that he thinketh nothing to be in use indifferent; but the prelate accounteth that to be preciseness and puritanism.—The pastor feareth to give offence in things indifferent; but the prelate is bold and scandalous.—*Objection*, None but puritans are precise in matters indifferent.—*Answer*, Distinguishing between two sorts of precisians or puritans.

BESIDES the speculations of the schoolmen, divided amongst themselves in their subtleties about things indifferent, which work mightily upon men's wits, but more weakly upon their affections than to make any great division, there hath been much ado in the kirk since the beginning about adiaphorisms and things indifferent. *First*, In the infancy of the Christian kirk the heat and the contention was great betwixt

the converted Jews and Gentiles, about the keeping of the ceremonies of the law, which before were commanded, afterwards were forbidden, but in that tract of time were in a manner indifferent, concerning which we find that the apostles never imposed them upon any people or person that judged them unlawful, that they thought that every man should be persuaded in his own mind, and should do nothing against or without the warrant of his conscience; that by all means scandal should be avoided, as that which bringeth wo upon him by whom it cometh, and destruction upon him upon whom it cometh; and many such rules of conscience and Christian prudence, which serve to the kirk for direction in matters indifferent, to the coming of Christ. *Secondly*, There was great business about ceremonies, and things called indifferent, in the infancy of the reformed kirks, in the time of the interim, when, with so great power and persecution, the Romish corruptions were forced again upon them, under the name of indifference. At that time, politics and worldly men, more careful of their own wealth than of God's truth, gave themselves to serve the time, and received all that was obtruded under the said cloak of indifference. These were accounted friends to Augustus. Others of great gifts and esteem in the kirk wished from their hearts that these ceremonies had never been urged, yet thought it a less evil to admit some thing in the external part of God's worship, and thereby uniformity in religion with their enemies, than by stoical stiffness, as they called it, and an obstinacy to provoke authority, and thereby to bring upon themselves banishment, and upon kirk and

commonwealth desolation. Such men, looking more to unity than to verity, and more to the event than to their own duty, were called prudent, wise and peaceable men. A third sort, setting aside all sophistication, and clashing with the enemy, taught plainly by word and writ from Scripture, and not from the grounds of policy, that when any part of God's worship is in danger, that then, for the honour of God, confirmation of the truth, and edification of the kirk, confession is necessary. "He that confesseth not me;" "He that is ashamed of me before men," &c. They taught that it was not lawful to symbolize with the enemy; that in the case of confession the smallest ceremonies are not indifferent; that at such times the kirk should stand fast to her liberty against such as would bring her into bondage; that yielding to such ceremonies was a great scandal,—it being a returning to the vomit, the patching of an old clout upon a new garment,—and making the weak to think that the reformation of the kirk was not a work of God, but of man; that the untimely change of ceremonies was a show of defection from the whole reformation; that when the enemy urgeth uniformity, his intention should be looked to, because he never rests, but proceeds from the corruption of outward worship to corrupt the doctrine, and to leave nothing sound. Men that taught after this manner were accounted, by the former, politicals, and by peaceable formalists, to be contentious spirits and troublers of the peace of the kirk. *Thirdly*, Albeit the reformed kirks agree for the most part in the general about the nature and use of things indifferent,

yet they go far asunder in the application of the general to their particular practices. The Lutheran kirks hold some things for indifferent which the kirk of England receiveth not; and England holdeth a multitude of ordinances about discipline and ceremonies for indifferent which we take to be unlawful and beside the word: every kirk judging, or at least practising, according to their own measure of reformation. All crept not forth of that Roman deluge equally accomplished. No marvel that some of them should smell of the wine of fornication wherewith they all for so many years were drunk. But obstinacy against the incoming light, and the refusing of a further degree of reformation is fearful; what is it, then, to draw others back from the reformation, and to bind them up again into their old chain of darkness! These manifold contentions about things indifferent, and ceremonies, have proved so pernicious, by defacing the kingdom of Christ, setting up the tyranny of anti-christ, dividing pastors, offending people, dismembering the kirk, and almost putting out the life of true piety, that we may truly say, Nothing hath proved less indifferent to the kirk than the contentions about things indifferent; and many have been more hot for them than for the heart of true religion, because they concern the face of the kirk, and; as Erasmus said in another case, “the crowns and bellies of kirkmen.” Whether our old pastor or new prelate hath here the greatest guiltiness will appear by this little that followeth:

1. The PASTOR ever feareth defection, and still urgeth reformation, till every thing be done in the

house of God according to the will of God. He accounteth the constitution of a kirk that is but indifferently good, or midway betwixt idolatry and reformation, to be but like the lukewarmness of Laodicea.

The PRELATE pleaseth himself in this, that there be many kirks in worse case; he resteth in his indifference and lukewarmness, and rather inclineth downward to further defection, than aimeth at any higher reformation; like the priests of Samaria, that were as earnest against the true worship at Jerusalem, as they were against Baal and his idolatry.

2. The PASTOR looketh not to the world, but to religion, in matters of religion, and therefore thinketh not that indifferent in religion, which bringeth spiritual good or evil upon the kirk and the souls of the people, albeit that in their worldly estate it doth them neither good nor evil.

The PRELATE esteemeth many things indifferent in religion, because they bring neither good nor evil to his worldly estate, albeit they do good or evil to the kirk, and to the souls of the people, and looketh more to the world than to religion in matters of religion.

3. The PASTOR acknowledgeth three degrees of matters of faith; some to be of the foundation and first principles of the doctrine of faith; some to be near the foundation, as the conclusions clearly following upon the former; and the third to be of all other matters warranted by the word; and what is of this third rank, were it never so far from the foundation, and never so small in our eyes, not to be a matter indifferent, but to bind the conscience, and to be a matter of faith.

The PRELATE professeth the first and second to be matters of faith, but when he cometh to the third, he esteemeth them to be no matters of faith, but indifferent; and wondereth that a wise man should be so precise and puritanical, as to stand upon matters that are not fundamental, but indifferent. For so he distinguisheth, making every thing either fundamental or indifferent.

4. The PASTOR, comparing the worship of God under the gospel with the worship under the law, findeth that the commandment, Deut. xii. 32, "Every word that I command you, that ye shall observe to do; thou shalt not add unto it, neither shall ye diminish from it," doth equally concern both: that the mind of man, if left to itself, would prove as vain and foolish under the gospel as under the law, and that Jesus Christ was faithful as a son in all the house of God, above Moses, who was but a servant; and therefore, albeit the ceremonial observations under the law were many, which was the burden of the kirk under the Old Testament, and ours be few, which is our benefit, yet the determination from God, in all the matters of his worship, he findeth to be all particular; the direction of all the parts of our obedience to be as clear to us that now live under the gospel, as it was to them that lived under the law.

The PRELATE, as if either it were lawful now to add to the word, or man's mind were in a better frame, or the Son of God was not so faithful as Moses the servant, or as if direction in few ceremonies could not be as plain as in many, would bring into the kirk a new ceremonial law, made up of translations of

divine worship, of imitations of false worship, and of inventions of will-worship, to succeed to the abolished ceremonies under the law, which he interpreteth to be the liberty and power of the Christian kirk in matters indifferent, above the kirk of the Old Testament, but is indeed the great door whereby himself and others, (strange office-bearers, whereby days, altars, vestures, cross, kneeling, and all that Romish rabble's shadow,) have entered into the kirk of Christ, and which will never be shut again till himself be shut out, who, while he is within, holdeth it wide open.

5. The PASTOR giveth no power to the kirk to point other things in the worship of God, than are appointed already by Christ, the only lawgiver of his kirk, but to set down canons and constitutions about things before appointed, and to dispose the circumstances of order and decency that are equally necessary in civil and religious actions, and therefore resolveth, *first*, that nothing positive, or that floweth merely from institution, can be indifferent, or can be appointed by the kirk; *secondly*, that reason may be given from Christian prudence, why things are appointed by the kirk thus, and no other way; and *thirdly*, that the constitutions of the kirk about things indifferent, cannot be universal for all times and kirks, and therefore cannot be concluded upon any moral or unalterable ground, which made the ancients to observe, that albeit Christ's coat had no seam, yet the kirk's vesture was of divers colours; and that unity is one thing, and uniformity another.

The PRELATE, as a new lawgiver, will appoint new rites and mystical signs in the kirk, that depend upon

mere institution, and are not concluded upon any reason of Christian prudence for such a time and place, but upon grounds unchangeable, and therefore obliging at all times and places, as is evident by the reason that he bringeth for fesval days, kneeling in the sacrament, &c.

6. The PASTOR distinguisheth betwixt the nature and use of things indifferent, and confesseth with all the learned, that albeit many actions be in their nature indifferent, yet that all our actions in particular (at least such as proceed from deliberation, which is the exception of some of the schoolmen) are either good or evil, and not one of them all is indifferent, in matters most indifferent, which obligeth him to seek a warrant from God for that which he doeth, that he may do it in faith, to walk circumspectly, to take heed to his own words, gestures, &c., and to do all that he doth to the glory of God.

The PRELATE abhorreth this doctrine as the foundation of puritanism, the restraint of his licentiousness, and the ruin of his monarchy; and, therefore, to the contrary, sinneth with a bold conscience, and maketh the people to sin, some with erring, some with doubting, and some with a contradicting conscience.

7. The PASTOR giveth ear to the Holy Ghost, charging that we put no occasion to fall, nor stumbling-block before our brethren, (for that is to destroy him for whom Christ died) commanding the strong to bear with the infirmities of the weak, and not to please themselves with the neglect of their brethren, and threatening wo to them by whom offences come—against which no authority of man can stand, be-

cause it can neither make scandal not to be, nor not to be sin, nor not to be his sin that giveth the scandal.

The PRELATE, stopping his ear against the commandment, charge, and threatening of the Holy Ghost, whether he intend to give scandal or not, by his manifold abuse of things indifferent, and especially by receiving into the kirk again things called indifferent, which, for their great abuse, were abolished, giveth offence to all sorts; as the boldness and increase of papists, the contempt and mocketh of the profane, the superstition and perplexity of the simple, and the grief and crosses of the godly do declare, against which he never had any excuse but the pretext of authority.

The Prelate's objection.—The PRELATE will still object, that ye were more wise to quit the name of conscience in matters so indifferent, as the controverted articles and others of that sort be, than still to talk of conscience, conscience, and that ye are but a part of puritans, that are so precise and singular beyond your neighbours in matters indifferent.

The Pastor's answer.—The Prelate, persuading to put away conscience, is not unlike the fox, who, through his evil guiding, having lost his tail, would have persuaded all his neighbours to part with theirs, as an uncomely and unprofitable burden, that all being like himself, his deformity might no more appear. A good conscience would please God in all things, in substance and ceremony, but with due proportion. It first and most standeth at camels, and yet next it straineth at gnats, when the light of God's truth makes them discernible. When he calleth us pre-

sicians, he is quite mistaken ; for he that is so self-precise that he will rather part with the purity of God's worship, and a good piece of the truth too, than want a compliment of his lordly dignity, or piece of his worldly commodity, or dish of his delicacy; and not he that is so precise in the matters of God's worship, (wherein he hath no power to be liberal), that he will forsake all to follow Christ : he and no other is the right precisian. He calleth our pastors and our professors puritans, and consequently heretics; but, blessed be God, cannot name their heresy. They are still in profession that which he was not long since, when he was farther from heresy than he is now. This calumny constraineth us to distinguish betwixt two sorts of puritans; the one is the old heretical puritan, who, from the author of his sect, was called Novatian, and from his heresy, Catharist or Puritan—such a one our pastor is not, for,

1st, The puritan denied the baptism of infants.

