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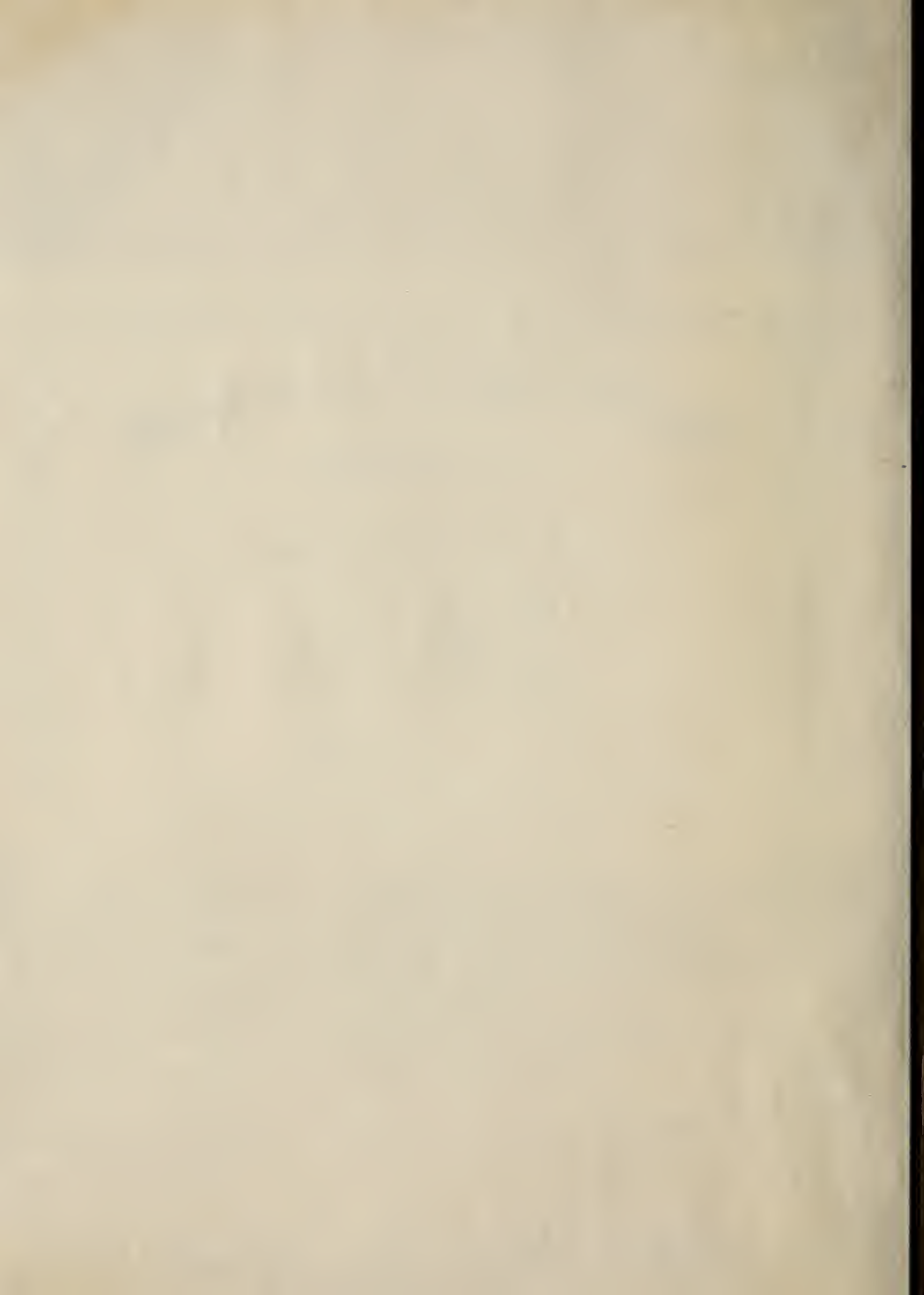
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AN
EXPLICATION

of some Passages in the foregoing

PROPOSITIONS

AND

PROFESSION.

With an Answer to some Objections
that are like to be made against them.

Written by

RICH. BAXTER

To prevent the causeless Dissent and Separation,
of any sincere Christians from our CHURCHES, or
sincere Ministers from our

ASSOCIATIONS.


Especially for the Satisfaction of the In-
habitants of

KEDERMINSTER.

LONDON,

Printed by *A.M.* for *Thomas Underhill*, at the Anchor and Bible in
Pauls Church-yard near the little North-door, and *Francis Tyton*,
at the three Daggers in *Fleetstreet* near *Dunstons Church*. 1653.

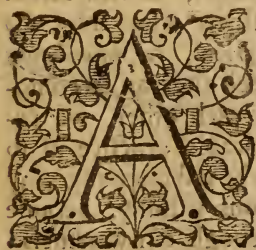
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AN EXPLICATION

of some
P A S S A G E S
IN THE
Propositions.



S I dare not undertake to give the full sense of all my Reverend Brethren who have subscribed to these Propositions, so I must intreat the Reader to understand that I have no commission from them for any Explication of their mindes, further then what is done already in their words: and therefore that you must not take what I Write, as coming from them, but as my own private thoughts: and if in any thing you mislike my Interpretations, do not therefore mislike our Propositions: For it is the Text and not the Comment that is publicquely owned: The Text is theirs, the Comment is mine.

Yet I thought it meet to explain some few points according to my own meaning, and according to what I heard from my Brethren in their debates; lest the obscurity should occasion the stumbling of any, that have not had opportunity to understand our intentions.

And first I must intreat you to remember these few Generals following.

I. We never intended these Propositions, for the taking any sober man (of any of the Parties whose Union we endeavour) from his former Principles; nor for the laying down of any middle way, in which the differing Parties may accommodate, by any abatement on each or any side, of their former Opinions. For we know that can be no way of Generall Accord, without a long and full debate of all differences, with all persons, or with all the leaders that can sway the rest. For if we should satisfie all that we conferre with, and joyntly agree upon some abatement of our Opinions; we cannot expect that others should be ever the more altered or united, that hear not our reasons: Or if all should hear them, yet mens judgements will be variously wrought on, according to the degrees of their strength or weakness; or according to their former prejudice and apprehensions; and much according to the inclination of their Wils, to Reformation, Holiness, Unity and Peace. We do therefore suppose in these Propositions, that those whom we unite with, do still retain their differing Judgements; And our business is but this: *To improve those Points wherein we are all agreed, for unanimous practice.* Till we have opportunity to seek after an Accomodation of Opinions, or a conviction of each other, we resolve, by Gods help, to close in an amicable practice of so much as we do Consent in. It is utterly unbecoming any Member of Christ, to make more divisions wilfully, because we are necessitated to some differences through our weakness: and to unite and associate in nothing, because we cannot do it in all things: and to fly from each others society, as enemies or aliens, because we hold some different opinions: as if we were not the Sons of one God, the Members of one Christ, nor might live in the same family or joyn in the same Churches or Worship, because we are not of the same intellectual complexion.

plexion in every point, nor all mens knowledge of the same stature. We are not such strangers to our selves and mankinde, as not to know, that we must unavoidably be of various Opinions, while we live here in imperfection; and differ in part, while we know but in part. We suppose the Apostle never expected that all the *Corinthians* should in all things have the same Opinions, when he so importunately perswades them, by the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to speak the same thing, and that there be no Divisions among them, but that they be perfectly joyned together in the same minde, and in the same judgement, *1 Cor. 1. 10.* We remember his command, *Phil. 3. 15, 16.* *Let us as many as be perfect be thus minded; and if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you: Nevertheless whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us minde the same thing.*

2. You must understand, that we have no intent by this our Agreement to forestall any further means or attempts for Accomodation, or neerer Unity: but contrarily to prepare for it; being confident that no way is so likely to accomplish it, as a concordant practice of what we are agreed in, and the constant amicable association and familiarity of the dissenters. Nay some of us have much more to propound to the Churches, for Conciliation and Accord, when ever God shall call us to it, and let us see that it is likely to be regarded or do any good.

3. Much less do we take up with what we are now agreed on, as a perfect, or fully-sufficient way; as if the points which are laid by, and wherein the several Parties differ, did contain in them nothing of any moment; but all that is usefull were contained in these Points wherein we are all agreed. Nor do we intend to tye our selves to take up with these, and never to go further. But, as Christ saith in another case, *If any man do the Will of God, he shall know, &c.* So I verily think, that conscionable, friendly practising of so much of Christs Discipline as we generally know, would have helpt us to know the rest sooner then our perverse contendings have done; and would have prevented those sad effects of our Divisions, which must lie heavy on some mens consciences, here or hereafter.

4. I must therefore especially intreat you to observe, that whereas several things are left undetermined in these Propositions, and you think in the reading, that you are at a loss for our meaning; expecting that all things should be particularly and punctually determined of, that we have done this purpose-ly and of design; and therefore the error is in your expectation of a more particular determination then will stand with our ends. For seeing we intend but to single out what we know every party may agree to, without deserting his own principles; we must needs leave out those particulars wherein we are not agreed.

5. Understand that we have left many things to be *pro venata* upon the emergent occasion when it comes to practice, agreed on at our Association-meetings, which we could not without many inconveniences, agree on in these Proposition before hand: Especially things that vary according to circumstances of time, place, persons, occasions, &c.

6. Understand, that though in many things we have tied up our selves by these Propositions, from acting in a way of singularity. Yet in many Points we have left each party and person to the liberty of their judgement: so that they may go *Above* this our Agreement, so be it, in so doing they go not *Against* it.

More particularly

1. Whereas in the first General Proposition we profess, not to addict our selves to parties, but to practice unanimously those known truths that the sober and godly of each Party are agreed in.] We mean only those Parties who acknowledge a Discipline, and are so [sober] as to disclaim those Principles which are utterly inconsistent with the healing of our breaches, and the Peace and Union of the Churches. Particularly we mean the Presbyterians, Independants, and Episcopall who are Moderate and Judicious. We mean not any Seekers that disclaim Discipline; nor Papists; nor Popish Episcopall Divines, who will have all the world come to the Romish Polity; or else they must have no peace. But it is only the Protestant Episcopall Divines, whose principles I
take

take to be consistent with our Propositions: And if there be any other Party so sober as to depart no further from the waies of Peace, it is such that we mean. But if it had been our intent to have laid by all that any Party will controvert, we should have agreed on nothing.

2. Where in the same Proposition we say [at present *only* to practise] we intend not that every man of us is tied from practising any thing but what is so agreed on: But that we do Agree in and tie our selves [only] to so much; but may notwithstanding privately differ in our practice, so far as we have not restrained our selves in this Agreement, and are not restrained by Gods Word.

3. The eighth Proposition leaves many weighty Cases undetermined about excluding such haynous offenders, whose sinne is either notorious, or generally suspected, and yet for want of accusers and prosecutors are never brought to Justice; and also about persons who are under a long triall, &c. But we take these cases to be such as must be usually determined according to circumstances upon knowledge of the particular case: and therefore fittest to be determined at our Meetings, when it shall fall out: and not to trouble and puzzle our selves with such Cases before they fall; seeing we cannot well make any agreement before hand (except very generall) but what will be found defective in the application. Only thus much I should advise, that if it be known that any person is guilty of a capitall crime (as for example of Adultery) though we be not bound alway to accuse them openly, or to bring them to such a confession or self-accusation as may hazzard their lives; yet 1. The Pastor may suspend them and in some cases require the people to avoid them, when the fact is publiquely known (though the party not prosecuted;) and give but a generall intimation of the fault, as known already; though perhaps the Evidence will not hold in Law. (As I have known persons that openly confess Adultery at home, but denying it before the Judge, come off as if they were innocent; and yet confess it again when they come home.) And I should think that such persons should not be re-admitted to Communion, till they do manifest publique serious penitence in the Congregation: but only in Generall

termes (seeing they are not bound to accuse themselves, so as to expose their lives to danger :) As thus [I confesse before God and this Congregation that I am a haynous sinner, and unworthy of Communion with the Church: the particulars I need not expresse, seeing the Congregation may easily know my meaning. &c.] Whether it be meet that Ecclesiasticall censure, or the Magistrates censure go first, we do not go about to determine.

4. Concerning the tenth Proposition (which will be most questioned) I desire it may be observed: 1. That we meddle not with the term [Excommunication.] 2. And therefore they that say we meddle with the *Thing*, must define Excommunication, and shew that the work that we here agree on doth reach that definition. 3. Which if they do, then they will make Excommunication to be no more then this application of Christs doctrine to a particular person and case, which every Minister of the Gospel may perform: For we mention in our Agreement no more. 4. I am sure that delivering up to Satan, and the great Anathematizing Excommunication, is commonly taken to go much further and contain more, then we here conclude on. 5. Yet observe, that we here suppose the fact and faultiness proved beyond doubt: and when we speak of Ministers Applicatory requiring the Avoidance of such persons; if any think we wrongfully authorize him to do this without the Presbytery, Congregation, or Bishop; remember that we speak not here of examining Witnesses, much less giving them their Oathes, or the like preparation for discovery of the guilt. How farre people or any others may have a hand in this we do not determine. 6. Nor do we determine whether it must needs be more Ministers then one, that must agree in this, before the publique Application: yet afterward, we have limited our selves in this for Unity, Peace, and avoiding of rash applications. Though for my own part, I am very confident that it is their Errour, whoever they be, that deny the power of Excommunication it self to a single Pastor, at least, where he is the sole Overseer of that particular Church.

The Objections against this tenth Proposition, I will answer anon.

5. The 11th Proposition for Suspension, contains its own sufficient proof, as those that will well observe it, may discern.

6. Concerning the 12th Prop. I must tell you, that we cannot agree to the loose practice of those Ministers and Churches, who think it enough to keep people from the Sacrament, and never proceed further with them in way of Discipline: but let 500. or a 1000. live in a Parish without any more then such a Suspension: whenas Suspension is but in order to their Tryall, or their Reformation or Rejection thereupon. Yea they determin not, nor is it known, whether all these persons are members of their Churches, or not? Many Reasons we have against this course, besides what are mentioned in the Propositions.

7. We take it that the 15th Proposition containeth the true mean, between the Usurped Power of some Pastors, to binde the People by a known erring sentence, to go against Gods Word; and the Usurped Power which many pretend to, of Ruling the Church by their Major Vote. But how far the Congregation should first have Cognisance of the matter, or be heard in the debate; or how far the Ministers must endeavour their consent, or suspend their own actions, for want of their consent, we do not determin. And therefore all moderate Presbyterians and Independents may well agree with us in this; because its no Power that we deny the Pastors, but a Power of binding men to go against Gods word; and it is not any of their Liberty that we deny the People, but only Ruling Ministeriall Authority, which God never gave them, we must needs deny them.

8. Concerning the 17th Proposition (which many will stumble at) I desire you to observe these things.

1. That as we avoid the Titles of Lay-Elders and Preaching-Elders, so we do purposely avoid the determination of that Controversie, Whether Christ hath appointed Ecclesiasticall Elders, distinct in Office from Teaching-Elders, having no Authority to Preach, Baptize or Administer the Lords Supper, though they have Gifts? I confess my own private opinion is, that neither Scripture nor Antiquity did know any such Church-Officers: But as I so much reverence and value the contrary-minded, as not to expect that my Judgment should stand in any competition with theirs, or in the least to sway any man to my opinion from theirs (though upon the concurrent Judgment of so many Learned men that are of the same opinion with me, I might reasonably expect, that other mens reputation should create no prejudice;) so it is nothing to my

Brethren, nor the sense of our Agreement, what my private opinion is. We are not so unconscionably self-conceited or divisive, as to think we must or may reject all those from our Communion, that differ in this Point from us: or that it is a matter of so great moment, that may hinder our fraternall and peaceable Association.

2. We have therefore agreed of the work of Assisting-Elders, and leave the discussion of their further Authority, and distinction of their Office from Teaching-Elders, to others.

3. And that each party may well agree to this Proposition, without forsaking their Principles, is beyond doubt. For the Presbyterians and the Congregational party, they both are for such Elders, as shall Rule, and not administer Sacraments; and though some of one sort, say, they may preach, 1. They say not that they *must* preach where the Teaching-Elders are well and present; 2. And perhaps it is because they would allow another gifted member to do the like. And for the Episcopall Divines, their practice and their writings prove what I say: For they have ever since the Reformation allowed great numbers of Readers in *England*, of far lower abilities then we express in our Propositions; such as never preached, and some that were fain to labour for their livings in secular employments, as this Countrey knows. And though they allowed them to Baptise and administer the Lords Supper, yet they never affirmed that they must do it, when there was an abler Minister of the same Church to do it: And in their writings they do maintain the lawfullness of placing such Reading Ministers in Chappels or Parish Churches under able Pastors. So that its past doubt, that we are all agreed, that there may be such Officers, or Elders chosen to do the work that is here expressed. And if any think it a matter of so great necessity, that we agree in our belief of these Elders further Power, as that we must not Associate with those that agree not, I would intreat him to tell me, why it is not in our Creed? or why it never was in the Creed of any Church? or whether no Church had ever a sufficient Creed, so large as to contain all Points of absolute necessity to salvation, or without which, we must avoid mens society? or whether he dare yet put it in his Creed among fundamentals, or Points of such necessity [I Believe that Lay or meer-Ruling Elders are, or are not *jure divino*?] Or whether he accuse not the Scripture it self of insufficiency, for speaking so darkly of fundamentals themselves, as that the most Godly and Learned are not able to understand it? And whether he lay not a ground of separation from multitudes of eminent

nent Learning and Piety, yea from whole Churches, which Christ himself owneth, and will not allow us to separate from?

4. And observe further, that the Elders that we here speak of, are only Assistants to able Preachers: we do not say, that such may be allowed of alone, where there is no other to preach (though what might be done in case of necessity, I will not determin.) But if a great Church have one or two able men to Preach publicly, and will moreover appoint some sober, godly, orthodox men to help them in Private oversight, Instruction, admonition and reproof; and if one call these Lay-Elders or Ruling-Elders, and another take them to be inferior Ministers, as some sober Chappell Readers were, I would not quarrell about the notions or Titles while we agree about the work to be done. Nor would I dare to reproach them with the name of Dumbe doggs on one side, or Lay-Eldeers (as dumbe) on the other.

5. I thought meet also to tell you thus much of my own opinion; that it seems to me the best way, (at our first ordering of our Churches according to these Propositions) to take in none but School-masters, Physicians, or other Learned men to be Elders (where such are to be had that are meet:) and for those of our Abler hearers that are unlearned, that it will be fittest first to try them in the Office of Deacons: both because the Office of Deacons is most unquestionable to all sorts and parties; and so it will avoid the reproaches of dissenters: and because the Apostles made Deacons before they ordained any fixed Elders of particular Churches; and they made abler men Deacons then any of us are; and therefore none may think the Office to be below him; and because it is orderly to ascend by degrees: and the Apostles words *1 Tim. 4. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.* together with the constant expressions and practice of Antiquity, do shew that this is a degree to the Eldership; and that Deacons have more power about Word and Sacraments, then is commonly allowed to meer-Ruling Elders; and therefore may be more helpfull to us; yea that they joyned with the Presbyters in Consistory, is the common opinion. And the danger of misguiding and dividing our Congregations by men of weak Judgments, is so great; that I think it much fitter to try them first in an Office of known Inferiority (for all confess that Deacons should be Guided by the Elders,) wherein they may be as serviceable to the Church; then to begin them in an Office of meer Power, wherein they will think their Votes to be of equall Authority with the most Judicious Teachers, and so may breed con-

tentions, or foment Errors or factions in the Church; and yet be less capable of doing service, then the Deacons are (See Mr *Noyes Temple Measured*, of the Office of Deacons and Elders.) This course therefore I have propounded to my Brethren of this Association; and they think as I do: But for other Brethren that Joyn with us some living near 30 miles from us, (so that we have more seldome opportunities to meet,) we could not yet propound it to them. If any shall refuse the Office of Deacons, as too mean for them, they shall thereby discover that Pride that will prove them unfit to be either Elders or Deacons; and you will have cause to thank God, that thereby a mischief to the Church is prevented, which might have followed, if such unhumbled men had crept into Authority.

6. But the great Objection against this Proposition will be (by some) That we allow none to be Elders but those that are ordained, and so overthrow meer-Ruling Elders. To which I answer: 1. These Brethren must consider, that we are forced for unity to speak indistinctly of all that are meer Assisting Elders and do not actually preach and administer Sacraments, whether they take themselves to have Authority to do more (as other Ministers) or not: now they will confess that such inferior or Assisting Ministers must be Ordained: and we cannot now distinguish. 2. I never could learn that it is the Judgment of Presbyterians or Congregationall men, that it is unlawfull to Ordain meer-Ruling Elders. And if they may do it, why should they not yield to it for peace, though they think not that they *must* do it? 3. I confess I know of no Elders mentioned in Scripture, without Ordination; and do despair of ever seeing it proved that the Apostles did appoint two sorts of Elders, one Ordained and the other not Ordained. The contrary I doubt not to prove by sufficient Induction. 4. Deacons must be Ordained that are inferior to Elders; why then should not Elders be Ordained? 5. Let our Brethren take heed lest they loose all their hold of that shew they have in Scripture for meer-Ruling Elders (I mean *quoad potestatem*, not *quoad exercitium ordinarium*,) if they once disclaim all those as no such Ruling Elders, who were Ordained. It seems then that when the Apostles Ordained Elders in every Church, and when *Titus* was left to Ordain Elders in every City, it was no meer-Ruling Elders that they Ordained, or were appointed to Ordain! 6. I confess I am loath (without more Reasons then I yet know) to give the Intruders of the Ministry so much encouragement, as to tell them, men may ordinarily be Ruling Elders without Ordination!

nation? For doubtless a man may much more Preach up and down in publike occasionally without Ordination: I mean, more may be said for it. Even some of the most Learned Episcopall Divines think, that by the Bishops allowance private men may preach, and that it belongs more to the Pastor to take care what Doctrine is taught his people, then that himself be the Teacher. And most allow the preaching of Probationers. And if you add to this that there is no need of Ordination to the Office of Church-Governing; I know partly what will follow.

7. Yet a greater doubt is behind, and that is, How we would have these men Ordained? I answer, 1. We have not determined of that: We purposely avoid the point of Ordination; because the distance between the Episcopall Divines and others is well known in that point: and we resolve not to put such controverted Points into our Agreement; lest thereby we necessarily exclude the dissenters. Our business is not now (as is said) to Reconcile differences in judgment: much less to divide from those that differ from us: but to practice unanimously so much as we are agreed in. 2. We leave therefore every man in this to his own Judgment. Those that are for Bishops, may be Ordained by them with a Presbytery, if they can obtain it. Those that are against them, may be Ordained by the Associated Pastors of that Association, the President performing the Action. Those that fear danger from the Law of the Land, if they Ordain without Authority, may send men to some neighbour County that hath Authority. Those that will not use the Name of Ordination, may yet use the Thing: which is nothing but the solemn Designation or Appointment of a fit Person to the Office, by Competent men: which is most fitly accompanied with Prayer and Imposition of hands, where they may be had. 3. To avoid some of these contests, if Deacons only be first Ordained; as I before mentioned, it will prevent the quarrels that some may else be drawn to by difference of Judgment. For many moderate Episcopall men will allow Presbyters to Ordain Deacons, that will not allow them to Ordain Presbyters. As for those that will say, These are no true Officers, nor to be acknowledged (whether Deacons or Presbyters) who were not Ordained by a Bishop; and thereupon will take occasion for a schisme in our Congregations; I shall speak more fully to their satisfaction anon.

9. Though I think few will question the Lawfullness of what is in the 18th Proposition, yet I suppose many will question the Conve-

niency of it: Some will say, It looks like Independency to call our People to such Professions, which are reall Covenants. Some will say, We shall occasion Divisions in our Congregations, upon our Peoples scrupling and refusing it. But I doubt some will have a worse Objection in their mindes; That they shall hereby diminish their Congregations, or lose the Peoples affections, and thereby lose part of their Maintenance. To this point, I shall first premise some explication of our meaning, and then give you those Reasons of our Resolution herein, which were propounded and debated at our meetings.

1. Understand that we are all agreed among our selves, that our present Parishes (I mean not all in *England*, but all ours that joynd in these debates) are true particular organized Churches of Christ: and therefore that we require not this Profession as a Church-making Covenant; but for Reformation of those that are Churches already; and as a means for our more facile and successfull exercise of some Discipline and Government of our Congregations.

2. Yet we thought not meet to put these our Principles down in our Agreements: but retain them as our own private thoughts: because being no Fundamentals, nor near the Foundation, we can agree with those that differ from us in this point of Judgment, so they agree in practice: And therefore we have left it so open, that any man may subscribe to it, who yet thinketh that we are no true Churches, for want of a Church-Covenant, or for want of a solemn Call of our Ministers; sobeit these persons, will but acknowledge us to be Churches and Ministers, *after* our publike Profession, Consent and Association; though they will not acknowledge it before.

3. We have not tyed our selves or any Brother, to the use of any one particular *signe* to be required of the People in making this Profession? Whether by subscribing their Names, or lifting up the hand, or speaking their Consent. For we doubt not but this is an Indifferent thing; That which we require is some Expression of Assent and Consent: but how to expresse it, we leave to the prudence of particular Pastors who are to guide their own Congregations. For my part I intend to have the Names of all the Members in a Church-Book (the Adult in one Colume and the Infants in another) and that the Members shall either write their own Names in it, or consent that I write them, this Profession being prefixed to be subscribed.

4. We have left it undetermined, Whether the Consent shall be expressed particularly man by man, or many together? and whether they

they shall repeat each man themselves the words of the Profession, or only Consent to it on the Ministers recital? We judge that lesser Congregations may be more punctually dealt with then great ones can be: But yet I should advise in the greatest, that it be not so huddled up as to elude the Intent and frustrate all: and therefore that some time be taken in doing it; some families coming in one day, and some another. And for those that we have sufficient cause to suspect of gross Ignorance, we have agreed that the Officers first try their Knowledge in private (because many cannot express themselves openly,) and when they are satisfied in it, that we take the Profession of their Consent only in publike; acquainting the Congregation of our satisfaction; who are bound to acquiesce so far in the judgment of their Pastors, when themselves hear the person profess his Consent though he do not express (himself) the Articles that he consenteth to.

2. Our Reasons debated on for this Practice, were thus given in:

Conclus. We have Reason to require (as things now stand) a more express signification of our Peoples Consent to our Ministry and Ministeriall Actions, and their Membership of their particular Churches.

Reason 1. We have now by reason of the Licentiousness and Apostasie of the times, more reason to question concerning many of our Members, whether their *hearing* signifie their Consent, 1. Because many profess the contrary. 2. We know some Infidels and others little better, that come to Church sometimes, meerly to avoid the censure of the people, or to please their ears (and this they have acknowledged.) 3. Multitudes in many Parishes will not receive the Lords Supper with us.