The pastor waiteth on baptism, as a special part of his calling, which the prelate doth not.

2d, The puritans had their own prelates, and liked of prelacy.

The pastor in this is no puritan, but the prelate the puritan.

3d, The puritan condemned second marriage as unlawful.

The pastor maintaineth the honour of marriage against the puritan, the papist, and the prelate's manifold matrimonial transgressions.

4th, The puritan denied reconciliation, in some cases, to penitents.

The pastor would be glad to see the prelate's repentance, notwithstanding his great defections, and that in the time of peace, without the least essay of persecution; and, therefore, our pastor is not a puritan.

The other sort is the new nicknamed puritan in our times, wherein the papist calleth it puritanism to oppose the Roman hierarchy; the Arminian accounteth it puritanism to defend God's free grace against man's free will; the formalist thinketh it puritanism to stand out against conformity; the civilian, not to serve the time, and the profane thinketh it essential to the puritan to walk precisely, and not to be profane,—and so essential is it, indeed, that if all were profane there would be no puritan, for the profane and the puritan are opposed. He then is the new puritan that standeth for Christ against antichrist, that defendeth God's free grace against man's free will, that would have every thing done in the house of God according to the will of God, (which is his greatest heresy,) that seeketh after the power of religion in his heart (and this is his intolerable singularity,) and that stands at the staff's end against the sins of the time (and this is his pride); and thus, after this way that the world calleth heresy, serveth he the God of his fathers, who have all been puritans of this stamp since the beginning. Abel, who was hated for his holiness; Enoch, that walked with God; Noah, that was a perfect man in his generation; Heber, that made Peleg's name a testimony that he was free of the building of Babel; Moses, that stood upon an hoof;¹ Mordecai, that would not bow his knee; Daniel, that

¹ Exodus x. 26.

would not hold his window shut; Eleazar, that would not eat one morsel; Paul, that would not dispense with one hour, nor with an appearance of evil; Marcus Arethusas, that would not redeem his life with the giving of an halfpenny to idolatry; Caius Sulpitius, who was ever esteemed by the pagans a good man, but that he was a Christian, &c., were they living at this time they would not escape this censure, and would be accounted good men if they were not puritans. The widow of Sarepta who entertained Elijah,—the Shunammite, the hostess of Elisha,—Hannah, who, for multiplying prayers and pouring out her heart before God, was rashly censured to be a daughter of Belial,—Anna, the widow that served God with fasting and prayer night and day, and spake of Christ,—the godly women that waited on Christ, ministered unto him of their substance, and told the apostles of his resurrection,—Lydia, that constrained the apostles to abide with her,—Lois and Eunice, that had a care that their children should have grace,—the elect lady, the famous Hildgardis, who lived in the twelfth century,—Mechthildes, Elisabeth the German, and many more who censured the corruptions of the kirk, and especially of the prelates of those times, and prophesied of the Reformation, which they longed to see, were they now living, would be censured for holy sisters and doing puritans, and that the rock and spindle had been fitter for them. Can any man or woman be vexed with the filthy conversation of the wicked, 2 Pet. ii.; be stirred up in spirit against idolatry, Acts xvii.; be hot in religion, Rev. iii.; fervent in spirit, Rom. xii.; walk precisely, Eph. v.; fear an

oath, make the Sabbath his delight, Isa. lviii.; love the brotherhood, 1 Pet. ii.; take the kingdom of God by violence, Matt. xi.; and keep a good conscience in all things, Acts xxiv., and not be made the drunkard's song, the by-word of the people, and mocked for a puritan? It was the saying of Petrarch,—“Simplicity carrieth the name of foolishness, malice the name of wisdom, and good men are so mocked that almost none can be found to be mocked.”

PART IV.

THE PASTOR AND PRELATE COMPARED BY THE REFORMATION AND PROCEEDINGS OF OUR OWN KIRK.

The discipline and government of the kirk at the first began to be reformed, and the prelate to be cast out.—The pastor proceedeth in this point of reformation, and the prelate in his avarice and ambition.—At last prelaacy is rooted out with consent of the whole kirk.—The kirk, now reformed in doctrine and discipline, useth her authority against all sorts of sin, till men of episcopal disposition make a new division again.—The pastor standeth to the reformation against episcopatus, which the prelate attaineth to at last by many degrees and much working.—The way of the pastor's reformation, and the prelate's defection, very contrary.—The pastor beareth witness against the several degrees of defection, and feareth a change in the worship of God, which the prelate entereth upon so soon as the government is altered, and he come to his power.—The pastor resolveth to be constant to the end against all heresy and corruption, which is entering every day by the prelate's misgovernment.—*Objection*, The superintendents in the beginning were prelates.—*Answer*, Showing particularly that the superintendents were not prelates.

As no family or civil society where the fundamental laws are neglected, and the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life are followed, can continue long except it be reformed, even so the kirk of God, through the disregard of the laws of God and direction of Scripture, and through the ambition and

covetousness of kirkmen, did fall away so far from the first integrity that there was a necessity of reformation, and nothing more certainly looked for, and more plainly foretold, a long time before any of our reformers, or Luther himself, came into the world. This reformation, that could no longer be delayed, was often urged, but never likely to be obtained in a general council, nor with consent of the clergy and court of Rome, to whom reformation was a certain ruin; and, therefore, in several kingdoms, countries and states of the Christian world, it was wonderfully wrought by the Lord's mighty power in his weak servants. Such were, amongst others, Baldus of Francfort, Huss of Bohemia, Jerome of Prague, Luther of Germany, Wickliffe of England, and our Knox of Scotland; whereupon it came to pass, that although one part of Christiandom knew not what another was doing, yet they all agreed (as may be seen in the Harmony of Confessions, published to the world) in the most essential and fundamental matters of faith, because the Lord was master of that work, but had also their own differences and degrees of reformation, because men were the instruments, and they were not angels but men that were to be wrought upon; for whose divers dispositions in sundry nations there behoved to be divers disadvantages to the work. We are not rigid censurers of other reformed kirks, nor are we separatists from them; but this we think, that a twofold duty lieth upon us and them all, whatsoever be the measure of reformation. One is, (albeit there be ever some catholic moderators that will be trysters betwixt us and Rome, and think to agree

Christ and antichrist,) that we all with one heart praise God for separating us from Sodom, resolving never to return again where there be so many heresies both against the common principles and particular articles of faith, so manifold idolatry both against the first and second commandment, so proud a hierarchy as can neither stand with the spiritual kingdom of Christ nor the civil kingdoms of princes, and so bloody a tyranny against all who believe their heresies, to practice their idolatry, and to be slavish to their hierarchy. Returning to any point of their profession is an approbation of their cruelty against them that have denied it; and whosoever approve their worship they bring upon themselves the blood of so many saints and faithful martyrs of Christ, who have testified the word of God, and have washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb. The other duty is, that albeit there be ever some adiphorists, who for their own particular ends make many things, and show more things to be indifferent in the worship of God, that under this pretext they may bring them back that have been advanced before them in the work of reformation; that we all praise God with one heart for the measure that every one hath attained unto; and they that are behind in reformation, whatsoever their outward splendour be, envy not them who have run before, or study to draw them back to their degree, lest both return to Rome; but that all, against all impediments, press forward to farther perfection, ever reforming somewhat according to the pattern,—there being no staying neither for the Christian nor for the kirk. The kirk of Scotland hath little cause to be pleased with herself when she

looketh upon her late sudden and shameful defection, but great and singular cause to praise God when she looketh to his gracious dispensation. For as Scotland, albeit far from Jerusalem, was one of the first nations that the light of the gospel shone on when it appeared to the Gentiles, and one of the last that kept the light when the shadows of the hills of Rome began to darken the earth; so when the sun came about again at the Reformation, if this blessed light shone upon others, all that had eyes to see, both at home and abroad, have seen and said, that it shone fairest upon us. Divine providence delighting to supply the defect of nature with abundance of grace, and to make this other side of the earth, lying behind the visible sun, by the clear and comforting beams of the Sun of righteousness, to be the sunny side of the Christian world, whereof these following testimonies are sufficient proof:

One of Mr. George Wishart, martyr.—"This realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's gospel as clearly as ever was realm since the days of the apostles. The house of God shall be built in it, yea, it shall not lack (whatsoever the enemy imagine to the contrary) the very top-stone; the glory of God shall evidently appear, and shall once triumph in despite of Satan. But, alas! if the people shall be after unthankful, then fearful and terrible shall the plagues be that after shall follow."—*Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 108.

Another of Beza.—"This is a great gift of God, that ye have brought into Scotland together pure religion and good order, which is the band to hold fast

the doctrine. I heartily pray and beseech for God's sake, hold fast those two together, so that ye may remember that if the one be lost the other cannot long remain. As bishops brought forth popery, so false bishops the relics of popery, shall bring into the world epicureanism. Whosoever would have the kirk safe let them beware of this pest; and, seeing ye have timely dispatched it in Scotland, I beseech you never admit it again, albeit it flatter with show of the preservation of unity, which hath deceived many of the best of the ancients."¹

A third of the body of Confessions of Faith."—
 "It is the rare privilege of the Kirk of Scotland before many, in which respect her name is famous even among strangers, that about the space of four and fifty years, without schism, let be heresy, she hath kept and held fast unity with purity of doctrine. The greatest help of this unity of the mercy of God was, that with the doctrine the discipline of Christ and his apostles, as it is prescribed in the word of God, was, by little and little together, resumed; and according to that discipline, so near as might be, the whole government of the kirk was disposed. By this means all the seeds of schisms and errors, so soon as they

¹ Magnum est hoc Dei munus quod una et religionem puram καὶ εὐταξίαν doctrinæ, viz. retinendæ vinculum in Scotiam intulistis. Sic obsecro et obtestor hæc duo simul retinete, ut uno amisso, alterum diu permanere non posse semper memineritis. Sicut episcopi papatum pepererunt, itapseudo episcopos, papatus reliquias, epicureismum terris invecturos: hanc pestem caveant, qui salvam ecclesiam cupiunt, et quum illam in Scotia in tempore profligaris ne quæso illam unquam admittas, quantumvis unitatis retinendæ specie, quæ veteres etiam optimos multos fefellit blandiatur. Bez. epist. lxxix.

began to bud and show themselves, in their very breeding and birth were smothered and rooted out. The Lord God, of his infinite goodness, grant unto the king's most gracious majesty, to all the rulers of the kirk, to the powers that are nurses of the kirk, that, according to the word of God, they may keep perpetually that unity and purity of doctrine! Amen."¹

The fourth is of king James our late sovereign.—“The religion professed in this country, wherein I was brought up, and ever made profession of, and wishes my son ever to continue in the same, as the only true form of God's worship, &c. I do equally love and honour the learned and grave men of either of these opinions, that like better the single form of policy in our kirk than the many ceremonies in the kirk of England, &c. I exhort my son to be beneficial to the good men of the ministry, praising God that there are presently a sufficient number of good men of them in this kingdom, and yet are they all known to be against the form of the English kirk.”²

¹ Est illud ecclesiæ Scotanæ privilegium rarum præ multis, in quo etiam, ejus nomen apud exteros fuit celebre, quod circiter anos plus minus 51 sine schismate nedum heresi, unitatem cum puritate doctrine servaverit et retinuerit. Hujus unitatis adminiculum ex Dei misericordia maximum fuit; quod paulatim cum doctrina Christi et apostolorum disciplinam, sicut ex verbo Dei est præscripta una fuit recepta, et quam proxime fieri potuit, secundum eam totum regimen ecclesiasticum, fuit administratum. Hac ratione omnia schismatum, atque errorum semina quam primum pullulare, aut se exerere visa sunt, in ipsa quasi herba et partu sunt suffocata, et extirpata. Deo Dominus Deus pro immensa sua bonitate Regiæ Majestati serenissimæ, omnibusque ecclesiarum gubernatoribus, potestatibus ecclesiæ nutritiis, ut ex Dei verbo illam unitatem, et doctrine puritatem perpetuo conservent. Amen. Corpus Confess. fidei, p. 6.