Reason 2. The Liberty given in these times hath taken away some other bonds, which formerly were laid on men, to constrain them to acknowledge and submit to the Ministry and Ordinances: and to obey the Church-government that was then in force. We are therefore necessitated to make use of the bond of their own Consent, and to require that it be more express, then formerly it hath been.

Reason 3. Ministers that were studious of the good of the Flock, did (very many of them) heretofore discern the need of an express consent, that they might have more certainty of the extent of their Charge then the Bounds of a Parish can give them. Only they (truly) maintained that our Churches were true Churches, without a more express Consent then we then had; and that it tended but to the Well-being

being of a Church, and not to the Being, that the Consent be more exprefs then formerly: But now the Impediments of those times are so farre removed, as that we have full liberty to choose what way of expressing our Consent we shall judge best; it beseems us to choose the most clear, full and satisfatory.

Reas. 4. Multitudes will be incapable of those publique, personall admonitions, which are in severall cases our duties, and we have agreed to perform, except they first know that we resolve on this course and in the generall do consent to it. They will take it for an unsufferable injury, to be so dealt with, meerly because they live in our Parishes, when they never consented to such a course. Nay it seems to me, that (at least as things now stand) we cannot without their exprefs Consent effectually use any further Discipline with them as Church-members, then meerly to keep them from the Lords Supper, which is now so common, that it seems to them as no disgrace or penalty. As long as they are continued as Members of our Churches, and have their children baptized, and themselves joyn with us in Gods solemn Praises and all other Ordinances, and have freedom from all publique particular Reproofs and Censures, being never noted by the Minister to be avoided, they little care for forbearing the Sacrament; we see thousands will keep away themselves without our exclusion. If any can (now) exercise any more Discipline without their peoples known fore-consent, let the practice of the Congregations in *England* witness. If it can be done, Why is it not? They will refuse to come near us, answer us, or regard any thing we say or do.

Reas. 5. Let those that better know the Law of the Land consider, whether it be not necessary to our own peace to free us from Law-suits, that we have first the peoples exprefs Consent? and whether they may have no Action against a Minister else for naming any man in the Congregation by Reproof, and pronouncing him a person to be avoided? and so no Discipline will be exercised.

Reas. 6. We have found by long and sad experience, that the people understand not generally the nature of Implicit Professions, and do indeed use them often as no Professions at all; and that their meer Implicit Covenanting with God, and obscure Professions of Faith, not understood, and dark worshippings of God, have tended much to destroy the life and being of Christianity, with many that content themselves with the name; and that nothing is more easie, then to turn all Professions, Engagements and Acts of Worship, into meer formall shews, and deny the power, and destroy it thereby: Why then should we

we resolutely choose that way, that hath produced such evils, and is like to continue them ?

Reas.7. It is evident that the end of a publique Profession and Engagement is a satisfactory discovery of mens' minds, and a firmer obliging them to God and their Superiours, and to each other: that so their duties, as to all these, may be the surelier performed; and they may more easily be convinced of their sin in case of *non*-performance. Now who knoweth not that the more expresse and solemn such Professions and Engagements be, the fitter they are for the attainment of their ends? And that which is best fitted to the end, is the best means.

Reas.8. It is agreeable to the excellent nature of the Truths and Duties of Christianity, and the great importance of such businesses (as to the Church and the souls of men) to be as *open* and *full* as is possible in the *owning* and acknowledging them. Truth suffers most by being obscured; and Duty, by being but superficially, ignorantly and reservedly owned and performed: And how much must the Church and mens souls hereby suffer! God loves the most open Confessions.

Reas.9. Many of the Separation do (on this ground especially) deny that our Parishes are true Churches, because they are not tied by Covenant or any expresse Consent into a Body Politick. On the same ground also they deny our Pastors to be true Ministers, because they have not the expresse Call or Consent of the people. Though I doubt not but this is their Error, yet the satisfying of so many exceptionous Brethren, and the removing of that which may still occasion their offence and hurt, and the continuance of Separation and the Churches divisions, is surely a work well worth our performing, and which we should endeavour as far as possibly we may.

Reas.10. The same want of expresse Consent is an offence to our Brethren of the Congregationall way, and hindreth our closure with them. And though some think that this is rather a disswasive, and that we should the rather shun it, lest we should seem to approve of their Church making Covenant, and so to recede from our former principles, yet I think this conclusion is much contrary to the Scripture, and the practice of *Paul*, in Circumcising *Timothy*, in Preaching privately to them of reputation, *Gal.2.2.* and becoming all things to all men; a Jew to the Jews, and a Greek to the Greeks. The love of our Brethren, and of the Churches Unity and Peace, should make godly men condescend in a greater matter then this, as long as we all acknowledge it a thing lawfull.

Reas. 11. We require nothing but what hath been the Ancient practice of the Church: that the People were used Expressly to Consent to their Chosen appointed Teachers, if not to Choose them, (yea even the Bishops themselves;) (yea that they might Reject unworthy Bishops when established,) and that Discipline was exercised before them, expressly and more rigorously then we pretend to, is well known to all that are acquainted with Antiquity. See for one *Cyprian Epist.* 68. p. 200, 201, 202. (*Edit. Goulartij.*) and see more in *Blondell. de Jure plebis in Regim. Eccles.* And for solemn profession of the Faith, it hath been of long and constant use, as in all parts of the Christian world, so in our own Congregations in *England*, where the People were every Lords day to Profess their Faith, by standing up at the Recitall of the Creed. And the Sacraments are Seals of the Covenant: and therefore all that receive the Sacraments must enter or renew their Covenant.

Reas. 12. Those (moderate men) that are most against Church-Covenantings, speak only against the Necessity of them; but the Lawfullness they deny not, no nor the Convenience in case of liberty; no nor the Necessity of the Thing, but only of the Circumstantials, and manner of expression, and ends by some affixed. They require that the People expressly Consent to the Choice of their Minister, and that they be examined before the Sacrament of their knowledge in the Fundamentals. This differs from what we propound, but in circumstances. And I should think it more seasonable and convenient, to be satisfied of our Peoples spirituall sufficiency, and capacity for Church-Communion, at our first Reformation of a disordered Church, or in a well-ordered Church, at their first transition out of the state of Imperfect Infant Members, and admission into the number of Adult members, (and after this, to suppose their Right good to Communion and Church priviledges, till it be on sufficient grounds disproved, excepted against or questioned by any,) when to try them as only for admission to the Lords Supper, suffering them to live quietly in the Reputation of Members, so they will not come to the Table of the Lord.

These are the Reasons, for substance, that were given in; on consideration whereof we resolved on this Practice: which I have therefore repeated, that others may consider of them, who else might through misunderstanding us, question our way.

Laitly, Let me add this: Our first Conclusion was only, of the Necessity (in these times) of the Peoples acknowledging us to be their

their Pastors, without which 1. We cannot know our Charge. 2. Nor our Duty. 3. Nor therefore will discharge our Duty. 4. And especially cannot exercise any considerable Discipline. But for the Publick Profession and Covenant with God, we take in it, only as very fit to go along with the former; that men might be engaged to God before they be engaged to their Overseers; and might first be clearly discovered Members of the Universall Church, before they profess themselves Members of a partiular Church.

We did at the same time answer two great Objections. 1. Of those that say, The Apostles required no such exprefs Consent.

Ans. 1. That Negative cannot be proved, though it were not written that they required it. 2. The Christians of those times gave a most full expression of their Consent to their particular Ministers, and to be Members of their particular Churches.

1. In that before the Church the Apostles appointed them Elders in every Church, whom they openly Accepted and Reverenced.

2. For Deacons, they bid the Church choose seven men whom they might Ordain.

3. The People voluntarily (when no Magistrate did constrain them) did continue in the Apostles Doctrine and Fellowship, and breaking of Bread and Prayer, and submitted to their Pastors as those that were over them and Governed them in the Lord: and without the Peoples exprefs Consent, none could then have Ruled them, by meer Ecclesiasticall Rule.

4. Remember that all this was done in times of persecution, when it hazarded their lives to acknowledge the Ministry, and to frequent Church Assemblies; which made the Apostle *Heb. 10. 25.* exhort them not to forsake the Assembling of themselves together, as some (for fear) did. Now this is a fuller signification of Consent to the Ministry and to Church membership, then dwelling in a Parish is; or the meeting to hear a Sermon is, when either Law or Custom brings them, and they discover by many wayes, that they either know not what a Church is, or what the Ministers Power is, or submit not, and Consent not to it. Further peruse the Scriptures that we have cited in the Profession.

5. Remember yet, that I maintain that God doth in Scripture require only [*Consent signified*]; but hath not tied us to this or that particular signe for [*signifying it*]; but having given us generall Rules that all things be done to Edification, Decently, &c. he hath left it to humane Prudence to determin of the particular signe (whether voice, subscription,

subscription, &c.) according to these Rules: And herein, the Pastors are to consult with their People about the Convenience; but the People to obey the determination of their Guides. So that if the Apostles had required no other signe of Consent but Actuell Meeting, yet it followeth not that therefore we must require no more.

2. The other great Objection was from the many Inconveniencies that may follow; in that it will seem so new and strange to our People. To which I answer: Practice but the Rules which we have agreed on in the manner of doing it, and all the Inconveniencies will be avoided, except those that must needs be expected by all that will be faithfull in the Ministry, and will not do the work of the Lord deceitfully.

Yet observe that we have left those Brethren at Liberty to neglect this, who will manifest to the Associated Ministers, that they can better order their Congregations and exercise Discipline, without requiring this express Consent, then with it. Also that we resolve not that those must do it immediately, whose People are not yet ready or capable, either through prejudice, ignorance or other impediments. Ignatius Ep. ad Polycarp. bids, hold frequent Assemblies, and enquire after all by Name: servants and maids, &c. must not be disclaimed.

10. Concerning the 20th Proposition about Constant Meetings, and the Rules of Association agreed on therein; observe that we tangle not with that great Question, Whether the Ministers of one Church are to exercise a proper Government over another? But laying aside the Question of Classicall Regiment, we only determine of what all neighbour Ministers and Churches are bound to, either in common duty, to one another as Christians (as to give a Reason of our Hope to those that ask it: to satisfie an offended Brother, to Love one another, &c.) or else as Ministers; and especially for the Unity and Peace of the Churches; which every man ought to use his utmost skill, industry and power, to attain and maintain.

So much for the explication of the Propositions.

A brief Explication of some Passages in the Profession.

I Intend not an Exposition of this Profession, which would be to write a Body of Tutorage. We have put it all in as plain termes as we could, that it might need the les explication. I had once thought

thought to have given you a Synthetical or Analytical scheme of it, that by discerning our Method, you might discern our Reasons for the location and order of each part and terme: But considering that the People, for whose sake I write, cannot make use of such a thing; and that the Judicious can easily Analyse it all of themselves: I will let that pass.

1. I must give you to understand, that the Reasons of our prefixing the Preface were these: 1. That our People may see the Grounds and Necessity of our Practice. 2. That we may not be thought to go on their Grounds, that take our Churches for no Churches before an express Covenant, superadded to all former signs of Consent; or that we may not be judged to go about the gathering of new Churches where were none before; when indeed we do all this but in Reformation of those that are Churches already. 3. That our People may be the more engaged, while they consent to our Reasons as well as our Articles.

2. Observe further, that yet we shall not refuse Communion or Association with any Church, Pastor or Person that meerly refuseth our Preface, and will joyn with us in our Profession, though on other grounds: as *e.g.* if he take our Churches for no Churches before this Profession have made them Churches.

3. We shall not therefore be peremptory in urging the Preface on any of our People (no more then on neighbour-Ministers;) nor urge them to use it as they must do the Profession: though we desire as full a Union as may be had, and therefore that none will causelessly dissent.

4. For the Profession it self, understand, that we distinguish between that which makes a man a Member of the Universal Church, (which must go first) and that which makes or declares a man to be a Member of a Particular Church. And therefore we have first put down so much as is necessary to the former (largely, as being of most weight;) and then put down that which is necessary to the later (briefly.)

5. That Faith which every Christian must have and profess, consisteth 1. In the Assent of his Understanding to the Truth of Fundamentals. 2. And in the Consent of his Will: 1. To the Relations between God and him. 2. And the Benefits following those Relations; which both are offered. 3. And to the Duties commanded, on the ground of those Relations. 4. Especially those Duties which are made by God the Condition of our Receiving the said Relations

tions or Benefits ; and so are of flat necessity thereto. Now in the Apostles Creed (commonly so called) both these are implied in the phrase of [Believing *in* :] But because the great stop now is in mens Wills, for submitting to the Practice of Professed Truths ; therefore we have thought it necessary (having so much Scripture warrant) to require distinctly a more express Profession 1. Of Assent to the Truth. 2. Of the foresaid Consent : the expressness being no way inconvenient, but in our judgements very needfull

6. Understand that for the former part, the Profession of Assent to the Fundamentals, we do make use of the common Creed called the Apostles, as our ground and text ; and we superadde our own, by way of Comment or Exposition. If any shall charge us with novelty or contempt of Antiquity in making the Ancient insufficient, I shall thus prove the charge to be unjust. 1. We highly esteem Antiquity, and especially the ancient Creed : and we take it to be sufficient to them that understand what it implieth, as well as what it expresseth : And therefore we continue it, and never desire to lay it by : no nor one word of it do we alter ; not so much as the questioned word, of descending into Hell. 2. Yet we suppose that a full Creed should express the Fundamentals, and that all things necessary to salvation are not expressed in that ancient Creed. Implicitly the whole Profession is in those three words, *Matth. 28. 20. Baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost* : Shall we therefore say that no more should be expressed ? or accuse the ancient Creed for expressing more ? 3. It is the Bible that we take for our present Rule, and we have fully proved both the Verity and Absolute Necessity of what we require, by clear Texts of Scripture. And if the Creed contain not that which the Scripture make necessary to Salvation, is it not as safe to say that the Creed hath too little, as that the Bible hath too much ? Though for my part I will say neither : because that Creed might be sufficient for former times, when men understood what was Implied, as well as what was Expressed : and may yet suffice, on supposition that men be taught what it implies, and will profess that Implied Doctrine by it self as an exposition. 4. You may as well accuse the Univerfall Church, as us, in this. If they did not accuse the old Creed of Insufficiency, when the Council of *Nice* formed theirs, and the Council of *Constantinople* added to that, and when many other Councils have had their proper Confessions, as most of the Reformed Churches also have had ; why should we be thought more guilty in this then they ? Sure *Athanasius* thought

thought as low of the sufficiency of the first Creed, as we do: And the Council of *Trent* thought it much more Insufficient, as their detestable additions witness. 5. Understand, that we are so moderate in this point, and so sensible of the mischief of enlarging our Creed beyond the bounds of Scripture, that we will not break Communion with any (I speak for my self and those whose mindes I know) who will take only the Apostles Creed, on these two Conditions: 1. So they will add the following Profession of *Consent*, without which a bare Assent will do little good, seeing the Devils, saith *James*, beleeve and tremble. 2. So be it they make it appear that it is not to hide any Heresie, that they refuse our explicatory Profession; and that they are not ignorant of those necessary Truths which our Profession doth contain. 6. If any say, We should have made use then of some other of the ancient Creeds. I answer, We have made use only of the most ancient and unquestionable; not formed by the Council at *Nice*; but by the Counsell of the Holy Ghost, and delivered expressly in the Scriptures: not mixed with our conceits, but given you in Gods express words.

7. The things that we thought should be fullier expressed then in the ancient Creed, are these: 1. A man may beleeve all expressed in the ancient Creed, and yet beleeve that there is a hundred Gods: For it expresseth not God to be the Only God, yet doubtless this is implied. 2. That Creed may be professed, and yet men deny Gods Infiniteness, his Omniscience, Goodness, Mercy, Justice, Preservation, Government of all, &c. yet doubtless these are all implied in the term [God.] 3. A man may beleeve all that is expressed in the ancient Creed, and yet deny, not only Original sin, but that ever man did fall from God and Happiness, or ever stood in need of a Redeemer. 4. The ancient Creed telleth us not that Christ is God, and therefore may be taken by an Arian. 5. It tels us not that ever Christ was the Redeemer of the world nor of any in it: nor that ever he died for sin. 6. No, nor that he died for us: It only telleth us that he was crucified, dead and buried; but telleth us neither why, nor for whom, nor for what: yet no doubt but it implieth all these things, which it expresseth not. It telleth us of beleeving the forgiveness of sins, but it telleth us not whether they are forgiven for Christs sake, or with any respect to his sacrifice as the cause; yet no doubt it implied this. 7. It doth not so much as profess that Christ himself was without sin. 8. It so obscurely mentioneth the Article of the Holy Ghost, not expressing his Relation to us, or works for us, Miracles
or

or any other, that from thence alone it cannot be known, what a saving faith in the holy Ghost is. I will add no more: Only, were it not for interrupting the unlearned Reader, I would here recite many of the Ancient Fathers Creeds or Principles, that you might see how we agree with them in the Point here added. One you may see in *Origens Prolog. ante Periarcb.* Learned Parker (or Sanesford) de *Descensu* will direct you to more. One brief one I will venture to set down, because it is so ancient, and so agreeable to the Scripture. *Tertull. de præscript. cap. 13. Regula est autem Fides, ut jam hinc, quid credamus profiteamur: illâ scilicet quâ creditur [Unum omnium Deum esse, nec alium præter mundi conditorem; qui universa de nihilo produxerit, per verbum suum primò omnium emissum. Id verbum Filium ejus Appellatum, in Nomine Dei variè visum Patriarchis, in Prophetis semper auditum, postremò delatum ex spiritu Dei Patris, & Virtute, in Virginem Mariam, carnem factum in utero ejus, & ex eâ natum hominem, & esse Jesum Christum: Exinde prædicasse Novam Legem & Novam Promissionem Regni Cælorum: Virtutes fecisse: Fixum Cruci: Tertia die Resurrexisse: In Cælos ereptum sedere ad dextram Patris: Mississe Vicariam Vim Spiritus Sancti qui credentes agat: Venturum cum charitate ad sumendos sanctos in Vita eterna & promissionum cælestium fructum; & ad prophanos judicandos igni perpetuo, facta utriusq; partis Resuscitatione cum carnis Resurrectione.] Hæc Regula a Christo ut probabitur instituta, nullas habet apud nos questiones, nisi quas hæses inferunt, & quæ hereticos faciunt.*

Vide & Irenæum l. I. c. 4. & l. 2. c. 2.

8. We thought it necessary to reduce all the Fundamentals or Articles of the Creed to three heads, *viz.* the Father, Son, holy Ghost, and their Relations and Works. Because Christ himself in the Baptismal Institution compriseth all in these three: *Mat. 28. 19, 20.* And many Learned men think, that the Churches common Creed was no larger at first (as Parker de *Descensu* at large endeavours to prove; and *Lud. Crocius Syntag. &c.*) or at least that thence it had its rise.

9. Our greatest care of all hath been, to give you the Scripture sense in the Scripture phrase; that so no good Christian may have any seeming cause to scruple the Professing it: and none might be able to deny it, without plain denying Gods own Word. The Necessity of so doing is so evident, and our Reasons against departing from the letter of the Text, are so many and obvious, that I will not trouble you with them. I pray you peruse Learned Dr *Staughtons*

Form

Form of Wholsome Words, Sermon. 2. pag. 60, 61, 62.

10. We did it as a work of Necessity, not presuming of our sufficiency so far as to say or think that we have done it perfectly: For we judge it a work fit for a Councill of the ablest men on earth, to do it as it should be done, *viz.* that there may be no word too little, or too much, or unfit, or out of order.

11. We thought it meet to subjoyn the full proof of every word from the Scripture, that it might be past controversie with all believers. Concerning the Texts cited I must desire you to observe, that every Text doth not expresse the very words that we have put down, but all expresse the sense and summe of the words; so that I think scarce two syllables can be found that are not expressly in the words of Scripture, which contain any matter that is liable to controversie. If you finde ten Texts cited for one thing, if the words be not in nine of them, it is sufficient if they be in the tenth; and therefore I must intreat you, if you doubt, to peruse them all. And let not the number offend you: If you need them not, they are no trouble to you: Few of them, I think, or none, are impertinent: A consent of many Texts may convince more then one single Text: at least it will be usefull to have so many Texts at hand, for the convincing any others of any Article of the Faith, though you doubt not your selves. Only the particular Application of some parts of the last Branch, *viz.* [*our Consent that such a man shall be our Pastor, and that we will be Members of this or that particular Church:*] cannot be proved in termes from Scripture, but by consequence: For who can expect that Scripture should name the persons of our Pastors, or the places of our habitation?

12. As for the sense of some few of the termes that may possibly be misunderstood, I shall give you my own thoughts, but briefly passing over all the rest.

1. In the first Part, when we subjoyn [*the Father*] to [*one only God*] we do not exclude the Son and holy Ghost: for we afterwards expresse the contrary. But we speak 1. In the language of the Scripture, as the Texts cited will inform you. 2. And in the ordinary language of Divines, who therefore call the Father *Fundamentum Trinitatis*.

2. In mentioning Gods Being (which we put first) and his Primary Attributes, we apply the word [*Infinite*]:o them all. And by the Infiniteness of his Being, we mean his Eternity and Immensity: (That he is not a Body but a Spirit, not visible, palpable, &c. as bodies are,

we imply or rather express in the very terme [God.] By his Infinite Wisdome, we mean his perfect Knowledge of himself and all things intelligible, past, present or to come; their causes, manners, ends, circumstances, &c. and how all things should be ordered and disposed of for the best. By his Infinite Goodness, we mean all the perfection of his Holiness, Inclination (if I may so speak) to do Good to his Creatures, and in a word, whatsoever it is in God which we may conceive of in Analogie to Morall Virtues in man, which lye in the perfection of his Will (as by Infiniteness of his Wisdome we mean all his Intellectuall perfections.) By the Infinite Power of God, we mean his Omnipotency, and all the perfection of that in God, which bears Analogie with the Executive Virtue in man. For as in describing the perfections of man, we must first express his Being as the Foundation, and then reduce all his Principall Virtues to the Perfections of his Intellect, Will and Executive Power; so must we be forced for our weak apprehensions, to do by the Incomprehensible God, while we can know him but in this Glas. Next we thought meet to mention his Principall Works, and Relations thereupon: 1. As to all the Creatures: of whom he is 1. The Maker, 2. Preserver, 3. Disposer: 2. As to the Rationall Creature in particular: of whom he is the Lord: which terme we use in the Scripture sense as it comprehendeth both his Absolute Propriety in us, and his Absolute Sovereign Rectorship over us all: To which Relations of his it is that his perfect Justice is to be subjoynd, and his Mercy as to the most eminent exercise of it. God must be considered as Rector, before he is considered as a most Just and Mercifull Rector.

3. In the second Part, We thought meet first to express the Disease and then the Remedy. The first lay in Sin the Cause, and its effects: which as to our loss is, in falling from God and Happines (our true God:) and the state to which we fell is that threefold misery, Gods wrath, the Curse of the Law, and the Power of Satan. Though God hath not wrath as man hath, yet there is some Cause of our sufferings in God, which man can have no fitter conceiving or expression of, then under the notion of wrath: and therefore we must do as Scripture doth, in distinguishing between Gods wrath and the effects of it, and not make them all one. When we say, Man is fallen under the Power of the Devill; we include, the Power of Sin, and the Flesh, and the World: for these are but Satans materials, baits or instruments. A double Power of Satan we mean: both as he is the Cause of Sin, and as he is the Cause of punishment, and therefore is said to have the

the Power of Death, *Heb. 2. 14.* 2. The Remedie of this malady we have described in its severall Causes and parts, which I will leave to your observation. By the word [*ordained*] we have no respect to Eternal Decrees *de rerum eventu* : but to Christs Legislation, which is in order to be placed before Judgement and its execution, which are next subjoined. So did the Church in *Tertullians* dayes, as you may see by his [*Prædicasse novam Legem.*]

In the third Part, we thought it meet to be larger on the Belief of the holy Ghost, then other Creeds are. For doubtless as it is not only the essence and person of the Father and the Son that are to be Believed ; but also the Relation and works of the Father as Creator, and of the Son as Redeemer ; so is it the Relation and works of the holy Ghost also that must be Believed to Salvation. And if the sin against the holy Ghost be so desperate, doubtless Belief in the holy Ghost is as necessary. And indeed I fear most Christians do not understand or consider well this part of their Creed, what it is to believe in the holy Ghost. I think the ancient Creed which I cited from *Tertullian* expresseth it excellently [*Misisse Vicariam vim Spiritus Sancti qui credentes agat.*] Its like God would have kept the mystery of the Trinity unknown to us, and never have made it the object of our faith, if the severall persons had not stood in those Relations to us, and done those works for us, that must needs be known. I think *Tertullians* termes are an exact interpretation of the work [*Paraclere,*] it is called *Vim Vicariam*, because Christ being personally in Heaven, hath sent the holy Ghost to do the rest of his work on earth, and carry on his Cause, and maintain his Interest till he return, against the world, flesh and Devil, which is to be Christs Advocate, or properly his Agent [*qui Credentes Agat.*] and that is two wayes, that he Actuateth Believers: 1. Extraordinarily ; by Inspiring the Prophets and Apostles, and causing them to work Miracles and speak with tongues, &c. And doubtless this is a most principall part of our Belief in the holy Ghost ; *viz.* To Believe, that the Spirit which spake by the Apostles, and by which Believers did speak with tongues and work Miracles, was the very Spirit of God, even the holy Ghost, and not an evil deceiving Spirit, (which they that affirm blaspheme the holy Ghost :) and consequently that the many glorious works and gifts of this Spirit, are an infalible seal to the Truth of the Testimony and Doctrine of Christ. For you must note the order of each part of our Creed. The Father is to be Believed in as the first Cause and End of man ; and as his Happines. The Son is to be Believed in as the only way to

the Father, to Recover man to his favour and to the Happiness which he lost. The holy Ghost is to be Believed in as the eminent Principall way to the Son, by inspiring the Prophets to foretell him, but specially by the wonderfull Gifts and frequent evident uncontroled Miracles which were wrought by the Disciples; and also by animating and sanctifying his people: This is Christs last and great witness, which must convince the world, or else they shall have no greater to convince them. 2. And the holy Ghost must also be believed in, in regard of his more ordinary [Actuating of Believers; and that is, as our Guide, Illuminator, Sanctifier and Assister against our spiritual enemies in our Conflicts, and Comforter in our distresses.