² King James's Basilicon Doron.

He praised God that he was born to be a king in the sincerest kirk in the world, &c. Assembly, 1590. The prelates themselves, and the maintainers of conformity, dare not for shame open their mouths against the work of God in the reformation, and against the purity of their mother kirk, and therefore would have her open her mouth in the defence of their hierarchy and ceremonies, and do wrest her authority and proceedings to that sense. Let us then ask of herself whether she liketh the pastor or the prelate.

1. The PASTOR and men of God, at the acceptable time of reformation, as they were moved by the Spirit of God, laboured to reform not only the doctrine, sacraments and whole worship of God, but also the discipline and whole government of the house of God, by abolishing the jurisdiction of prelates, and all that Roman hierachy ; as is manifest by their acknowledging no other ordinary and perpetual office-bearers in the kirk but pastors, doctors, elders and deacons ;¹ by their petitioning that the rents of the prelates and of their train should be converted to other uses ; by their subscribing the Helvetic Confession,² which censureth prelacy for the invention of man, and by the letters which they received from foreign kirks, congratulating that they had timely purged the kirk of this proud prelacy, that they had received with the doctrine the discipline of Christ and his apostles, and willing and obtesting them to beware of the pest of prelacy as they loved the weal of the kirk.³

The PRELATE, not only in respect of his popish re-

¹ Books of Discipline.

² Anno 1566.

³ Beza to Knox, 1571.

ligion, but also in respect of his papal and episcopal jurisdiction, was one of the great evils that cried for reformation of the kirk; and, therefore, albeit he kept still the title, the rent and civil place of the prelate's (which the kirk could not take from him, and which maketh many to mistake his descent) ecclesiastical authority was so far abolished that neither were their successors designed to such prelates as continued obstinate papists, nor was episcopal authority continued in their persons that were converted, nor were superintendents ordained to be new prelates. Only some of the converted prelates, for want of means to furnish others, were designed to be commissioners of the kirk, as other ordinary pastors were, but with bad success; for never one of them did good to the kirk.

2. The PASTOR and men of God, proceeding in the work of reformation, acknowledged no government of the kirk by the lordly domination of prelates, but by the common consent and authority of assemblies, which were of four sorts,—national, provincial, parochial and presbyterial. The lineaments of the last were drawn at the first when the weekly assemblies were appointed for exercise of discipline and interpretation of the Scriptures, but were not, nor could not be, accomplished and perfectly established till the light was spread, and particular kirks were planted in the several quarters and corners of the land, that they might make a number, and conveniently assemble in presbyterial meetings.¹

¹ To these the superintendents were subject by an Act of Assembly, 1562.

The PRELATE is restless, proceeds whither his avarice and ambition carry him, and willing, in those times, rather to be a titular or a tulchan¹ (as he was then named) than to be nobody above his brethren. He taketh upon him the title of bishop, with a small part of the rent, permitting the greater part to my lord, whose bishop he was, and proudly again arrogates authority over the kirk.

3. The PASTOR and men of God, learning not from Geneva, but from Scripture and daily experience, that the government of prelates was full of usurpation and of all sorts of corruption, whereof many did complain that it had no warrant, and was never like to have any blessing from God, resolved at last to strike at the root;² and, therefore, after many disputations in private and public, consultations with the greatest divines of other reformed kirks, and after long and mature deliberations, the Second Book of Discipline, pronouncing the jurisdiction and office of the prelate to be unlawful, was resumed by consent of the whole kirk; an ordinance made that bishops betake themselves to the charge of one congregation, and that they exercise no civil jurisdiction; the Confession of Faith sworn and subscribed, wherein they oblige themselves to continue in the doctrine and discipline of this kirk. The same year it was declared in the General Assembly, that the office of the prelate was unlawful in itself, and had no warrant in the word of God, thereafter renewed in covenant.³

The PRELATE and men of that disposition, having

1 Leith, 1571.

2 Edinburgh, 1575.

3 Dundee, 1580.

in the end nothing to oppone, professed that they agreed in their consciences, consented to the Acts of the kirk, swore to and subscribed the Confession of Faith, renewed the covenant with the kirk, and helped to put on the cope-stone of the kirk of God with their own hands; like as the same Confession of Faith was subscribed by those that are now in the proudest places of prelacy, and who have proved since the chief instruments of all the alterations in the discipline and external worship of God, and ring-leaders in the defection of the kirk, with what conscience may be seen by their dishonest excuses, their poor shifts and their shameless railings against that which they did once so much reverence, all to be seen, as they are published in print.¹

4. The PASTOR and men of God, desiring to testify their thankfulness for so singular favour vouchsafed upon this kirk and nation, and to employ the benefit of the discipline now established for the liberty of the kingdom of Christ and against the tyranny of sin and Satan, addressed themselves, all as one man, with great fidelity and courage for the work of God, urged residence and diligence in ministers, kept, with success from heaven, their public and solemn humiliations, made the pulpits to sound against papistry and profaneness, and set all men on work, as they had grace or place, for purging the country of all corruptions, and defending the kirk against her professed enemies, who never ceased, by negotiating with the Pope and the Spanish king, unnaturally to labour for their own

¹ Trancent, 1604.

and her ruin, whereof the divine providence had disappointed them in 1588.

The PRELATE's authority at this time lay dead, and men of that disposition made no great diu. But the kirk then (unlike that which she is now,) comely as Jerusalem, terrible as an army with banners, against all her enemies did stand whole and sound in unity and concord of her ministers, authority of her assemblies, divine order of her ministry, and purity of external worship, with great power and presence of the Spirit of God in many congregations of the land, till, at last, for unity, division entered into the kirk, prelacy, that had slept before, was wakened again, and this mystery beginneth to work anew, neither by any cause offered by the pastors of the kirk at the 17th of December (as the enemy calumniates,) for after long trial they were found faultless and faithful by his majesty's own testimony, nor yet upon that occasion, for the meeting of the kirk for making that charge was indicted before the 17th day;¹ but the cause was a plot contrived before for procuring peace to the popish lords, to make war among the ministry and to divide them among themselves. For this effect fifty-five problems were framed to call the established discipline of the kirk in question, and, at one and the same time, way was made for reconciliation of the popish lords, and for restitution of the popish prelates. And the schism of our kirk, so well compacted before, began at that time, not upon their part who stand for the discipline, but by some of the prelate's disposition,

¹ Perth, 1596.

that is, of flattering and worldly-minded ministers, who gave other answers to thirteen of the fifty-five articles concerning the government of the kirk than their worthy brethren desired; so that, if the cause or occasion maketh the schismatic, the prelate is the schismatic and not the pastor.

5. The PASTOR and men of God, as they had been diligent to establish the government of the kirk according to the will of Christ, and after it was, by the blessing of God, established, were faithful in using it for the honour of God and good of the kirk; so now, when it began craftily to be called in question, were careful, according to their office and oath, to stand to the defence thereof, both against professed enemies and against the schism begun by their own brethren; albeit they could not at the first have been persuaded that their brethren would ever so foully forget themselves, as, against their great oath in the sight of God and the world, to take upon them the dominion of prelates, and, for their own back and belly, to trouble the kirk, and mar all the worship of God as they have done.

The PRELATE, through the schism at that time begun by himself, savouring the sweetness of wealth and honour, forgetteth his oath, his office, and all, followeth greedily upon the scent, and climbeth craftily, by degrees and betimes, to the height that he could not advance himself to at once. *First*, With much ado, and many protestations that he meant nothing against discipline established, but desired to vindicate the ministry from poverty and contempt, he gets liberty to vote in parliament for the kirk, but with such

caveats as would have kept him from his present prelacy if he had kept them as he was obliged.¹ *Secondly*, Five years thereafter he was made constant moderator, and that of the presbytery only where he was resident, and not of the synods, upon as fair precepts, and with the like protestations and cautions.² *Thirdly*, Being lord of parliament, lord of council, patron of benefices, modifier of ministers' stipends, he was armed also with the power of the high commission, and, having two swords, might do against the kirk what he pleased.³ Thereafter incontinent, he usurped the power of ordination and jurisdiction;⁴ and, at last, albeit without consent or knowledge of the kirk of Scotland, went and resumed consecration in England,⁵ and, since that time, hath taken upon him, and hath exercised, the plenary power and office of a bishop in the kirk, no less than if the assembly of this kirk had chosen him to the name and office of a bishop, which, as yet, they have never done,—the most corrupt of their own assemblies granting only the negative power of ordination and jurisdiction to them, who were never called bishops by any warrant from the kirk, but only in the vulgar speech, from the titles they had to benefices, in which respect civil persons beneficed were called bishops in former times.

6. The PASTOR and men of God, seeking neither profit nor preferment to themselves, expelled the prelate and all his ceremonies out of the kirk of Christ,

¹ Dundee, 1597, May, and March following; Falkland, 1598; Holyrood House, 1599; Montrose, 1600.

² Lintlithgow, 1606.

³ February, 1610.

⁴ Glasgow, June, 1610.

⁵ November, 1610.

by no other means but such as became faithful ministers of Christ, as preaching, praying, writing, advising with the best reformed kirks, reasoning in assemblies, and, after liberty granted to all, to oppose the consent, oath and subscription of the adversaries.

The PRELATE, seeking nothing but his own profit and preferment, is restored again, by such means as better beseem his ministers who hath been a murderer and a liar from the beginning, than the sincere ministers of Jesus Christ; for craft and cruelty hath been their ways. Their craft was to remove their strongest opponents out of the country, that they might not be present in assemblies to espy their proceedings, and to reason against them, to abolish the true liberty and authority of assemblies, to protest that they were seeking no prelacy, neither of the popish nor English kind, and that they had no purpose to subvert the discipline received, but to deliver the kirk from disgrace, and to be the more mighty to oppose her enemies, Jesuits and papists, who falsify the acts of the kirk, to promise to keep all the cautions and conditions made to hold them in order, which now they profess they never minded to do, &c.; their cruelty hath been to boast, to banish, imprison, deprive, confine, silence, &c.

7. The PASTOR and men of God, all this time of defection, gave testimony to the truth, opposed the several steps of the prelate's ambition by all the means that became them to use, as public preaching, supplicating, reasoning, protesting, and suffering, and when the prelate was triumphing in the height of his dignity, they could not, comparing the first temple with the

second, but declare the grief of their hearts for the change, and their great fear of alteration to be made in the worship of God, when now the hedge of the kirk was broken down, and an open way made for all corruption.

The PRELATE is of the clergy that seldom are seen penitent, and therefore, as against all the means used by the pastor he had altered the government of the kirk, so he enters next upon the worship and service of God, and will have a new confession of faith, new catechism, new forms of prayer, new observation of days, new forms of ministration of the sacraments,¹ which he first practised himself against the Acts and order of the kirk, and since convened an assembly of his own making to draw on the practice of others;² and, *thirdly*, he hath involved the honourable estates of the kingdom, into his great guiltiness by their ratification in parliament, which hath brought an inundation of evils into this kirk and country.³

8. The PASTOR and men of God, considering what the kirk was before, and what it is now, what the Reformation was, and what conformity is, what the proceedings of the one and the other have been,—seeing religion wearing away, he pitieth the young ones that never have seen better times, laments over the multitude that cannot see the evils of the present, and resolveth for himself to hold constant to the end, against papists, prelates, Arminians, and whatsoever can arise, to wait with patience what the Lord will do for his people, and, when he is gone, to leave a

¹ Aberdeen, 1616. St. Andrew's, 1617.