In mentioning the Spirits indwelling and working (which because they are more undoubted Scripture terms, we put in stead of *Tertulians* [*Qui credentes agat*]) we make Believers the subject: Because though faith it self be the gift of God, yet there is so much greater and more eminent grace given after faith, and on condition of believing, then the Grace is which enableth us to believe, that it is only the giving of that greater measure (and extraordinary Gifts) which in the New Testament is usually called the Giving of the Spirit: For (as Mr *Th. Hooker* and others express it) the Spirit in working Faith doth but, as it were, make his way into the soul, and then dwelleth and worketh there afterwards; as (saith he) some Birds first make their way into a hard tree by stocking a hole in it, and afterward make their nests and lay their young there. Here note well, that we thought meet before we expressed the particular works of the Spirit in Believers, to mention first the relative change of their states, which in order goeth between their believing, and their further sanctification: These we have expressed in four terms. The first in order is our conjunction to Christ as our Head, called by Divines, our Union with him. The second is our Membership in the universal Church which is his body. The third is our Pardon or Justification. The fourth is our Adoption: Where note 1. That we call not these [the Works of the Spirit] but put them in as in a Parenthesis, between our believing and the works of the indwelling Spirit. 2. Yet we choose rather to put them in this part of our Profession then the former, because as no man hath right to these benefits but through Faith, so though they are not the effects of that Faith (which the Spirit worketh) yet are they consequents of it by vertue of Christs Promise or New Law; and though faith be not the cause of them in strict sense, yet it is the condition of our Right in them. And therefore.

fore they seem here to be placed, as Divines commonly do, between Faith and Sanctification.

Note also that by being [sanctified to Christ as a peculiar people] we intend first the real change, commonly called Sanctification; and also the Relation that thence follows, of being a separated, sanctified, dedicated, peculiar people. And we take sanctification, not for that first work commonly called Vocation, whereby Faith and Repentance are first wrought; but as the Scripture takes it for the following effect of the Spirit dwelling in us. How the Spirit dwells or worketh in us, we presume not to define. Further note that we describe the exercise of this sanctification: 1. In respect to the state *from which* we are changed, where we judged it necessary to imitate the Church, which hath alwaies in Baptism required a renouncing of the world, flesh and devil; and therefore (Scripture making it necessary to salvation) we think it requisite that this be in our Creed: Also we rather put in [Mortifying the flesh, and overcoming the world and the devil] then meeerly striving against them, both because the first is the common Scripture language, and because it is not all striving, but that which ends in overcoming that is saving. 2. As for the state *to which* sanctification brings us, we thought meet 1. To put down the manner and nature of the inclination it self, in the Apostles words [Zealous of good Works] lest any should think that the externall work is all. And for the exercise of it, we distribute it according to the Decalogue: 1. Into serving God in holiness, which hath chief respect to the first Table. 2. And in righteousness, by which we specially mean the duties of the second Table. 3. Yet we thought it necessary to adde [the special love of the Saints, and communion with them, and the hope of Christs coming and Everlasting Life] not as if we thought the Decalogue extended not to these; but because Christ in the Gospel hath in a singular and eminent sort required them, and made them duties so specially Evangelical, and necessary in particular: and the ancient Creed had [the Communion of Saints] which therefore we ought not to leave out.

Note also, that though Faith, Love and Obedience be mentioned both in the second part and in the third, yet it is no vain repetition: For in the second part they are mentioned, as they appertain to Christs Legislation and Judgement, and are required of man in order to his happiness: but in the third part they are mentioned as actually conferred by the holy Ghost. So Everlasting Life is mentioned in the first part, as given (*quoad jus*) by the Promise, and as that

which Christ will adjudge us to : But in the third part it is mentioned as the object of Christian Hope.

Concerning the Profession of Consent, note 1. It was necessary that we repeat the same things which were before expressed in the Profession of Assent, because it is (mostly) the same things which the Understanding receives as true (together with the truth of enunciations concerning them) and which the Will receives as Good. 2. I take the Truth and Authority and Sufficiency of Scripture, to be plainly included in the Article of our Believing in the holy Ghost (as I have said) and therefore we may well require that it be consented to.

Lastly, Understand also that when you promise to God, to take his Word and Law as your Rule, you shew hereby, that this Law must be studied that you may understand it : For how can it be the Rule of your Faith and Life which you understand not, nor meditate on, that you may understand it? *Psal. 1. 2, 3.* And therefore you may see, that it is not enough to learn this Creed or Profession, but you must study the Bible, whence this is taken.

Especially remember that it is here supposed that you understand the ten Commandments, which shew you what is your duty, and also the great Commands of the Gospel, for Faith, Repentance, forgiving wrongs, loving the brethren, and loving enemies, &c. which Christ hath eminently set his signature on. All this is implied also, in your Promise of sincere Obedience. Also the duties of hearing the Gospel preached, of instructing your families, *Dent. 6. 6.* of constant and fervent Prayer, of the use of the Lords Supper, &c. are here implied : Those that promise Obedience, and yet live ungodly, with untaught, ungoverned prayerless families, and in the neglect of known duties, do but aggravate their sins by the addition of Promise-breaking. *It is therefore very necessary that the Creed or Profession of Faith, the ten Commandments, and the Lords Prayer (which is the Directory for Prayer) be learned of all men :* and it is necessary that they understand the Doctrine of the Sacraments.

As for the last (our Consent to particular Ministers and Church-membership,) we have given you those Scriptures from whence you may see it proved, that such a Consent there must be ; though the particular places and persons (as is said before) are not there named, nor will any wise man expect they should.

To conclude ; I will tell you in a word more, what use we intend to make of this Profession. 1. When any Infants are to be baptized,

I shall

I shall expect that the Parents do both profess their own faith (of Assent and Consent) that we may see they are such whose Children have right to that Priviledge; and that they engage their Children into the same: and therefore I shall repeat to them the Apostles Creed, with our annexed Profession of Consent, omitting our explicatory Profession of Assent, as implied in the old Creed (because we would in Baptisme be as contracted as may well be.) 2. When any Person doth signifie his desire to pass out of the Number of Infant-members, into the state and number of Adult-members, I shall require of them an open Profession of the whole (both of the old Creed, and our larger Scripture Profession.) 3. At the first Reforming (now) of our present Congregations, I shall desire all to Profess the whole, and endeavour to see that they competently understand the sense of those words which they speak. I will not affirm every word in this Profession to be of absolute Necessity to Salvation. But I will say this, that I know not many (if any) Doctrines in it, which I dare say a man may deny, and yet be saved (among our ordinary hearers.) And we thought it far safer to put in a word more then is of *absolute* Necessity (seeing even that may be yet of inferior necessity,) then to leave out one word, which may prove of such Necessity; and so mens salvation may be hazarded, by the not receiving it. Yet where it is clear that any word was not of absolute Necessity, we were very studious of omitting it, desiring much in a Creed all possible brevity, that may not hazard mens souls. 4. Understand that for our Profession of particular Church-membership, and submission to our Guides, we intend never to offer it to our People, but this one time (without some necessity which we do not foresee;) it being not matter to be so oft made use of: But the Profession of our Faith for Assent and Consent, we shall frequently make use of, as is expressed. *So much for Explication.*

Objections Answered.

Besides what is said that way in the foregoing Explication of our Agreement, I shall briefly answer such Objections, as the severall differing parties may raise against our course, and their joyning with us.

1. Some there are (of what party I know not, except of the Worlds as opposed to Christs) that resolve they will make no alterations, nor exercise any Discipline till they see what the Parliament will establish : I think for fear of being engaged against what they may establish. And so if the Parliament will never establish Discipline, they will have none at all. If these men pray for the discovery of the right way of Discipline, it must be but as a Gentleman that I have heard of in the Warres, prayed every day that God would open his eyes to shew him which side would get the better, and that he would take for the better side. I confess I take not these men to be fit for our Association, and therefore will not argue the case with them, but leave them to the Parliament for their reward, seeing the Parliament is esteemed as their chief Lord and Master. If the Parliaments License or Toleration may serve all dividers for the executing of their designs against the Unity and Peace of the Church, and for setting up of false waies, and yet will not serve these men (without a command) for Uniting and Reforming : It seems others are faster friends to Satan and Heresie, then they are to Christ and Verity.

2. Others (of the same nest) think that it is in vain to attempt any thing without the Authority of the Magistrate, for people will but despise us, What will they care for our avoiding them ? or who will avoid them at our persuasions ? It will be but *mane fulmen*, if the power of the Sword do not both prepare respect to it, and also second it.

I take these men also to be not only unworthy an answer, but unworthy to be Ministers of the Gospel ; who have so base an esteem of the Gospel, and the power which they have received ; and dare think that it is such a leaden or wooden Sword which Christ hath put into their hands ; when both the Scriptures which they preach, and the Churches experience might have taught them that these spiritual weapons are powerfull and mighty ? or if they prove at any time ineffectuall, let them suspect the ill managing of them. For ought I know these men might as well on their own grounds give over Preaching, till the Magistrate will force men to Pray, Meditate, Believe, Repent, and do every duty that they perswade men to (were it not for a more effectuall argument called *Lucrum*.) What did the poor Church do for so many hundred years, when Magistrates were against them ? and yet Discipline was acted in such rigour, as would not now be endured to be once attempted ? Hath Christ given you the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven, and cannot you use them
without

without the arm of Magisterial Authority? I desire God to change your mindes, or else to rid the Church of you and all such, and put his Keyes into such hands as can use them; and to give his people such Pastors, as take Christs Authority to be valid for enabling them to their work, and do not make the Magistrates their God. Though yet I shall as freely acknowledge the usefulness of the Magistrates power in seconding Christs commands, as another; and doubt not but it is a very easie task to manifest the sinfulness of their neglect herein.

3. Others Object, that we shall but disturb and discompose our people, and occasion many to hold off from joyning with us, and others to separate when they finde themselves touched by our closer proceedings: and is it not better to let them go on in peace as they do?

Ans. 1. When the strong man armed keeps the house, the things that he possesseth are in peace. Satan maintains his interest in Souls, and States and Churches, most effectually, when he can stablish it in peace. Most sinners are quiet in the state of sin, if you would let them alone and not disturb them. The house that's fallen down, lieth still; and will you not re-edifie it for fear of stirring it? 2. Are our Congregations in a state to be rested in, or no? That is the Question to be determined. And I prove that they are not: 1. Our people live in the constant practice of apparent sin, by having and holding Communion with those, whose Communion the Scripture commandeth them to avoid. 2. This is become a Church-sin, which is more hainous and dangerous then private and personall sins. 3. Ministers live in constant apparent sin, not only in continuing the same Communion, but in neglecting of a great part of their duty; never once acquainting the vilest whoremaster; drunkard, or other evil doer, of his duty to forbear Church-communion, and his danger in usurping it (I mean personally, that he may apply it;) or never acquainting the Church with their duty to avoid all familiarity and communion with that man, nor once requiring them to do it. 4. Hereby multitudes of evil doers are not only encouraged or hardened in sinning, but also deluded to think their state good enough for salvation, as long as they are admitted into Christian communion, or taken for Members of the Church. 5. Hereby all the great necessary duties of private and open Reproof and Admonition are neglected also by our people: For when they see that they cannot proceed in it to tell the Church, that he may be admonished by the Pastors, they think it almost

almost as good say nothing ; and so men do not plainly rebuke their neighbours, but suffer sin to lie upon them. 6. Also hereby the Lords Supper is abused, and Receiver and Giver made guilty, and judgements drawn down on the Church. 7. Hereby God is provoked to estrange himself from our Assemblies, and less to own our Prayers, Praises, Sacraments, &c. and to withdraw his grace, I do not say that this guilt lies on Church or Minister for the presence of a wicked man at the Sacrament, when we have discharged our duty, to prevent or hinder it ; For it is not bare presence that makes Communion : In a moral sense it is no Communion, if we disclaim and disown the person, though he sit among us ; for this breaks familiarity as well as locall removall. If I be constrained to eat privately, with a drunkard (either through necessity of hunger, or others violence, &c.) I break not *Pauls* precept [*With such a one no not to eat,*] if I do but declare that I renounce communion or familiarity with him. But when we do not our duty the case is otherwise. 8. Hereby many Ministers (that do keep them from the Lords Supper, and do no more) do give occasion to the enemies of the Ministry to say we deal self-contradictingly ; to deny the Sacrament to those whom we take for Church-members, or suffer to continue Church-members year after year ; and to whom we grant all other priviledges of Communion : Whenas we are as much bound to avoid all private familiarity with them, and to require the Church to do the like. 9. Hereby we do hainously reproach and dishonour the Christian profession, by suffering obstinate rebels to go under the name of Christians and Church-members. 10. Hereby we occasion the infection of our flocks, and the increase of wickedness, by keeping up the credit of the wicked, or keeping them from that discredit which Christ would have them undergo : and by suffering good and bad to have equal familiarity, converse and society ; and so a little leaven may leaven the whole lump. 11. Hereby we hinder the recovery of the wicked, which by Christs means of shaming them might be furthered. 12. Lastly, Hereby we cause not only our Churches to be reproached, as having in them constant drunkards, whoremongers, railers, &c. (nay we know not well, who is a member and who not) but also multitudes of tender well-meaning Christians to separate from them, as common sinks of all pollution. *It is because we will not make that meet and necessary separation, which Christ requireth regularly and authoritatively as Guides of the Church, that so many do make irregular sinfull separations.* The great fault is in us, and we do

but condemn our selves in crying out against Separatists, as long as we continue the occasion by our neglect.

Thus I have briefly given you some of my reasons, for a necessity of further Discipline, and why we may not content our selves with that state that our Churches are now in; no though we do keep open ungodly ones from the Lords Supper. (I speak not of those Churches that are well ordered, and know their members, and exercise Discipline.)

More particularly, 1. Some Brethren of the Classicall way may possibly Object, that joyning with us in this way, may seem to signify a dislike of the Resolutions of the Assembly, or a Consent to the undoing of what they have done. *Ans.* There is no ground for this scruple: For we do not disclaim or condemn the judgement or way of any party, by taking up at present with what all are agreed in. A present forbearance of the use of full Classicall Government, is no rejecting it. We did in this County seek for Authority from the Parliament many years ago, for the establishing of the Presbyterian Government; and all our endeavours were frustrate. And many Brethren that make this Objection, do Preach themselves without the exercise of the Presbyterian Government. For because they live not in *London, Lancashire, Shropshire*, where that Government was authorized by Parliament, therefore they will not use it: And so some of them for many years have forborn all administration of the Lords Supper, and others administer it without any exercise of Discipline: And may not we as lawfully exercise so much as all are agreed in, as they may forbear all?

Obj. But why may not you as well set up the Classicall Government punctually, as do what you do? *Ans.* We are not all of one minde; and those of us that are for the Classicall Government, do not think those parts of it which we here omit and forbear, to be of so great necessity or moment, as for the present use of it, to disjoyn and divide from all our Brethren of a different Judgement. We take our selves bound to do much for the Unity and Peace of the Churches: Besides, being many of us at a losse in several controverted Points of Discipline, we think the Amicable Union and Association of Brethren, where all things may be frequently and plainly debated, will be the likeliest way to satisfie and rectifie us in those controverted Points. In the mean time, you may joyn with us in going so far as we can go Unanimously, without disclaiming, yea or forbearing

your own way. For I think the constant exercise of the Presbyterian Government may well consist with our Propositions and Associations: part of it being indeed above, but not contrary to our Agreement, and therefore may be done by those that will overgo us, without dividing from us.

As for the Objection about the Necessity of Ordaining Elders, it is answered before.

And whereas it may be Objected, that we do allow a single Minister to name offenders, and to charge it on the peoples consciences to avoid Communion with them, which only a Presbytery is authorized to do, I answer, 1. We desire each Church may have a Presbytery, and then we are agreed. 2. The Brethren of the Classicall Way do allow a single Pastor to pronounce the sentence of Excommunication it self, so be it he have the advice and consent of a Presbytery. And to avoid all possibility of breach upon this ground, we have agreed to take the advice of the Association of Ministers, before we require the people to avoid Communion with any: Only we resolve not to do this all on the same reasons and principles: One may think it of flat necessity in a Regimentall way: Another may think it of necessity in a way of Union: Another may think it convenient to avoid miscarriages and rash censures in so weighty a case: Another may think it fit to be yielded to, for Peace with those Brethren that judge it necessary, seeing it is unquestionably lawfull to take advice in cases of such weight. And why must we needs agree in our Reasons, as long as we agree in our practice? 3. It is only a Preaching power that we exercise, applying Christs doctrine to particular persons and cases: supposing the evidence of the fact and guilt to be beyond question, we do but apply the word to the person hereupon. The Word saith that with such we must not eat, we must not bid them Good speed, we must turn away from them, &c.] Now I have neighbours that go mad-drunk about the streets sometime once a week, sometime once in three daies, sometime but once a fortnight; Where hath God made it the prerogative of a Presbytery to name this man openly? or to say, With such a man you must not eat?] Or if I have a neighbour that would openly perswade others that Scripture is a fable and no Word of God; Why may not I say, [Bid him not good speed.] Have not Pastors a charge of particular souls, but only of people in general? Is not the Old Testament and New full of examples to warrant us in this? Take heed of crying down duty, under pretence of questioning Authority. If a single Pastor (that hath no
Presby-

Presbytery) shall all his time neglect the personal, publique reproof of such men, or warning the Church to avoid them, Dare you warrant him and answer for him at Gods barre? and for all the wrong that the Church may sustain by his neglect? If publique naming men be a Classicall Presbyterial, or Episcopall prerogative, then it will be as unlawfull for me to make so close an application, as to note out the person without naming him; for the case is all one. And then I may not answer a Separatist that will publicly contradict my doctrine: or that will step up and Preach lies in my Congregation; because I cannot answer or reprehend him, without naming him, or personally applying my speeches to him. And then it seems a Minister may not out of the Pulpit name or describe any particular offenders openly, either in the Church or elsewhere: For the Pulpit makes not the difference (nor have we agreed there to do it.) What a deal of unscriptural invention is here? tending to the overthrow of all Ministerial power and duty. For if you will prove that one man may not name or particularize a sinner in reproof in publique, I will prove by the same reason that he may not as a Minister do witness publicly before any witnesses; nor yet may perswade such particular persons to believe in Jesus Christ; which *Paul* durst do to a *Felix* or *Agrippa*.

Obj. But the offended Brother is bid [*Tell the Church*] and not Tell a particular Minister. And it is the Church that he is to hear.

Ans. And dare you say, he must not hear a particular Minister? Suppose it were granted you, that one Minister cannot be a Representative Church (as you interpret this Text) nor yet that it is the Congregation that is here meant; Doth it follow that because ultimately the offended person must tell the Presbytery or Classis, that therefore he must not tell a single Pastor? or yet that a single Pastor must not without such telling, take notice of open abominations in the streets, nor personally reprove men? Thrust nothing on the Church without Scripture. It seems I may not go into the streets to reprove a railer, or part a fray, or reprehend the breakers of the Lords day, because it is a Classicall or Episcopall prerogative to name men openly. Whether *Lot* offended in rebuking the *Sodomites*, will then be a hard question: For its like there was a greater Assembly then we have ordinarily at Worship: And if a Pastor may not do it, much less may any private man do it: and so farewell all brotherly open admonition; by any but a Classis or Bishop.

Obj. But, at least, one man may not sit in Judgement, nor examine

the evidence of the fact when it is doubtfull. *Ans.* 1. A Pastor must endeavour to know the state of every particular soul in his charge, and therefore use all fit means to finde out all scandalous sins. May not he go to, or send for one of his people, and ask him whether such things be so or not? or ask others whether they know it? What is that Question which a Classis or Bishop may put, and a Pastor may not? 2. But for administering Oathes we meddle not with it. 3. And where the case is doubtfull, we disclaim all Determinations or Censures: Those we leave as others prorogative, confessing it belongs not to us. I do not think that so high a penalty as exclusion from Church-Communion, must passe upon dark and doubtfull Evidences.

Let me add this much of my own private Opinion (wherein all my Brethren here agree not with me,) I confess I take it for a very clear truth, that one single Pastor may not only do what we have agreed in, but may properly Excommunicate, and may Govern a Church, where there is no other Governour of that Church with him: Nay more then that, I think he may and must do all that we agree in (in this point) though there were a Presbytery in that Church, and the *major* Vote were against him. I would willingly give you my reasons for these Assertions; but only for fear lest you should think by my reasoning for them, that these were any part of our Agreement, or that our Propositions had any necessary dependance on these.

I will say no more to any Objections that may possibly be made by my Brethren of the Classial way, because I finde by experience it is needless (if others be as those with us,) For they are the forwardest men to our Union and Association, of any others (here.) The Lord grant the like spirit of Unity and Condescension in other Parts.

As for the Objections that may be made by our Brethren of the Congregational way, I shall but touch them briefly.

1. Some may Object, that tying our selves to the observation of Parish bounds, and one Minister not to receive Members from anothers Congregations, doth hinder the free gathering of Churches, and may force a man to submit to a weak Minister, when he might have a better.

Ans. 1. Brethren! Would you have Unity and Peace or no? If you would, must not you condescend as far as may be to others, as well

well as others to you? Let it be the property of the Pope to accept of no Peace with any Church that will not wholly come up to his will and way. And you know that this is the great point which you must yield in, or you cannot have Union with the contrary minded.

2. Did you ever reade in Scripture that those were Members of a Church in one City, who lived constantly in another City that had a Church? Shew me where? yea or that ever any were Members of one Church, that lived among the Members of another Church? Shew me that if you can.

3. Doth not Church Association and duty necessarily presuppose cohabitation? Is not natural capacity prerequisite to all duties or enjoyments? Can men in the Countrey that live in one Parish, do the offices and enjoy the benefits of Members many miles from them, beyond their capacity? 4. Is it not fit that bounds for order and division should be set? And may not the Magistrate do it? And is it not done in most places, as well as you can desire? And where it is not, but Parishes are either too great or too small, get them amended as soon as you can. In the mean time, affect not confusion: turn not all order upside down: God is not the God of confusion, but of order, which he would have established in all the Churches.

5. In the mean time, I pray you observe, that you may joyn with us in this without contradicting or deserting your own principles. For if there be fit persons enough in each Parish to compose a Church, and they be willing to keep to the ancient Bounds, will you not confess it lawfull? Yea very fit? I know you will. If there be not enough in one Parish, we have agreed to lay two together; but by consent, and upon advice first had with the Association, and not too privately, lest it be rashly and unadvisedly. And can you disallow this? And if any particular persons living in one Parish would be Members of the Church in another, we have agreed to examine the case: 1. If that Parish that he lives in, have no Minister, or one as bad as none, or the person produce a just cause of his desire, we agree to admit him. 2. If the person have no sufficient cause, yet by consent of the Ministers of both Churches, we deny not but such a case may be dispensed with (as if a man say, I can profit more by a neighbour-Minister.) 3. But if he have no just cause, and they both consent not, we may well resolve to forbear and refuse him. For 1. Ministers are Free-men as well as the people, and therefore every mans desire must not deprive them of their freedom, and necessitate their yielding to it. 2. In such a case no violence is offered to the freedom of a Brother. 3. The publique wellfare and

Unity of the Churches, is to be preferred before the pleasing, yea or edifying of any single Member. What confusion will follow the plucking up of Christs and the Magistrates and the Churches bounds? 4. Much more must the temporall commodity of single men, give place to the Churches welfare (which will not stand with disorder.) Should not such remove their dwellings into those bounds where they would be Church-members? If you plead inconveniencies to them: Remember then it is no matter of Conscience, but of worldly commodity: And may not I set the generall good of the Churches against any mans commodity? 5. If all the people may lawfully joya themselves with that Church which hath the Ablest Teacher, then almost all the world must go to a few men, and leave the rest. Then *Barnabas* may be forsaken, if *Paul* be the chief Speaker. 6. And then Able mens Churches will grow to that bigness, that they will be no Churches, the Matter being too big for the End and Form. I would know this of you, May not you agree on a way to keep your own Churches from swelling too big? no doubt: and must too: some then must be kept out. And may not you as honestly and orderly resolve to keep out Members of another Parish, that are fitter by habitation to be Members of another Church, then to keep out the fit Members of your own Parish, that live among you? 7. If you may (as you do) agree among your selves not to receive the Members of another Church that unwarrantably forsake their Pastor, without his consent; and this without any reference to Parish-bounds; why may you not better resolve on the same course with reference to Parish-bounds, where you have two reasons. The parties reasons for removall we suppose the same in both (as that he can better profit by another, &c.) 8. Yea if at present there be no reason to fear the over-greatness of some Churches, or if there were many discouragements in the Parishes they live in, yet consider that the time to come must be respected, as well as the present; and you should so contrive it rather, that other Churches may in season be bettered. 9. And God hath more means then Ministerial abilities to increase mens graces: He that keeps in Gods order under a meaner honest Minister, is like to be a more humble, thriving Christian, then he that will break that order under pretence of edification. The Lord knows that I speak against my own visible carnal interests in all this: For I am perswaded, if I would have gathered such a Church out of other Parishes, I could have had so many of the Professors for many miles compass as would have made an over-numerous Church.

But God usually chastiseth men for such disorders, and suffereth those same Professors to be our hearts-grief and scourges (by turning to doctrinal or practical evils) who break Gods order and the Churches Unity in the over-valuing of our parts. And they are oft ready to pull out our eyes, that would have pulled out their own for us in a dittempered zeal. 10. Christians should not first ask [*Where may I have the best Minister, or company, or purest Ordinances ? or Where may I receive most good ?*] But they must first ask [*Where lieth my Duty ? and where may I do most good ?*] For Gods work must be done before our own. And the saving of souls and propagation of the Gospel, must be preferred before our comforts. Yea let me tell you my observation ; The Comfort that Christians have in a suffering, self-denying course of doing good, is a surer and more stable Comfort then that which is drawn from the special advantages of Ordinances. That man that lives among a company of poor ignorant souls, and will set himself night and day resolvedly and unweariedly to teach them, perswade them and win them to Christ, till he have bettered the imperfect Church where he is, shall usually be a man of solid settled peace : When he that saith [*These are Carnal, Heathens, Wicked ; This is a weak Ministry ; I will go joyn my self to such an excellent Minister and Church, and let them alone*] this man will likely be soon saddened with his new comforts, and weary of his pretious Ordinances, and be as ready to vilifie them and turn to some other ; till in this disorder he have run himself out of breath, if not out of all appearance of Grace.

2. *Obj.* But it may be objected, that by our propounding our Profession to All our Parishes, either as being already Church-members, or at least to be admitted, we shall take in all the unfit again, and make but a meer shew of Reformation ; for they will all take and make this Profession, and so be as they were before.