² Perth, 1618.

³ Edinburgh, 1621.

testimony behind him of the twofold misery of impiety and iniquity that he hath seen in this land.

The PRELATE hath forgot what himself and the kirk were once; he hath wrought a greater defection in this kirk in the short time of his episcopacy than was in the primitive kirk for some hundreds of years, and is so far yet blinded with the love of his place in the world, that he maketh his worldly credit the canon, and his prelaey the touchstone for the trial of all religion: the Pope shall no more be antichrist, papistry may be borne with, Arminianism may be brought in, because they can keep company with prelaey. The Reformation is puritanism, preciseness, separation, and intolerable, because it cannot cohabit with prelaey. The gods of the nations were social, and could live together, but the God of Israel is a jealous God.

The Prelate's objection.—The PRELATE will object that, albeit he can neither justify all his own proceedings of late, nor yours of old, as all men have their own infirmities, yet that ye do him wrong by your deduction, in confounding times that should be distinguished; because from the Reformation to the coming of some scholars from Geneva with presbyterial discipline this kirk was ruled by prelates, and the superintendents in the beginning were the same in substance that the prelates are now.

The Pastor's answer.—All men have their own infirmities, but good men are not presumptuously bold for the love of the world, to hold on in a course of defection against so many obligations from themselves, and so many warnings from good men. Infirmity is

one thing and presumption is another. The pastors of the kirk of Scotland had begun to root out bishopry, and to condemn it in their assemblies, before these scholars came from Geneva, but never condemned but allowed the charge of superintendents, appointed for a time in the beginning of the kirk, the one and the other being different in substance: For,

1st, The superintendent, according to the canon of the kirk, was admitted as another minister, without consecration of any bishop.

The prelate is chosen, for fashion, by dean and chapter, without any canon of the kirk, and with solemn consecration of the metropolitan and their bishops.

2d, The superintendent appropriated not the power of ordination and jurisdiction, but both remained common to other ministers.

The prelate hath taken to himself the power to ordain and depose ministers, and to decree excommunication.

3d, The superintendents made not a hierarchy of archsuperintendents, and others inferior, some general and some provincial, some primates and some suffragans, some archdeans and some deans, &c.

The prelates have set up a hierarchy of all these.

4th, The superintendent was subject to the censure not only of the national but of the provincial kirk where he superintended.

The prelate is subject to no censure, but may do what, and may go whither, he will, and no man ask him why he hath done so.

5th, The superintendent's charge was merely ecclesiastical, and more in preaching than in government.

The prelate is more in ruling than in preaching, and more in the world than in the kirk.

6th, The superintendent acknowledgeth his charge to be but temporary, and often desired to lay it down before the General Assembly.

The prelate thinketh his office to be perpetual by reason and in virtue of his consecration.

7th, The superintendent had no greater power than the commissioners of provinces, and, in respect of his superintendency, was rather a commissioner of the kirk than an office-bearer essentially different from the pastor.

The prelate neither hath received commission from the kirk, nor meaneth to render a reckoning to them, nor account of himself as of a commissioner, but thinketh his office as essentially diverse from the office of the pastor as the pastor's office is from the deacon's. The Pope may as well say that the evangelists were popes as the prelate, that the superintendents were prelates.

PART V.

THE PASTOR AND PRELATE COMPARED BY THE WEAL OF THE KIRK AND THE PEOPLE'S SOULS.

The good estate of the kirk, the end of kirk policy.—The prelate abuseth the people three ways in determining what is the good estate of the kirk.—The pastor careful to preserve the purity of doctrine for the good of the kirk; the prelate cares more for his own things.—The pastor, in the matter of ceremonies, looks to the edification of the kirk, which the prelate disregardeth.—The pastor, in the whole course of his ministry, intends the feeding of the flock; the prelate to feed himself.—The pastor subject to the discipline of the kirk himself, and exerciseth it for the good of the people; the prelate, neither subject to the discipline himself, nor exerciseth it for the good of others, nor suffereth the pastor to exercise it.—The pastor would have all things be done for the good of the kirk by the free assemblies of the kirk; the prelate will rule all by himself, whether in assembly or out of assembly.—The pastor planteth the kirk with the best men, with consent of the people, and without hurting the conscience of the entrant; the prelate with such as please himself, without consent of the people or presbytery, and with hurting of the conscience of the entrant.—The pastor by all means seeketh the peace of the kirk; the prelate seeketh his own peace and prosperity.—The pastor contents himself with his competent stipend; the prelate is a master of the kirk's patrimony.—*Objection*, Parity is anarchy and confusion.—*Answer*, Showing, by many particulars, that the order of the ministry appointed by Christ is far from confusion.

THE safety and good of the state was the main end of Roman policy, and the fundamental law by which that people squared all their other laws, according to their

own maxim, "Let the safety of the people be the sovereign law."¹ The kirk of Jesus Christ hath better reason to think that the safety of the kirk should be the rule and end of all ecclesiastical policy, although the form of external worship and of the government of the house of God were not prescribed by the Lord himself in his word, but left arbitrary to men, to be framed by their canons and constitutions, yet this must be held as infallible, that it is the best form of government which, by reason and experience, is found to be best for the weal and safety of the kirk. Unto this general, both prelate and pastor will, without question, condescend; but they differ in the particular, what this is wherein the good and weal of the kirk doth consist; for the prelate places the weal of the kirk in her outward peace and prosperity, and thinketh the kirk well constituted, and in good case, when she flourishes in wealth and worldly dignities; but herein he abuseth the Christian world three ways, *first*, that he measures and determines the good estate of the kirk by her outward face, and not by her inward grace, by the health of her body rather than of her soul, by that which is accidental to the kirk, and which she may either have or want and yet continue a true kirk, and not by that which is essential and proper to the very nature and being of a kirk; *secondly*, that he judgeth that to be the weal of the kirk which hath many times proved her wreck, being abused, as commonly it hath happened: he taketh

¹ Salus populi suprema lex. eversa domo, interdum rei publicæ status manere potest: urbis ruina, penates omnes secum trahat necesse est. Valer. Max., l. v. c. 6.

poison for a preservative, and surfeit of peace and prosperity, excess of wealth and worldly honours, which are her deadly disease, to be her health and best constitution. Too large bestowing of riches and preferments upon the ministers of the kirk bred that contagion within her bowels, which turned almost to her death in the end; for thereby defection grew by degrees, till at last, under the man of sin, it came to the height. *Thirdly*, That he measures the good estate of the kirk by himself and the rest of the members of that hierarchical body, as though it went well with the whole kirk when bishops stand and reign like the kings of the nations, and as though the ministry were sufficiently vindicated from poverty and contempt when twelve or thirteen of the number have climbed up, like apes, to the highest places, that, with their evil-favoured minions, they may move to laughter all that behold them from below, or like fowls flown up to the highest roofs, shooting down their filthy excrements upon the rest that sit in the lower rooms. But the pastor esteems the good and weal of the kirk by her spiritual estate, that is, by a sound faith, a pure worship, and a holy conversation; as she stands or decays in these so is she either in a good constitution or languishing, and as she is furnished with all the means that may preserve and increase these, so she either prospers or decays. This judgment of the pastor is grounded upon very good reasons; for upon this estate of the kirk necessarily depends the glory of God and the salvation of souls, which are the two things that make the difference betwixt the kirk of God and all other societies of men

in the world, and, therefore, the pastor hath reason to think, that all the riches of the earth, and all the glory of all the kingdoms of the world, are not to be put in balance with the glory of God and the salvation of souls—that which God with his own blood hath purchased and redeemed. Now whether the good of the kirk in these things be better procured and preserved by the prelate or by the pastor, let them be typed by comparing them in the particulars following.

1. The PASTOR'S principal care is to preserve the purity of doctrine in the kirk, that Christ's flock may be fed with the wholesome word of life, and to oppose all contrary and unprofitable doctrine as poisonous and pernicious to the people's souls, and for that purpose entertaineth in weekly meetings the exercise of the word, where the doctrine delivered by one is judged by all the rest whether it be sound and profitable, and taketh such order with the papists, the great corrupters of doctrine and enemies to the people's souls, that either he converteth them, or cutteth them off from the communion of the kirk with the spiritual sword, and exhorteth the magistrate to execute the laws made against them; whereby it came to pass that contrary doctrine, and vain and curious teaching, either entered not into our kirk, or was suddenly repressed and put to the door, and papistry, that had place before, was well nigh put out of the land.

The PRELATE hath neither leisure nor liking to look to such exercise, and accounts no heresy so worthy his animadversion as the alleged heresy of Arius and his followers. It is manifest in history, from the beginning, that the heresies that most have endan-

gered the kirk, have either been devised by the engines, or favoured and borne out by the authority and credit, of prelates; and even now divers false and dangerous doctrines are partly vented and partly winked at by them;¹ neither thinketh he papists great enemies to the kirk; but as the Jewish priests entertained the Sadducees, albeit enemies to true religion, and hated Christians as their deadly foes, and as the papist can agree with the formal protestant, but thinks the unconformable Calvinist his irreconcilable enemy, so the prelate could agree with the common papist, for all his blasphemous doctrine and profession, because he is a friend to his hierarchy, but the reformed Christian, whom he calleth the Calvinist and puritan, he can by no means bear, because he is professedly unfriendly to his hierarchy. A prelate, as a prelate, is not opposite to the papist but to the protestant.

2. The PASTOR, knowing that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump, thinketh it dangerous for the people's souls to borrow either the substance or the ceremony of religion from antichristian corruption, and, therefore warneth the people to beware of the least beginnings or appearances of evil; and, while he deliberates about ceremonies fittest for order and decency, he intends nothing of his own, but the edification of the kirk, and in the practice of ceremonies and circumstances orderly appointed, he looketh to the peace of the kirk, that it be not broken, and to the consciences of the weak, that they be not offended.

The PRELATE liketh to symbolize with antichrist's

¹ As Christ's real descent into hell, and many Lutheran, Arminian and popish errors.

ceremonies, putting the papists in hope that the body and substance of their superstition may be resumed by time, where the shadows and ceremonies are so highly regarded. He intends nothing in appointing them but the maintenance of his own estate and dignity, because he seeth and saith, "No ceremony, no bishop;" and in practice is more earnest in urging of ceremonies than of obedience to the greatest things of the law, and by the canons about matters which they themselves call indifferent, doth violence either to the bodies or consciences of the people that think otherwise, and maketh them to serve as rods to scourge and whip out of the kirk and ministry whom and when they think good.

3. The PASTOR, considering that he is called to feed the flock of Christ, and to care for the people's souls, in his entry to the ministry will be loath to undertake a greater charge than he can in some measure overtake; and the less his charge is the greater is his contentment, not that he desireth to be idle, but to be faithful. When he is entered, he hath the work of the ministry in singular regard, as the most honourable and laborious work that he can be employed about, whereof the best man is not worthy, and unto which the whole man is not sufficient, and, therefore, is resident among the people, serving not by deputies and suffragans, but in his own person, and is altogether taken up with the pastor's duties, of preaching, praying, catechising, visiting, exhorting, rebuking, comforting, &c., but labours most diligently in the word and doctrine, because faith cometh by the word preached.