I confess I hear some make this Objection ; but any considerate man of competent reason, may see how groundless it is. For 1. Though we offer Christ and Church-membership with him, to all, yet we do not admit all to be Church-members : For we admit not them that either refuse Christ or refuse to be Members on his terms. Nor do we admit all that will make this Profession barely with the tongue : For we have agreed, for those that understand not the Foundations, to Catechise them first : And those that are notorious or proved scandalous sinners, we shall first require their serious Pro-

feſſion of Repentance, and promiſe of Reformation. 2. We deſire to know what you would require of men more then we do? on Scripture grounds? Are not all the Fundamentals in our Profeſſion? Dare you reſuſe him that owneth them all, as not beleeving truths enough to ſalvation? And to know the ſincerity of his heart, what can you require more then we do in our Profeſſion of Conſent? Can any but a true Chriſtian make that Profeſſion ſincerely? I know you dare not affirm it. Will you deviſe means of your own head to ſhut out hypocrites, as if you had more care of the purity of the Church, then Chriſt had that purchaſed it with his blood? You'l ſay, Men may profeſs all this by rote as a form. I anſwer, 1. Bleſs God if Truth have ſo much friendſhip as to be profeſſed: I know many Profeſſors that were contemptuouſly unthankfull for this mercy, who have not ſo much left themſelves as a bare profeſſion of the Fundamentals, but are given up to the open denial of them, and to profeſs oppoſition to them. It would be taken for a mercy in *India*, yea in *Italy* or *Spain*, yea in *France*, if all could but be brought to an open Profeſſion of Gods pure Truth, though with moſt it were but formal.

2. But I would know how you will do to know mens hearts? Will you require an account of the manner of their converſion? Alas, you require them but to delude you, or themſelves, or to do an impoſſibility. May not any man of knowledge tell a fair tale of converſion that never had it? Is there not many a thouſand Chriſtians that never knew the time or manner of their converſion? And are there not many that do know much of the workings of Gods Spirit on their hearts, that have not words of their own to utter it? If you ſay, you would hear them give ſome teſtimony or ſignes, at leaſt as at preſent, of the work of Grace on them; I anſwer, What better ſignes can they give you then our Profeſſion doth contain? Sure I am, there is the true deſcription of a Chriſtian: I have lately ſeen a Book of the experiences of Church-members given in (its like not all at the firſt admittance, and its like made the beſt of) but yet I am ſure ſadly defective to an underſtanding eye (many of them.) Pretend not to more then your part in ſearching mens hearts. If you ſay, Theſe are but words put into their mouths. I anſwer, 1. Prove that they come not from the heart if you can. 2. And are not the words of your Church-members learned before hand? Some body taught them, or they could not expreſs their mindes.

3. Doubtles our way is full as ſtriſt as we can finde any Scripture to warrant us: (and we again deſire you if you will go further, to prove

prove it by Scripture.) But if any Pastors will be careless in the execution, we cannot fully remedy that. Peruse our Propositions well, and tell us what you would have more herein? If any Pastor among your selves will be careless in examining Members, and admit men on bare words, you will not blame your own principles for that. I could never see but the Brethren of the Classical way do come up to as much strictness for the qualification of Members, as your own principles do require, or as you can desire them, so be it the execution be but answerable: And that will lie on the persons that manage the work, and not so much on the principles.

4. I pray you observe how easie Christ is in Scripture in admitting men to him, and taking Members into his Church, the Acts of the Apostles throughout will tell you: How suddenly after conversion they were baptized, even thousands. But with those that are in his Church Christ is more strict, and requireth that their lives be answerable to their Profession. At first he admitteth them without any further triall, the same day that they profess Repentance and Faith: But afterwards he will cast them out again, if they deny him by their works. If therefore you cannot blame us, in our Propositions for casting out the scandalous; you have less reason to blame us for want of strictness in the admision. Remember also the freeness of Grace; and let not your Pulpit sound with the name of free-Grace, when your practice contradicteth it, by shutting the door against those that offer to come in on Christs own terms. If Christ question you for this, it will be but a cold answer to say, Lord, we could not perceive that they spoke sincerely.] For you must prove the contrary before you exclude him. All that ever I could hear to the contrary was but this much, All men must prove their claim to priviledges, and not put another to disprove it. To which I say, Suppose that rule had no exceptions; They prove it thus [I am engaged to Christ by my Baptismal Covenant; I stand to that Covenant, believing what is mentioned in this Profession, and consenting to what is here mentioned; therefore I expect the Church-priviledges of a Christian.] When he hath thus laid his claim, and shewed his Title, you must have something to prove it insufficient, or you must not dare to deny him his priviledge. If you can prove that there is no probability that he is sincere in this Profession, it must be either from his gross ignorance of the meaning of the words which he uttereth, or else by his wicked life; in both which cases we agree with you.

But in the name of God Brethren take heed, as of polluting the Church by loose admissions, so much more of cruelty to poor souls. Remember how ill this befeems them that have tasted so much mercy as we our selves have done: and how prone they should be to cover their Brethrens infirmities, who are conscious of so many of their own; and how backward to uncover their nakedness, and to make the worst of their case, that have need of such gentle handling our selves. Remember *Pauls* command, *Rom. 14.1. Him that is Weak in the faith receive, but not to doubtfull Disputations.* See *Gal. 6.1,2,3.* Remember how oft Christ was accused for being a friend or companion to publicans and sinners? and by whom he was so accused? and how oft he shewed lenity, and how seldom severity? and how dreadfully he judgeth rash Judgers? and how unmeet it is that the servant should be stricter in keeping out, then the Master is; and what man should pretend to be more righteous then God. Remember also that good Christians must have a great desire of the largeness as well as of the purity of Christs Church. Of thirty parts which the world may be divided into, nineteen are said to be Pagan-Idolaters, and six parts Mahometans, and but five parts Christians. And of these Christians, when you have counted, the Abassines, the Greeks, the Papists, of all which (with the other smaller parties, as the Coplies, the Jacobines, &c.) it is hard to say which are the more ignorant and defective; how few are the Reformed Churches! And doth it befeem you with this poor handfull to go so neer the quick, and to pare away more then Christ alloweth you? One seven years converse with Indians and Turks, would make some men more charitable to weaker common Protestants while they lived. Above all take heed (in the Name of Christ I warn you) that you be not cruel to Christs Lambs: that you shut not them out for want of meer words. Experience hath ascertained me, that there are Christians that are much with God, powerfull in secret grones and strivings, and do understand the substance of the Fundamentals and much more, nay that are very able to help the ignorant, and great promoters of Gods work in their places; who yet are not able to give a Minister or understanding friend any considerable account of their faith: Partly through bashfulness, but most through some secret natural unreadiness of speech, and disability to expresse their mindes. Take heed what you do with poor ignorant men and women that live well, and shew a fear of offending God. He that gently drives and carrieth his Lambs in his arms, will not thank you for shutting them out

or casting them in the ditch. I know there is need of caution also for avoiding the looser extream: but I am now speaking to you. Remember one thing more, and again I say remember it: Whether the fearfull Scandals, Blasphemies and Apostacies of Professors in this age, when many stand fast and fear God, that were accounted but common civil ignorant people, be not a warning and testimony from heaven against our over-valuing meer Gifts and Words, and our under-valuing poor weak Christians, that want them; and yet are as loth to sin as others.

As for the Objection about our denying Church-Government to the people, I answered it in the Explication of the Propositions: We give them the summe of what all moderate men desire, in giving them a Judgement of Discretion, and freedom from all humane inflaving of conscience. If any will needs have them be also Church-Governours by the *major* Vote, there is no possibility of Union with those that hold such sandy Principles, directly destructive to the very Being of true Political Churches and Government.

The next Objectors that I have to deal with, are our Brethren of the Episcopal Way; whose dissent I am readier to expect than others; not so much from the distance of Principles, as from other accidental disadvantages which I foresee.

The Objections which our vulgar hearers of that Judgement do make, are partly occasioned from custom, partly from the suggestions of Learned men of that Way, who also confirm them in the former. And therefore I must here speak first to the people, and then to those Learned men that prevail with them.

Very many of the people that stick most resolutely to that party and those waies (of my acquaintance,) are such as we cannot admit to Communion with us, till they shall openly profess their Repentance of their drunkenness, swearing, scorning at Godliness, &c. which they are notoriously guilty of: These I will not stand to dispute with about Ceremonies, they having greater matters first to dispatch. But I am not so uncharitable or censorious as to imagine, that none are tender conscienc't, Pious and Judicious, that may yet need satisfaction in the following points. To such therefore I shall first speak.

The Objections which I have great reason to foresee will be here raised, are these three. 1. That we do in our Agreement in the tenth

Proposition take to our selves a Power which is proper to the Bishops, *viz.* to name offenders, and call them to Repentance, and require the Church to avoid them : When as in the first Proposition we profess to agree only on the Points that are agreed on by the differing parties. 2. That we are no true Churches, both because we are not Diocesan Churches, and because we have no Bishops, and because that many of us were Ordained without Bishops, and so are no true Ministers, and therefore it is unlawfull to acknowledge us as Pastors, or to joyn with our Churches as Members. 3. That they cannot in conscience joyn with us, unless they may before-hand be assured, that they may have the Sacrament kneeling, and the Liturgie used as formerly it hath been. I shall answer these three Objections in order.

To the first I answer : 1. They may as well say that Preaching and Pastoral oversight is proper to the Bishop (which some do not stick to do) for no Word of God or common reason restrains that Pastor from particular applications, who hath Authority for general ones. Is there greater Authority requisite for speaking to one man, then to a thousand ? or for doing that which in some cases every private man may do (tell his Brother of his sin, and tell the Church of him if he reform not) then for the rest of the Ministerial work ? If a private man may before others reprove him as a private man, may not I before others reprove him Authoritatively as a Minister ? I would know whether it be all personal, open Applications that you forbid a Pastor ? or only this one ? If all, then you shew us indeed what the fruit of your kinde of Episcopacy would be : how it would overthrow the very Office and Work of the Ministry, and not allow a Minister to reprove or exhort a man, as his case requireth. If a man fall a swearing in the Church when I am Preaching, I may not as a Minister rebuke him ? I have read of times when Bishops did arrogate Preaching as their sole prerogative (except sometimes when they saw good to permit a Presbyter to Preach extraordinarily :) but I never read of any that forbad them all open personall Applications. I suppose therefore that you will not affirm this. And if I may apply other truths to the consciences of my people, then why not this ? Is it because of the nature of the thing ? or from any limitation of my Power in Gods Word ? Prove either if you can. May I not by way of exhortation say to a Drunkard [I intreat you in the Name of Christ to be sober, and forsake your sin ?] Why may not I then say [Christ hath threatned damnation to you, except you repent] and [The Church

Church ought not to have Communion with you as a Brother till you do Repent] and [You ought not to usurp the Priviledge that belongs not to you] and [With such as you we ought not to eat] and so to require in Christs Name obedience to his Laws? Hath Christ bid me Preach one Text of Scripture, and not another? May I require them to obey that command, *Heb. 10. 25. Forsake not the assembling of your selves together*] and reprove those that disobey it (personally) in not coming to the Assemblies, or seldom? And may I not on the same Authority require them to obey that command, *1 Cor. 5. 11. But now I have Written to you not to keep company, If any man that is called a Brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an Idolater, or a Railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such a one no not to eat.*] Or that in *2 Jcb. 10, 11. If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him, God speed. For he that biddeth him, God speed, is partaker of his evil deeds.*] And that *2 Thes. 3. 6, 14, 15. Now we command you Brethren in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw your selves from every Brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the Tradition which he received of us. And if any man obey not our Word by this Epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed. Yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a Brother.*] May not Ministers require their people in particular cases to obey these precepts?

2. Nay, *may* not, nay *must* not our people obey these precepts whether we require them or not? yea though we forbid them? Else God shall be no God, without the Bishops license. You cannot say therefore that we may not apply these precepts to particular persons and cases, for our people must apply them, or else they cannot obey them. Peruse them and judge so, *Rom. 16. 17. with many the like.*

3. Is it not the doctrine of the Bishops themselves that Presbyters may Rule, Guide, and Oversee the people; but that Bishops must Rule, and Oversee the Presbyters? So that this is the main difference that they make of the Offices in degrees, in point of Jurisdiction, that both are Overseers, but one of the people, the other of Pastors: Why then may not we be allowed the Guidance, Rule and Oversight of our people?

4. They that distinguish between the Key of order and the Key of Jurisdiction, do without question allow the former to the Presbyters. Now the Key of order (as rightly understood, as *Spalatenfis* hath largely opened it) comprehendeth all that power whereby we do
immedi-

immediatly work on the conscience, and so is exercised *in foro interno*, and not directly *in externo*. Now that which we have agreed on is only so much as belongs to order, or to a Presbyter as the Ambassador of Christ, and his Watchman over the souls of those people; and it is to be no further effectual then they conscienciously submit to it, voluntarily, without external force. It is but our Preaching and applying Gods Word to the consciences of the hearers.

5. It seems they that make this Objection, would have Gods work undone, if there be not Bishops to do it. Men must not be told openly of their sin and danger and duty, nor the Church be told of their duty in avoiding the scandalous, except Bishops do it. Wo then to all those Nations and Churches that have no Bishops, and wo to those Churches where the Bishop will not do it; and specially where he will rather countenance the sinner, and silence or banish the Preacher that would reform them. More shall be said anon to this Objection.

2. To the second Objection (That we are no true Churches or Ministers, &c.) I answer, 1. I must here necessarily give notice to all that shall reade these Papers, what kinde of men they be that I have to deal with in this.

There are in *England* two sorts of Episcopal Divines. The one sort are Protestants, differing in nothing considerable from the rest of the Reformed Churches, save only in this matter of Church-Government. These (if they be not ignorant, ungodly, negligent, insufficient,) I shall heartily reverence and desire their Union: And many of them the Church hath had, and yet hath, with whom I account my self unworthy to be once named: Such as were *Jewell*, *Davenant*, and many more formerly; and such as are *A. B. Usher*, *B. Hall*, *B. Morton*, *D. Sanderfen* and many more at this day. I am very confident that we have not in our Propositions agreed on any exercise of Discipline, which is not agreeable to the Principles of Protestant Bishops to grant us; nay which Papists do not very many of them allow, where no Bishops are. If therefore any of you that are our hearers, being not able to maintain your own conceits, or objections against us, will fly to the Authority of Episcopal Divines; we must intreat you to go to the Writings of Protestants only; and if you will enquire of any now living, let them be such as our old godly Protestant Bishops were: Or else I must tell you we neither expect
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their conjunction with us, nor shall much be moved by their Judgements.