The PRELATE, intending nothing but to feed him-

self, at his entry to his prelacy regards not so much the number of souls he should feed, as the number of chalders, the large revenues, and the great dignities he is to feed upon, and the larger his diocese the better for him; hence it is that he ascends from a diocesan to an archbishop and a primate. After he is entered he disdaineth the work of the ministry, as base and unworthy of his grace and great lordship; he serveth by his deputies and suffragans, and thinks it a more honourable and necessary employment to attend and reside at court, or at the places of civil judgment, as council, session, exchequer; and although he appropriates to himself the reward of double honour due to them who labour in the word and doctrine, yet he thinks that he is not bound to take the pains of that work unto which the double honour is annexed. So the pastor must labour in the work and the prelate must reap the reward; and, what is more prejudicial to the people's souls, he maintaineth that learned and qualified preachers are not so necessary in congregations as curates and readers, that there is too much preaching and too little reading and praying,—meaning nothing else than their confused liturgy.

4. The PASTOR dare not do harm to the people's souls, because he is subject both in calling and conversation to the discipline of the kirk, which striketh upon the pastor as well as upon the people; and to bring the transgressors to repentance he sitteth with his brethren in session, presbytery and assembly, administering the holy discipline holily, that is, in sincerity and faithfulness, without prejudice or partiality, and never ceasing till the scandal be removed, the

kirk be purged, and the offender, if it be possible, be won unto God; and all this, as being Christ's own work, he doth with Christ's own weapons, that is, with the spiritual sword of the word, which is mighty through God to subdue every thing exalting itself against God, and to bring sinners to repentance.

The PRELATE may do what harm he will for his own tyrannical custom and practice, but not by any law either of kirk or state. He exempteth himself, in respect of his episcopal administration and as he is a prelate, from all censure, and scorneth to submit himself to any ecclesiastical judicature, albeit the chief apostles submitted themselves unto the kirk, and albeit there be no subject in a kingdom, of whatsoever quality or condition, but in every respect he is under the control of some judicature in the land where he liveth; and as he is thus singularly lawless of himself, so, pretending the sole power of proceeding to belong to him by virtue of his place and office, he swayeth the course of discipline as best pleaseth his lordship; processes begun for trying of slanders, if the party, never so wicked, have argument of weight for my lord or his receiver, are incontinently, by the word of his monarchical authority, stricken dead. Hereby it cometh to pass, that where prelates rule sin reigneth, and the nearer the bishop's wings the greater liberty for sin, as is seen in their own houses and trains. And for this reason is it that both atheists and papists like the episcopal discipline better than the pastoral, which they call strait-laced, because it troubleth their corruption, whereas the other layeth the reins upon their necks. And if the prelate happen to proceed

against offenders, his discipline consists not so much in spiritual censure as in worldly power and civil punishment, as fining, confining, imprisoning, &c., which have no power to work upon the consciences of sinners to bring them to repentance, though this be what is sought by the preachers of the gospel, and the chief end of kirk discipline.

5. The PASTOR, for the good of the kirk, is desirous that the assemblies of the kirk, provincial and national, be often held and well kept, knowing how necessary they are for redressing things amiss, for fulfilling things omitted, and for preventing evils that are like to ensue; and when the assembly is convened he carrieth himself toward his brethren as toward the servants of Christ and colleagues of equal authority, none presuming to any place or pre-eminence, though of order only and not of power, without the calling and consent of his fellow brethren. There every one hath liberty to utter his mind, and every one is ready with the gift that God hath given him, as the divers members of one body, for the good of the whole kirk: meek Moses and burning Elias, Isaiah with his trumpet and Aaron with his bells, Boanerges and Barjonah, the son of thunder and the son of the dove, all moved by one spirit, with mutual respect, reverence and brotherly love, join together in one conclusion, and if at any time they be of different judgments, they are not sudden and summary in concluding things of importance that concern the whole, but that all may be done with uniform consent, after the example of the apostles, Acts xv., the conclusion is delayed till all objections be satisfied, and God give

greater light to such as are otherwise minded ; and so, to the great good of the kirk, both peace and truth are preserved.

The PRELATE is as averse to a free assembly as the Pope is to a free general council, and, therefore, will either have none at all, or will have them so slavish as if they were but his ecclesiastical courts, convened under him and in his name. When this assembly is convened, at his own hand, without calling or election, he taketh upon him to preside and moderate. There no man hath liberty to utter his mind before him who hath power to raise up and cast down, to enlarge and restrain, to prefer and postpone, or put in and put out at his pleasure; and, therefore, no man's gift in such meetings doth good to the kirk. And if it happen that his course be crossed, and the best sort oppose, then he rageth, and by his proud boastings and unreasonable railings he playeth the prelate indeed, using Christ's ministers and the kirk's commissioners no better than if they were his slaves or lackeys, convened to say amen to all his intentions, and to wait upon oracles falling from his mouth. In the end the plurality of voices of the weaker sort, and for the most part either emendicated or extorted, carrieth away the sentence which must oblige all, and, therefore, besides the tyrannies and unjust proceedings, proveth afterward, to the great hurt of the kirk, to be the cause of many evils and great divisions.

6. The PASTOR, in planting of kirks and placing of ministers without respect to any man's private judgment or affection, with common consent maketh choice of the best qualified for graces and manners, and most

fit for the people he is to be set over, and that with their own special advice and desire ; so that he giveth not the kirk to the minister but the minister to the kirk ; and in the act of ordination, at the place where he shall serve, and in presence of the whole congregation, he requireth of the entrant neither oath nor promise but what is appointed of the assemblies of the whole kirk, as constancy in the faith, obedience to the king, and fidelity in his calling ; and, after he is admitted, he respecteth him as the conjunct ambassador of Christ, equal in power and authority with himself, with no difference but of age and gifts.

The PRELATE, excluding both the flock whom the pastor is to feed, and the fellow-ministers with whom he is to labour in the work,—except it be superficially and for the fashion, when now the prelate and his domestics (who have greater hand in the planting of kirks than both presbytery and people,) have brought the matter to the point of ordination,—giveth the kirk to the minister rather than the minister to the kirk,¹ whereof there flow such innumerable evils, that the kirk hath as just cause to complain now of the placing of ministers by bishops as the kirk had of old of the planting of bishops through the corruption of archbishops and metropolitans. The ordination must be at the place of the prelate's residence, and not at the kirk where he shall serve, nor in presence of the congregation:² then is the entrant forced, without any

1 *Dignitatibus viros dandos, non dignitates hominibus dicere solitus. Æneas Syl. Platina. Magistratus alios mereri, et non habere: alios habere, et non mereri. Ib.*

2 *Præsentia non ex virtute sed malitia æstimatur, non dignorum*

pretext of warrant from the kirk, to give his oath and subscription to articles of the prelate's devising, for maintenance of his episcopal authority, even as the Pope doth in consecrating bishops and archbishops, for the establishing of his universal supremacy. When he is admitted, albeit for gifts and in all other respects he be worthy of double honour, far above the prelate himself, yet the prelate contemneth him and his brethren, as poor presbyters, with double contempt. Whereupon we see, that the prelates and others, by their example and doing, esteem not ministers for their worth and their work's sake, but as they are in places of preferment, and as they are clothed with offices and titles of dignity above their fellows; and this, again, makes worldly-minded ministers to seek esteem by greatness rather than by goodness.

7. The PASTOR procureth the peace of the kirk by following after the things which make for peace; Rom. xiv.; for by the discipline and assemblies of the kirk he preserveth verity, without which there is either no unity, or such unity as is but a conspiracy, and resisteth heresy, the mother of the greatest divisions. So long as our assemblies had their liberty, there could arise no heresy among us; if it had broken out in a

sed potentiorum sunt throni, cathedra sine ullo acquiritur labore, et prelati sunt qui nihil ad gradum præterquam velle, adferunt. Nazianz. Si percunctari velles quis eos præfecerit, sacerdotes respondent mox, et dicunt, ab archiepiscopo nuper sum episcopus ordinatus, eentumque ei solidos dedi, ut episcopalem gradum assequi meruissem, quos si minime dedissem, hodie episcopus non essem. Ambros. citante Bulling. decad. 5, serm. 4. Curritur ad curas ecclesiasticas, a doctis pariter et indoctis, quasi quisque sine curis victurus sit, cum ad curas pervenerit. Bern. epist. 42.

parish, a consistory or presbytery would have borne it down; or if it had proceeded further, then the synod, or if it had not been able, the national assembly, would have suppressed it. For the same reason the Kirk of France, which was nearest to ours, hath been free of heresy. In the low countries, if the kirks had enjoyed the liberty of their assemblies, which they wanted for a long time, Arminianism had neither troubled them nor their neighbours. He never can find in his heart to urge or enforce unprofitable and untimely ceremonies upon the kirk, if it were for no other cause but that they have been the apples of contention, and the cause of many schisms, and will choose rather, with Jonah, to redeem the quietness and safety of the kirk with the loss of himself, than for his own particular ends to raise the smallest tempest that may peril her peace; he carrieth himself no otherwise in his ministry than becometh the humble servant of the kirk, and feareth to be affected with Diotrephes' ambitious humour of aspiring above his brethren, which is a special preservative of peace: he studieth to preserve holiness, without which there can be no sound nor wholesome peace; he is ever at war with that which is contrary to holiness, and sendeth away all scandalous livers with the workers of iniquity, that peace may be upon the Israel of God, Psal. xxv.

The PRELATE is accounted a peaceable man, and pretends always the peace of the kirk, but indeed seeketh his own peace and prosperity, and opposeth the things that make for peace; for, if it serve for his own particular end, he can overlook papists and heretics, and suffer heresy to rise and spread itself, that the

kirk may have some other thing to think upon than his episcopacy, and may have himself to run unto, instead of assemblies: he careth not to make schism, and will fight with tooth and nail for unlawful and unprofitable ceremonies, which have ever proved the cause of schism, and, ere he redeem the kirk's peace, by casting out these cumbersome wares, he will rather cast overboard many worthy ministers, suffer numbers of souls, for whom Christ hath died, to perish, and the kirk of Christ, tossed with troubles by occasion of that noisome baggage, to sink at last under the burden. Contention also cometh by his pride and ambition; for, first, great places make great emulation and hot competition, as may be seen in Christ's own apostles, and history maketh known in many others what debate and contention, what war and bloodshed, prelacy hath brought forth in the Christian world, between kirk and kirk contending for primacy, prelate and prelate for presidency, pope and pope for papacy, between kings and bishops for sovereignty,—as between the Roman emperors and Roman bishops, the kings of England and the primates of England.¹

8. The PASTOR contents himself with such a competent stipend as is assigned to him for his service, whereby he hath neither the means to swell in pride and wealth nor matter of excess or superfluity. And as he hath but one body, so he undertaketh but one cure, where he must be resident, and one kirk-living,

¹ Sicut olim pestiferam illam bestiam, quæ per Ariam primo de infernis extulerat caput, cupiditas episcopatus induxit: sic hodiernam hæresin (nimirum pontificis Romani primatum) præcipue nutriunt, quos jam mendicare suppudet, Æneas Syl.

which, for fear of the censures of the kirk, albeit he would, he dares not dilapidate, but must leave the kirk patrimony in as good or better case than he found it at his entry.

The PRELATE hath a lord's rent out of the revenues of the kirk, which at the first was destined, and should be employed for better uses, and this he hath not for the service of the kirk, but partly for his unlawful attending civil affairs, and, partly, for bearing out a lordly port in himself, his lady, their children and followers. He uniteth kirks far distant to make the morsel the greater for his wide gorge: he alloweth and defendeth pluralities and non-residencies, by setting long tacks without knowledge or consent of the kirk, and by setting of few forms and taxwards he raketh up all, and stinteth the minister to a poor stipendiary portion of five hundred merks; so that the most sacrilegious persons in the land are the bishops themselves,—eating the meat out of the mouths of many worthy pastors that labour in the Lord's work.

The Prelate's objection.—The PRELATE will object, that there shall never be any form of kirk government or discipline which bringeth not with it some dangers and discommodities, and that that must be the best which hath the fewest. It cannot be denied but the episcopal government hath also its own inconveniences, whether we consider the salvation of souls, or the outward constitution of the kirk and worship of God, or the patrimony of the kirk; but the anarchy and confusion which ever attendeth the parity maintained by the pastor, is an inconvenience greater than all, and showeth plainly that the parity of pastors is

neither of God, nor can serve for the good of the kirk; for God is not the God of confusion, but of peace, and most of all in the kirks of the saints.

The Pastor's answer.—The government and order appointed by Christ can have no danger, discommodity nor inconvenience but such as men bring upon it, and which, through the neglect or contempt thereof, they bring upon themselves. That, therefore, must be the best which is best warranted by Christ and approacheth nearest to the simplicity of the apostles and the discipline of their times. Malignant wits have ever been ready to lay imputations upon God's ordinances,—as that his inward worship, according to the gospel of Christ, hath no wisdom, that the outward hath no majesty, that his order of the kirk is but anarchy, because it is not a monarchy; but, as the natural philosopher seeth the order of nature to be full of beauty, and the wise statesman seeth the beauty of the order of a wise policy, so the Christian, when he seeth the order of the house of God, shall, with the apostle (Col. ii.,) rejoice to see it, and will prefer the beauty thereof to the wise government of the house and court of Solomon, as being appointed by a wiser than he; even Balaam, albeit disposed to curse, when his eyes were opened to behold this wise order and marvellous beauty, shall be forced to open his lips, and to say, “How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel! For a house full of silver and gold I would not curse; for how shall I curse whom the Lord hath not cursed? or how shall I defy whom the Lord hath not defied?” Numb. xxiii. 24. And that there is no confusion in the parity maintain-

ed by the pastor, is manifest to him that desireth to see; for,

1st, Confusion hath no subordination for disposing of things, and setting every thing in its own place.

The parity maintained by the pastor hath a lawful subordination of elders to pastors, of deacons to elders, of a kirk-session to a presbytery, of a presbytery to a synod, and of a synod to a national assembly.

2d, Confusion hath no priority in respect of precedence nor of order.

Parity of pastors so shunneth ambition, that it maintaineth a priority of precedence and respect for age, for zeal, for gifts, &c.,¹ and a priority of order, whereby one is moderator of others in all their synods and meetings, such as was amongst the apostles themselves, but without priority of power or jurisdiction above the rest.

3d, Confusion admitteth no commandment nor subjection.

Parity of pastor admitteth both; for every pastor conducteth his own flock, and every pastor is subject to a joint fellowship of pastors in presbyteries and synods.

4th, Confusion is abhorred, both by nature and by all societies, as their greatest enemy, which overturneth all where it hath place.

Parity of pastors hath the like parity both in nature and all sorts of society; for in nature one eye hath not power over another, nor one hand over another, nor one foot over another, only the head hath power

¹ Distinguendum inter auctoritatem meriti et potestatis.

over all. In the commonwealth and kingdom there is a parity without a priority of power or jurisdiction betwixt one baron and another, and betwixt one nobleman and another, and in all the collegial jurisdictions in the land under the king himself; in the world parity betwixt one king and another; in the Roman kirk equality betwixt one lord bishop and another, and betwixt two archbishops, patriarchs, &c.; and in the kirk of Christ, betwixt apostle and apostle, &c.; why, then, shall the divine parity of pastors be accounted a confusion?

PART VI.

THE PASTOR AND PRELATE COMPARED BY THE GOOD OF THE COMMON-WEALTH AND OF OUR OUTWARD ESTATE.

It is best both for kirk and state when civil and ecclesiastical authority join together.—Civil authority doth good to religion.—Religion doth good to the whole commonwealth.—The best religion is best for the state.—The pastor preserveth the commonwealth, which the prelate ruineth.—The pastor loveth Christian simplicity, and not Machiavel's policy; the prelate liketh policy more than that simplicity.—The pastor distinguisheth betwixt things civil and ecclesiastical, and holdeth him at his own calling; the prelate confoundeth all, and will rule all.—The pastor assisteth the civil magistrate; the prelate hindereth him.—The pastor profitable to the commonwealth, but not chargeable; the prelate chargeable, but not profitable.—The pastor a maintainer of schools and learning; the prelate of neither.—The pastor's government by assemblies fitter for a monarchy than the episcopal government.—The pastor taketh no man's title, nor dignity, nor place; the prelate taketh all these from the nobles and peers of the land.—The pastor maketh the minds, the bodies and estates of the people fit for war; the prelate disableth all.—*Objection*, The estates of parliament cannot bear the severity of pastors, nor want the prelates to be the third estate.—*Answer*, Showing that the faithful pastor will at some time be found comfortable to all estates, and that the parliament may be perfect without the prelates.—*Conclusion*, A general objection answered.

ALBEIT that sometimes the power ecclesiastical be without the secular, and the members of the kirk make not any civil corporation, as in the apostles'

times and long after; and sometimes the secular power be without the ecclesiastical, and the members of kingdoms and corporations make not a kirk, as amongst the heathen of old, and many nations and societies this day; yet is it far best, both for religion and justice, both for truth and peace, both for kirk and commonwealth, when both are joined in one,—when the magistrate hath both swords, the use of the temporal sword, and the benefit of the spiritual sword, and when the kirk hath both swords, the use of the spiritual sword, and the benefit of the temporal,—when the two administrations, civil and ecclesiastical, like Moses and Aaron, help one another mutually, and neither Aaron nor Miriam murmur against Moses, nor Jeroboam stretcheth out his hand against the man of God. Upon the one part, civil authority maintaineth and defendeth religion where it is reformed, and reformeth religion where it is corrupted. “Kings shall be thy nursing-fathers and queens thy nursing-mothers.”¹ “Kings, serve the Lord in fear.”² “And then serve they the Lord,” saith Augustine, “when they serve him not only faithfully as men, but as kings, and do such things in serving him as none can do but kings, that is, when they rest not till religion be established, and God served in their dominions according to his own word.”³ It hath ever been the greatest

¹ Isaiah xlix. 23.

² Psalm ii. 11.

³ *Quomodo ergo reges domino serviunt in timore, nisi ea quæ contra jussa domini sunt, religiosa severitate prohibendo atque plec-tendo? aliter enim servit quia homo est, aliter quia etiam rex est: quia homo est ei servit fideliter vivendo, quia vero etiam rex est, servit leges præcipientes, et contraria prohibentes, convenienti ri-*

commendation of princes, that they have begun their government with the reformation of religion, as many worthy princes hath done both before and after the coming of Christ, (for God preferreth kings above all others, and, therefore, kings should haste to honour God above all others,) or, that they have exceeded all who went before them in this religious and royal chair. Asa took away idolatry, but Jehosaphat removed the high places also; Hezekiah went further, and brake the brazen serpent, albeit a monument of God's mercy; but this was the sin of his reformation, that he razed not the idol temples, which was kept to good Josiah, who, therefore, hath this testimony to the end of the world, that like unto him there was no king before him, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, with all his soul, and with all his might. Upon the other part, true religion, although it propone for the principal ends the glory of God and the safety of the kirk, yet it serveth many ways for the civil good and worldly benefit of kings and kingdoms; because the true religion, and no other, maketh kings and kingdoms to serve that God that giveth both heavenly and earthly kingdoms, —who looseth the bands of kings and girdeth their

gore sanciendo sicut servivit Ezechias lucos, et templa idolorum, et illa excelsa quæ contra præcepta Dei fuerunt constructa, destruendo. Sicut servivit Josias talia et ipse faciendo. Sicut servivit rex Ninevitarum universam civitatem ad placandum Dominum compellendo. Sicut servivit Darius idolum frangendum in potestatem Danieli dando, et inimicos ejus leonibus ingerendo. Sicut servivit Nebuchad. omnes in regno suo positos, a blasphemando Deo lege terribili prohibendo. In hoc ergo serviunt Domino reges, in quantum sunt reges, cum ea faciunt ad serviendum illi, quæ non possunt facere nisi reges. August. epist. serm. ad. Bonifacium.

loins with a girdle,¹—who is the only Judge, that putteth down one and setteth up another; and, therefore, godliness hath the promise, and true religion hath many blessings attending it. It is a blessed thing when a king or a kingdom serveth that God by whom kings reign, and who giveth and taketh away kingdoms at his pleasure; next, because it qualifieth and disposeth every man for his own place;—it maketh rulers to know that every kingdom is under a greater kingdom, and, as they are advanced above all others, that they have so much the greater account to make;²—it maketh the subjects to obey for conscience' sake, and subdueth the people under their prince, which made Theodosius to acknowledge that his empire consisted more by the Christian religion than by all other means;—it keepeth true peace, both public and private, and when peace can be no longer kept, it followeth after it to find it again;—it maketh men just and temperate in time of peace, not by restraint, which positive laws do, but by mortification;—with Christians to think that wickedness is sin. “Whether of the two commandeth more fully,” says Tertullian, “he who saith, ‘thou shalt not kill,’ or he who saith, ‘thou shalt not be angry?’ Which of the two is more perfect, to forbid adultery or to restrain the eyes from concupiscence?” &c.;—it maketh every man to practise Christianity in the particular duties of his calling;—in the time of war it maketh men courageous, and to fear none but Him that can kill the soul;—in persecution

¹ Hostis Herodes impie, Christum venire quid times? non eripit mortalia, qui regna dat cœlestia. Sedulius Hymn.

² Omne sub regno gravior, regnum est. Senec. Traged.

it giveth invincible patience;—without confusion it giveth at all times unto God that which is God's, and unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's; and, without usurpation or injury to any, it giveth unto noblemen, statesmen, barons, burgesses, and all, from the highest to the lowest in the kingdom, their own places, preferments and privileges, according to the sovereign law of justice. All estates have need of this divine influence, and of all these comfortable effects, and every religion promiseth them all, but only the Christian religion is able to perform them, and the more Christian it is, that is, the more near that it cometh to the purity and simplicity of Christ and his apostles, both in doctrine and discipline, and the more Christianly, that is, the more powerfully it be urged upon the consciences of men, the more effectually it proveth for these happy ones. Let us, then, upon this ground, proceed to our trial whether the pastor or prelate be more profitable for the country and commonwealth.

1. The PASTOR preserveth the prosperous estate of the kingdom and commonwealth by labouring to preserve piety, righteousness and temperance in the land, and by testifying, with all his might, against idolatry and all sorts of impiety, against unrighteousness and all sorts of injury, whether by craft or violence, and against intemperance, incontinence, unlawful marriages, divorces, and every other kind of impurities; for these three where they reign, he knoweth to be more near and certain causes, first of the many calamities and judgments of God, and then of the alterations and periods of states and kingdoms, than either of the intricate numbers of Plato, or the unchanged

course of the heavens, or whatever other cause is pretended by philosophers or politicians, because these, wherever they reign, threaten a ruin from the true fatality of God's providence and justice, and do shake the pillars of all human society, as idolatry the pillars of the kirk, unrighteousness of the commonwealth, and intemperance of the family, and one of the three falling, the other two cannot long endure.¹

The PRELATE, upon the contrary, by taking in his own hands the power of the General Assembly, which was a great terror to sin; by depriving some worthy pastors of their places, and others of authority in censuring of sin; by destroying the discipline of the kirk, and by his own many unlawful practices and permissions, hath given way to idolatry, blasphemy, and the profanation of the Sabbath, to all sorts of scandalous and notorious sins of unrighteousness, uncleanness, and of the abuse of God's creatures, for which the wrath of God cometh upon the world; but most of all, by bringing a great part of the kingdom under the

¹ Non tam numerorum simulacra inania, aut Solis et siderum immutabilis ratio urbes et regna perdunt: quam impietas primum, deinde injustitia, et virtutum expultrix luxuria. Dom. de la None. discours. polit. 1.

Causas eversionis reipublicæ quærunt in ipsa republica. Arist. polit. 5. Bodin. de repub. lib. 4. Daneus politi. cap. 5.

Και ασεβέστερους περι θεους, και ανασιωτερους περι συνηθείς και αδικατέρους περι τους αλλους, και ανανδρωτερους περι τα εις τον πολεμον νυν η τροσθεν αποδειμχθαι. Xenoph. Cyropæd. 8.

Felix respublica esse non potest, stantibus mœnibus, ruentibus moribus. Chokier.

Hæc nisi urbe aberunt, centplex murus rebus servandis parum est. Plaut.

guiltiness of the violation of the covenant of God; and by going against their oath and subscription, hath drawn on many visitations from the hand of God, doth daily provoke the Lord to further wrath, striketh at the pillars of all societies, and posteth on the periods of state and kingdom.

2. The PASTOR accounteth virtue, truth, righteousness, Christian simplicity and prudence, to be the best policy, not only for his own practice, but for all that are in authority, and for all societies, and, therefore, pronounceth anathema upon the chief axioms of Machiavel's art, whom he judgeth to be as pernicious a master of policy as antichrist is for matters of religion,¹ and these two to be the principal supports of Satan, the direct enemy of Christian faith and obedience, and the crafty subverters of kirks and commonwealths,—unfit for all, but most unfit for us, whom grace hath favoured with the light of the truth, and nature hath fashioned to be open and plain.

The PRELATE's practices do proclaim what policy pleaseth him best. Simulation, dissimulation, falsehood and flattery are known to be the ways of his promotion. He standeth in his grandeur and possesseth his peace by promising good service in parliament to the king against the nobility, and blowing the bellows of dissension betwixt them: he warmeth himself at the fire he hath raised betwixt the king and

¹ Ante omnia optandum principi ut pius videatur, non tamen ut sit. Oportet principem semper adversarium in se alere, ut eo oppresso potentior videatur. Religio animos hominum deprimit, sævitia subditos in officio continet. Tuta est civitas quæ dissidia et factiones nutrit. Machiav. de princ. et comment. in Livium.

the kirk : he beareth with men of every religion provided they be not anti-episcopal : he urgeth ceremonies, which he himself otherwise careth nothing for, that they may be a band of obedience to the slavish, and a buckler of episcopacy against the opposites : he suffereth papistry to prevail and new heresies to arise, and giveth connivance to the teachers of them, that that there may be some other matter of disputation amongst learned men than about his mitre. If all would follow his art and example, antichrist and Machiavel would be our chief masters, and every Scotsman of spirit would prove another Cæsar Borgia, or Ludovicus Sfortia.¹

3. The PASTOR, according to the nature of things, distinguisheth betwixt the things of God and the things of Cæsar, betwixt the sovereignty of Christ and the sovereignty of man, betwixt the dignity of the statesman and honour of the elder that labours in the word and doctrine, betwixt the palace of the prince and the minister's manse, the revenues of the nobleman and the minister's stipend ; and, according to the grounds of policy, holdeth, that many offices should not be conferred on one man except rarely by the special favour of princes,² upon some that are eminent as miracles for engine, for wisdom and dexterity,—by reason of man's infirmity, the weight of authority, the order of policy, and the peace of the people ; that as every thing in nature doth its own part—the sun

¹ Alter Urbinatem, alter Mediolanensem Ducatum artibus Machiavellicis invasit, et ad tempus tenuit, uterque Machiavellicæ politiæ exemplar perfectissimum miserè periit. Dane. polit. præfat.

² *Εἰς πρῶτος ἐν.* Aristot. polit. 4.

shineth and the wind bloweth, the water moisteneth—so every man should be set to his own task; that one man cannot be Æneas and Hector, Cato and Scipio,¹ far less can one and the same person be sufficient for the greatest affairs both of kirk and policy; and, therefore, the pastor keepeth himself within the bounds of his own place and calling, and neither meddleth with civil causes, nor taketh upon him civil offices, nor seeketh after civil honour.

The PRELATE maketh no distinction, but confoundeth all, as compatible enough if he be the agent; and albeit, for any good parts, to be no miracle, but neighbourlike, yet he findeth himself sufficient for every thing in kirk and commonwealth,² and telleth all for fish that cometh in his net, whether civil offices, civil honours, civil causes or civil punishments. Like a prince, he hath his castle, his lordship, his regality, vassalry, &c.: he hath power to confine, imprison, &c.; and taketh it hardly when he is not preferred to offices of estate, as to chancellor, president, &c., which his predecessors had of old. And thus, against all grounds of good policy, he stands in pomp, as a mighty giant, with one foot in the kirk upon the necks of the ministers, and with another in the state upon the heads of the nobility and gentry.

4. The PASTOR assisteth the civil magistrate in

¹ Nemo sapiens existimat se posse simul Æneam et Hectorem, Catonem, et Scipionem in theatro civitatis agere. Cas. polit. lib. 2.

² Romani, Macedones, Lacedæmonii legem tulerunt, ut nemo duobus simul fungatur officiis. Metiothus exercitum ducit, Metiothus vias curat, Metiothus furinam tractat, Metiothus cunctis aliis præest, Metiothus itaque plorabit. Plutarch.

planting of virtue and rooting out of vice, partly by powerfully preaching home to the consciences of sinners, partly by censuring lesser offences which the magistrate punisheth not, as lying, uncomely jesting, rash and common swearing, rotten talking, brawling, drunkenness, &c.;¹ through which the passages to murder, adultery, and other great offences, are stopped, the people prevented in many mischiefs and great enormities, and the magistrate many ways eased; and partly in censuring of greater sins, and purging the kingdom of foul offences; for he joineth the censures and the spiritual sword of the kirk with the sword of the magistrate so impartially, that none are spared; with such expedition and diligence, that sin is censured and not forgotten; with such authority that the most obstinate hath confessed that the kirk had power to bind and loose; with such sharpness and severity, that malefactors have been afraid; and so universally, that, as there is no crime censured by the kirk but the same is punishable by temporal jurisdiction, so he holdeth no sin punishable by civil authority but the same is also censurable by spiritual power—the one punishing the offender in his body or goods, the other drawing him unto repentance, and striving to remove the scandal.

¹ *Hæc coercio ad Christi normam dirigitur, latenter primum et amice, deinde paulo acerbius: tunc nisi pares, sequitur interdictio sacrorum gravis et efficax, interdictionem animadversio magistratus. Ita fit ut quæ legibus nusquam vindicantur, illic sine vi et tumultu coerceantur, igitur nulla meretricia, nullæ ebrietates, nullæ saltationes, nulli mendici, nulli otiosi in ea civitate reperiuntur. Bodin. de rep. Genevens. meth. hist. cap. 6.*

The **PRELATE** is unprofitable to the civil magistrate in the planting of virtue and rooting out of vice; for where his government hath place, preaching hath more demonstration of art for the praise of the speaker, than of the Spirit for the censuring of sin and the conversion of the sinner. He passeth small offences without any censure, and thereby openeth the way to the greater sins of murder, adultery, &c., and giveth the magistrate his hands full: he vindicates to his court and jurisdiction some crimes, as proper for his censure, which yet he passeth lightly: the censures of the kirk and sword of excommunication in his hand serve for small use against greater sins; for either they are not used at all, or so partially that the greatest sinners escape uncensured, or so superficially that they are rather a matter of mocking and boldness in sin than of repentance to the sinner, or of removing the offence.

5. The **PASTOR** is chargeable to no man beside his sober and necessary maintenance allotted unto him for his necessary service, which the people can no more want than they can want religion itself, or their own temporal and eternal happiness.

The **PRELATE**, contrary to the rules of policy against the multiplying and maintaining of idle office-bearers,¹ hath for one office, serving for no good use neither to king, nor kirk, nor country, allowance of a large rent, is a great burden, and is many ways chargeable to the commonwealth, and to particular persons; by his great

¹ Non est studendum ut plurimi sint in repub. magistratus, sed ut quam commodissime et optime gerant remp. ii qui erunt necessarii.

lands and lordships, by actions of improbation, reduction of fiefs, declarator of escheats, entries, nonentries, &c.; by selling of commissariats, &c.; by raising and rigorously exacting the quotas of testaments; by sums of money given unto them, their sons, or their servants, for presentations, collations, testimonials of ordination or admission,—sometimes by people who would be at a good minister, and ordinarily by the prudent friends of the entrant, who can find no entry but by a golden port.

6. The PASTOR would have learning to grow, and, considering that schools and colleges are both the seminary of the commonwealth and the Lebanon of God for building the temple,¹ desireth earnestly that there might be a school in every congregation, that the people might be more civil, and might more easily learn the grounds of religion; he would have the best engines chosen and provided to the students' places in universities, the worthiest and best men to the places of teachers, who might faithfully keep the arts and sciences from corruption, and especially the truth of religion,—as the holy fire that came down from heaven was kept by the Levites: he desireth the rewards

¹ Quales schola exhibet homines, tales habitura est respublica. Dan. polit.

Hinc major pars salutis vel corruptionis reip. pendet, et ex scholarum fontibus, divini et humani juris præsidium vel expugnatio oritur; ibi enim discuntur prima literarum monumenta, artes ingenuæ, mores, jura divina et humana, quæ omnia permaxime interest incontaminata servari, &c. Greg. Tholos. lib. 13. cap. 3.

Plebeiis argenti, nobiles auri, principibus gemmarum loco literas esse debere. Æneas Syl. Platina,

Indoctus Episcopus asino comparandus. Idem.

of learning to be given to the worthiest, and, after they have received them, that they be faithful in their places, lest by loitering and laziness they become both unprofitable and unlearned.

The PRELATE is not so desirous of learning in himself as of ignorance in others, that he only may be eminent both in kirk and commonwealth, and all others may render him blind obedience and respect. He devoureth that himself which should entertain particular schools: he filleth the places of students without trial of their engines, to please his friends and suitors, contrary to the will of the masters and the acts of the foundations: he filleth the places of learning not with the most learned, but the wealthiest sort, who, for any vigilance of his, might both corrupt the human sciences and bring strange fire into the house of God. If a learned man happen to attain to one of their highest places, which they call the rewards of learning, incontinent, their learning beginneth to decay, and their former gifts to wither away. So that their great places and prelacies either find them or make them unlearned.

7. The PASTOR, by the government of the kirk prescribed in the word, is strong to resist or repress schisms, heresies, corruptions, and all the spiritual power of sin and Satan, but hath no strength to withstand the temporal power and authority of princes.¹ The same government sorts with monarchy no less than with aristocracy, through the wisdom of the Son

¹ Possunt judicare, non possunt præjudicare, habent vim charitatis, non habent vim autoritatis. Hugo de S. Victore de sacram. part 2.

of God, who fitteth the same for all nations and divers forms of civil policy. The pastor acknowledgeth his prince to be his only bishop and overseer, superintendent over the whole kirk in his dominions, as being preserver of the liberties of the kirk, and keeper of both tables; to whom also the General Assembly of the kirk, or some few commissioners chosen by them, and convened, when it is thought expedient, by the king's commissioner, may give his majesty better and more speedy satisfaction in kirk affairs, and with greater love and contentment of the whole kirk, and of all his majesty's loving subjects, than can be given by the thirteen prelates; all which may be done upon a small part of the prelate's rent, for bearing the charges of his majesty's commissioner, who also may be changed at his majesty's pleasure.

The PRELATE and his government is weak to withstand the spiritual forces of sin and Satan but is strong to oppose the temporal power of princes, and hath been of all enemies the most dangerous to monarchy; for howsoever now, while opposition is made, he flatter and fawn upon the prince for his own standing, yet if all ministers and the whole kingdom did acknowledge his superiority to bind the conscience, the primate of the kirk would be more powerful than any subject in the kingdom, and might prove as terrible to kings, whatsoever their religion were, as popes have been to emperors, and prelates have been to kings in former times.¹ He hath no power, for all

¹ Quod si Christiani olim non deposuerunt Neronem et Dioclesianum, et Julianum apostatam ac Valentem Arianum et similes, id fuit

his credit and lordly authority, to get any thing done to his majesty's satisfaction, and with contentment of the kirk; for all the craft and violence that hath been so long bended, never one whole famous congregation within the kingdom is either conquered or like to be subdued to his conformity, but either the better or greater part, or both, have resisted; and yet, for his lordly maintenance, he hath impaired the rent of the crown, in so far as it was aided by the collectory, and pulleth from the king the rents of great benefices, the homage of vassals, with their commodities, regalities, and other privileges, more proper for the sceptre than the shepherd's staff.

8. The PASTOR desireth no other title but to be called the minister of the town or parish; he striveth with no man for precedency; he seeketh no place in the commonwealth, neither in council, session, nor exchequer, but stirreth up, and soundeth the trumpet in the ear of the generous spirits of the kingdom, to show themselves worthy of their own places; and, whether he be minister in burgh or land, he is a common servant to all, from the highest to the lowest, to parents and children, to masters and servants, in all pastoral duties; while he liveth he harmeth none, but helping all, procuring honour to the greater and maintenance to the poorer sort, and, when his life is brought to a comfortable end, every soul blesseth him, and all mourn for him as for a common parent.

The PRELATE, according to the political axiom,

quia deerant vires temporales Christianis. Bellarm. de Rom. Pont. 1. 5. c. 7. pessime sed ut Hierarchicum decebat.

“When virtue waneth vanity waxeth, and many titles much vanity,”¹ disdaining to be called any more the minister of Christ, hath taken upon him the titles of the nobility,—My lord of Orkney, my lord of Caithness, my lord of Murray, my lord of Argyll, &c., with the title he taketh the place before them, and filleth their places in council and session, and when, risen up from his dunghill, he is set on high places, and is drunken with his new honours, he lifteth his ears like Isis’ ass, and as handmaids when they become mistresses, he waxeth so insolent that he cannot be borne. In his own city he will have homage of all, overruleth the election of their magistrates, harmeth both parents and children through the country, by giving warrant for sudden and secret marriages without proclamation, which the very Council of Trent cannot but allow; he taketh the honour of the greater upon himself, and spends that upon his pride which should serve for the poorer sort; and when, after many wishes, his life at last is brought to an end, the whole diocese is filled with joy, and his own family and friends are filled with contempt and disgrace.

¹ Virtute decrescente crescit vanitas, et titularum arrogantia; proverbium de repub. Veneta cum usurparetur titulus, Domine, simpliciter, tunc facta est resp. cum Domine stabilita est, Magnifice Domine, tunc eversa est.

Plebeios ex humili genere natos, si ad dignitates et honores pervenerint, immemores suæ sortis, plerumque ambitione insolentes se efficere aliosque deprimere conari constat: iidem multo insolentiores et propemodum intolerabiliores magna cum jactura recip. esse solent, quam qui nobili, celebri et vetere stirpe geniti sunt, ita ut veterum ille recte dixerit: Bajuli imperant et mali sunt superiores bonis; metuo ne navem fluctus opprimat. Camer. cent. 2. Μηποτε δουλευσις γυνη δεσποινια γίνεσται. Epig. Graec.

9. The PASTOR maketh the kingdom fit for war against the time that necessities give alarm; for, by labouring to make the people truly religious he maketh them fit for both parts of Christian fortitude, active and passive, for doing valiantly and suffering constantly:¹ in the time of peace he stirreth them up against softness and intemperance to diligence and labour, whereby their bodies are the more able and durable: he strengtheneth also the nerves of war, by contenting himself with a mean estate, and by his doctrine and example teaching people to spare in peace for the time of war.

The PRELATE maketh the kingdom unfit for war; for by his government the people lose true fortitude with the love of religion; that if they have any kind of courage for battle, it is not so much the invincible courage of Christian religion as the carnal and bastard fortitude of paganism, which, in comparison of the former, hath ever been but pusillanimity; by his oversight of rioting and idleness their bodies become weak and effeminate, and, by his own large rents, and his example of prodigality, which to them is a law, he enervates the estates, and cuts asunder the sinews of war.

The Prelate's objection.—The PRELATE will object, that if you that are pastors understood either the manners of the people or the grounds of policy, ye would see that neither can noblemen, and others given to their pleasure, bear your simple and censorious form of preaching, nor your austere and precise

¹ Fortiter ille facit qui miser esse potest.

form of discipline and life, nor yet can the high court of parliament want the prelates, which make up one of the three estates: that ye are but shallow and consider not what depth this draws.

The Pastor's answer.—We know that of all ranks there be some who love their pleasures more than God, and these, according to the first flattering part of the objection, will say with the old verse :

“ Non mihi sit servus, medicus, propheta, sacerdos.”

He is no servant fit for me,

Who physician, prophet, priest will be.

For such may neither abide to be cured of their spiritual evils by the counsel of God, nor to hear of the evils that will come if they refuse to be cured, nor to be exhorted to repentance when the calamities are turned upon them, that they may be turned away; but all are not such, and from which, while they are in their pleasures, we make appellation to themselves, while they are in the pains or terrors of death, and to be presented before the Judge, whether then the pastor or prelate pleaseth them better? The other part of the objection the wisdom of the king and of the honourable estates of parliament can answer, who know how a parliament may be perfect without either pastor or prelate. If by the name of a parliament, we understand a general and national meeting of the whole kingdom and kirk by their commissioners, with their supreme magistrate and king, every one to give his advice and judgment respective according to the nature of the society, civil or ecclesiastical, which he represents: commissioners of the kirk

to give resolution from the word of God, if need be, concerning matters civil, but not to meddle with civil causes civilly, and to propone petitions to the king and estates for the good of the kirk, to require their civil sanction, and to see that nothing be concluded in things civil that may be a hinderance to the worship of God: the nobility with the commissioners of baronies and burghs for civil matters, and to add the civil sanction in the matters of God's worship; kirkmen chosen and instructed by the kirk may sit in parliament after this sense, and are bound to contribute their best help for the honour of the king and good both of kirk and country. But if by a parliament we understand the highest court and supreme judicature civil, meddling only with civil matters, or with matters of religion civilly, as, to add the civil sanction, and to ratify by civil authority what hath been put in canon by the kirk before, then the assembly of the kirk or their commissioners may, or should, attend the high court of parliament, as the convocation house doth in our neighbour kingdom, but can have no place nor vote in parliament, neither in making laws about things civil, nor in the civil authorizing in matters of religion; for ministers should not judge of the right of inheritance, nor pronounce sentence about forfeiture, nor make laws about weights and measures, &c., but should exhort the people to obey the civil powers. Without bishops or ministers laws have been made by parliament, and may be made now no less than without abbots, priors, &c., who had once vote in parliament no less than they. Their benefices are baronies in respect whereof they claim vote in par-

liament; but they are not barons or proprietors, and heritable possessors thereof, to transmit them to their heirs, or to alienate them, but only are usufructuaries, to have the use of them for their time; neither doth it suit with the minister's calling to have such baronies, nor are they to be reckoned for ecclesiastical persons, but for civil, when they have place in parliament in respect of these baronies, and, therefore, cannot vote there in name of the kirk.

To conclude, then, Whether we look to the word of God, or to the more pure and primitive times of the kirk, or to the nature and use of things indifferent, or to the reformation and proceeding of our own kirk, or the good of the kirk and of the people's souls, or to the happiness of the commonwealth and the good of every one, from the king that sitteth upon the throne to him that heweth the wood and draweth the water, we may see whether the pastor or the prelate, whether reformation or conformity, is to be followed by the true Christian and patriot; and that there is as great difference betwixt the bishops of our times and the faithful pastors of the reformed kirks as betwixt the light that cometh from the stars of heaven and the thick darkness that ariseth from the bottomless pit; and it may be made manifest that since bishops were cast in the mould of the man of sin, wheresoever they have ruled, whether amongst the papistical and the reformed (some few excepted, who, when they ventured upon these places, went out of their own element,) they have been the greatest plagues, both to kirks and kingdoms, that ever had authority in the Christian world. Neither needeth any man to object

that the comparison that we have made runneth all the way betwixt the good pastor and the evil prelate, and, therefore, may be answered by the like unequal comparison betwixt the good prelate and the evil pastor, as if the most part of the episcopal evils above-mentioned were only the personal faults of the men, and not the corruptions necessarily accompanying the estate and order of prelates, and that if good men fill these places there is no danger but the kirk may be as well, or better, governed by prelates than by pastors; for the comparison is not so much betwixt the pastor and prelate as betwixt the office of a pastor and the office of a prelate or bishop. "It is one thing," as Augustine saith, "to use an unlawful power lawfully, and another thing to use a lawful power unrighteously and unjustly."¹ Pastors may have their own personal infirmities, and never so many as under the prelate's government, and prelates may have their own good parts, and never so many as by the occasion of the pastor's opposition; but neither the one nor the other are to be ascribed to their offices, nor is the lawfulness of their offices to be judged by their persons. It is true when an unlawful power and a lawless man meet together the case of those that are under his authority must be the worse, as we may see in the papacy, which, being always evil for the kirk, yet have proved worse, when monsters, instead of men, have sat in their seat. But it is evident that the evils which prelates and their lordly government bring upon the kirk do flow from their sole jurisdiction,

¹ Aliud est injusta potestate juste velle uti, et aliud est justa potestate injuste velle uti. August. de bono conjug. cap. 14.

exorbitant power, meddling in civil government, and the curse of God upon that unlawful estate, all which are common to the whole order, and not peculiar to some persons; and the corruptions which are common to all in these places, although greater in some than in others, of necessity must flow from the unlawfulness of the state and office itself. It is so far that good men, put in the places of prelacy, can make the government good,—that the places of prelacy have ever corrupted the men and made them worse. So it was with Æneas Sylvius, who, before his popedom, seemed sound and honest, maintaining many points against the tyranny of that seat, but, being made Pope Pius II., retracted all, and proved as impious and antichristian as the rest; so, many that have been of good account in the ministry, and given hope of great good by them to the kirk when they entered to be bishops, yet wholly degenerated from their first works, and learned betime *ululare cum lupis*, to howl with the wolves; the experience whereof made Queen Elizabeth to say, “When she made a bishop that she marred a good minister.”

THE END.





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