For there is a second sort of Episcopal Divines of the last edition, and of the growth of about thirty years, who differ from us in greater matters than Episcopacy, being indeed *Cassandrian* Papists, and levelling all their doctrines to the advancement of the Papall interest; If you will appeal to these Episcopal Divines, we should almost as soon consent to an appeal to *Rome*.

I must desire you to understand thus much that you may know whom I mean. The *French* are more moderate Papists than the *Spaniards* and *Italians* are: Especially as to the points of the Popes Infallibility, and his power over a General Council; and many of them deny most of his Power over the Churches and Bishops of other Nations. Since the mixture of the *English* and *French* blood, there have been strong endeavours afoot to make these two Nations of one Religion, and that must be the moderate *Cassandrian* Popery. What agitations have been among our Superiours to that end, I will not once presume to meddle with: But (to speak of Scholars whom Scholars may be bolder with as being fitter Judges of their waies which their Writings do discover) one of the first and most famous Trumpets that sounded a retreat to the Christian world, to return (on these terms) to *Rome*, was *H. Grotius*, a man of great reading, much Learning, and a mighty Judgement to improve it; but being imprisoned in his Country for his actions for the *Arminians* in the great stirres that were then a foot, and having escaped (being carried out in a Trunk) was made the *Swedish* Ambassador with the King of *France*. This exasperated Learned man, by his residence in *France*, did both lie open the more to the reception of impressions from the *Jesuites*, who were his great familiars, and also had the fairer opportunity among those Papists of the more moderate sort, to prosecute his designs, for the reconciling of both parties (Papists and Protestants) in a *Cassandrian* Popery. To this work he set himself with all his might, publishing *Cassander's* Consultations with his Notes; seeking to draw us up to the Council of *Trent* (but not to the opinions of their private Doctors.) Several Writings between him and *Rivett*, with passages in his Annotations do shew us what was his Religion. This design had many favourites, of the better sort of the Papists, and the colder and more Ceremonial party of the Protestants. *Fran. a Sancti Clarà, alias Davenport* (provinciæ Angliæ FF. Minorum Exminister Provincialis, Olim apud Duacenses Lector Theologiæ

Primarius, Nunc vero ser. Regina magna Britannia a sacris, &c. saith *Th. White* in the Dedication of his *Instit. Sacr.* to him: and yet he lieth in *London* did by his Writings deeply engage in it; seeking to reconcile the Articles of the Church of *England*, with the Council of *Trent*: (for so high we must go as that Council, or no Reconciliation.) How far this design took in *England*, is easie in a greater measure to discover, by many changes of later times. How far it prevailed with the Bishops and the Kings Chaplains, and other Doctors, I had rather leave to your selves to judge, then take from my word; only I would desire you but impartially to reade the Articles that were in the beginning of the Parliament (while *L. Digby*, *L. Faulkland* and such others joyned with them) preferred by the Commons of *England* against *B. Wren*, *B. Pierce*, *B. Goodman*, with the rest of them; And observe how they all seemed Protestants, as long as the Warre was like to prosper for them; but since that is hopeles, how easly *D^r Vane*; *D^r Baily*, *D^r Goffe*, with many more are turned Papists (of whom the *Legenda Lignea* will give you an account:). But some had more wit then these, and think they may do that Party more service by staying in *England*, under the names of Episcopal Divines, a great deal then they can do by declaring themselves Papists: And therefore they rather choose yet to make use of these greater Advantages: And I confesse they have very many and very great: And I take my self bound to proclaim to the Inhabitants of this Nation, this publique warning (that they may escape the danger if yet it be possible;) and to tell them that he is stark blinde that doth not see so strong a design laid for the introduction of Popery, that gives it a strong probability of prevailing, if God do not wonderfully blast it. The first part of the Plot is, by blowing up the sparks of all Errours and Heresies, that our Churches being divided, may become odious, and so men may be prepared for a remove. (The kindling of dissensions and Warres between Protestants, let God and the Authors look after; I will not meddle with that.) The next is an incessant endeavour to infect all persons, especially those in Power, Civil or Military, with the opinion of Libertinism, that all their doctrines may have Toleration and free vent, and their practices a free exercise. They will not yet openly shew themselves till their expected freedom be established: but if once they were sure of it, so that their open dealing would be no hazard to their Toleration, you should have them as busily running into our Pulpits, or challenging the weaker Ministers to Dispute about the truth of our Church and Religion, as any

any Anabaptists do now. For their third Plot is to get down the Learned, Judicious, Godly, Painfull Ministers; at least to take away their publique Maintenance; and then they know how great a part of the people (so impoverish'd already by Warres and Taxes) will take him for their Minister that will do it best cheap, and will most humour them: And then they know that one Jesuite will shame and silence a hundred such Ministers in disputation, and carry the Countrey before them in many places. And the fourth part of their Plot is, to hinder all Union of the Learned Godly Ministers, and all exercise of any Discipline, or maintaining of Church order: that so they may tell the world, we have no Church, no Government, &c. and that so by division we may be disabled from opposing them; and we may not obtain that strength among our selves, nor that interest in the people, which our Unity and Unanimity would afford us against them. And therefore I know they will malice our Union in this County. The fifth, and not the least part of the Plot is, to keep afoot a Party of Learned men, who under the name of Episcopal Divines, may keep an interest in the people, and partly draw them from Unity, and from obeying their Pastors, by pretending a necessity of Episcopacy and Ceremonies, and keeping open the breaches upon that occasion made; and partly may instill into them those principles which may prepare them for flat Popery. And I confess its a great advantage that they have for this Work. For 1. Some of them are men of so much Learning as may deserve much respect. 2. Some Ministers lately put in, are young, weak, and indiscreet, and fit matter for them to contemn, and modestly to make stepping stones to their own reputation. 3. The Gentry that did with them adhere to the late King, are under so much suffering in their Estate, Reputation, Places of Honour, &c. that no man can wonder if their mindes be much exasperated, and alienated from those Ministers that were not of their Party (especially when they have weak injudicious men to be their Ministers:) Nor should any wonder if they very much value and prefer those Learned Divines that were of their side: And so be ready to hear their Judgements before others. 4. And yet more must it needs endear them to the Gentry, in that they are their fellow-sufferers in the same cause: many of them being sequestred, and cast out of their places, for the matter of the Warres: And all men naturally pity the suffering, but especially their fellow-sufferers. I scarcely know the thing in the world that more uniteth and endeareth men, then suffering together in a cause

which they think good. 5. And when these men have secretly insnared the Gentry, what a mighty influence the Gentry will have on their Tenants and poor neighbours, is easie to be judged, both to draw them first from their Ministers, and next from their Religions.

So that, alas, it is a poor low game that the other Sects in *England* are playing in comparison of the Papists. The Plot in a word is this. The multitude and madnes of other Sects must be the means to drive them from their present station. The *Cassandrian* Papists under the name of Episcopal Divines, must be the instruments to draw them from their present station, and loosen them from their Ministers, and so to prepare them for the Church of *Rome*; and then when the matter is ripe, they must deliver them all up to the Mass-Priests; and when any publique Disputations are abroad, they must give the Papists the better, and pass into their Camp.

I do judge it my duty to desire all the people of *England*, especially the Gentry, to discern the danger that they are in, and beware: and to be jealous lest their discontents and passions should betray their souls: and so lest they do themselves more wrong then all their enemies ever did them. And do not think that I censure you too uncharitably, in thinking you in so much danger of Popery. For you are but men: and it is no easie matter to break through so many discontents, enticements, prejudices and other great temptations, which any man may see in your way: I see the nets are strong, and the fishes most of them weak, and therefore it is easie to prophesie what is like to become of you, if God do not speedily shew you the danger. Yea many of the more Learned Gentlemen of your own party, are lately awakened to see your danger; partly by the number of them that are already turned Papists, and partly by the industry of the Papists to pervert the rest: And they do themselves publish to the world, what a pack of notorious ignorant, silly souls, or wicked unclean persons, those are that are turned Papists; such as are no great credit to the Religion that they turn to. See the Author of *Legenda Lignea*, Mr *Chisenhall* against Dr *Vane*, Mr *Watherhouse* for Learning: all zealous men for Episcopacy; And indeed this is a great part of the danger, that very many of the Gentry are to this day, after all the warnings of Gods Judgements, so sensual and licentious, so prophane and deoboist, spending almost all their time in drinking, hawking, hunting, bowling, yea swearing and other ungodly practices (wasting that pretious time in vanity, which
the

the Lord knows they had as great need to redeem for a preparation for death and judgement, as other men) that it is no wonder if God in judgement do give them up for a prey to the Papists: That they that would not reduce their lives to their right belief, should be permitted to reduce their belief to their vicious lives. I can but faithfully warn you of your danger, and proclaim to you all, that the Gentry of *England* that were adherents to the King, are now under so great temptations, and so great danger of Popery, that if God be not very mercifull to them, they are gone. He that will deliver men from evil, will have them pray, *Lead us not into temptations*, you shall have them ere long insinuating themselves with you, if you be not fore-armed and resolved.

And among all others your greatest danger will be from the Popish Divines, that lurk under the name of Episcopal.

If you ask me how you shall know them to be such. I answer, If they could be easily and certainly known, there were the less danger of them. But you may see much in this one thing: All their Writings or Discourses do carry on the *Romane* Interest. You may finde in those of them that write of Doctrinals or Devotion, 1. The plain footsteps of common Popery. I am loth to name men; but I could easily shew you a great deal of Popery in divers such Books which I see much in Gentlemens hands, as written by an Episcopal Doctor. And those of them that write about Church-Government, do quite forsake our Protestant Bishops; and carry on those principles, by which they may prove the Protestant Churches to be no Churches; nor our Ministers any Ministers; nor our people true Christians: and which would necessitate us to go to *Rome* for our Orders; which we cannot have without being sworn servants to the Pope.

These are the men that I have now to deal with: for theirs are the Objections now to be answered.

They say we are no Ministers, 1. Because many were Ordained by meer Presbyters without Bishops. 2. Others were but the Bishops Curates, who were the sole Pastors of Churches. And so we have no Churches neither. For it can be no Politicall organized Church without Pastors. And therefore our people should not submit to our Guidance, nor other Ministers associate with us as with Pastors.

To this I now answer, 1. It is manifest that the contrivers of these Objections are not Protestants (in this at least.) For 1. They do

hereby at one blow deny all the Ministers of almost all the Protestant Churches to be Ministers at all: For they are none of them Ordained by Bishops, except in *England*, or very few more, if any. So *France*, *Holland*, *Scotland*, the free Cities, *Helvetia*, &c. must have no Ministers. Nay the Superintendents of *Denmarke*, *Sweden*, and some parts of *Germany*, being themselves but appointed by the Magistrate, and (as I take it) having at first no Ordination by Bishops, no nor themselves pretending to that which in the judgement of our Antagonists, is the Office of a Bishop, it must needs follow that there are no true Ministers in any of the Protestant Churches, but what our own Dominions do afford.

2. Nay hereby they unchurch all those Churches at a blow. For if they are no Ministers, they can be no Organized Churches, no more than we.

3. Hereby they would absolve all the people of the Reformed Religion in *France*, *Holland*, *Helvetia*, *Scotland*, &c. from all obedience to their Pastors as such.

4. Yea, I think, hereby they would unchristen all the Reformed Christians in all these Nations. For they say (that's their great argument) no man can give that which he never had: but Presbyters never had power to Ordain: Therefore they cannot give it: and Bishops did not give it them. And will it not hold as strongly [Laymen never had power given them to Baptize; therefore they cannot give it to others, or exercise it themselves.] Now if the Ministers of the Reformed Churches be no Ministers, but Lay-men, then prove where any power to Baptize is given them. If these that I Dispute with will shew themselves openly to be Papists, and plead that women or Lay-men may Baptize in case of Necessity, I shall desire them to tell me, who gave them that power, and when, and by what expressions? and then we will compare a Presbyters power to Ordain, with a Lay-mans power to Baptize, and try with them, which hath the clearer Commission. In the mean time, it beseems not me to spend time on this Question, while the whole Army of the Learned Protestant Divines (Bishops and others) who have written against the Papists in this point, remain so much unanswered.

5. Yea hereby they would make the Praises, publique Worship, and Sacramental Administrations proper to the Ministry, to be all meer Nullities: and so God hath no Ministerial service in any of our Churches! O happy *Rome*! O miserable Reformed Churches, if all or any of this be true.

6. What

6. What if these few Bishops that are left in *England* were dead, or what if they die before any other be ordained in their rooms? Why then we must go to some other Churches (say they) for help. But what other Churches can we go to that hath Bishops but *Rome*? And who knows not that if we would seek to *Rome* for Orders, that we cannot obtain it without swearing to be true to the Pope, and the doctrine of the Council of *Trent*, and causing all our charge to be true to them to the death, and this with a *Spondeo, Voveo, ac Juro, sic me Deus adjuvet & haec sancta Evangelia*: as the *Trent* Creed concludeth. Are not these think you zealous Protestants?

7. And if our Princes be of the minde as all Reforming Princes hitherto have been, to forbid all dependance on *Rome*, and seeking thither for Orders, as accounting it dangerous that their subjects should have so much dependance on forreign Powers, what shall we do for Ordination then?

8. It seems by these men, if these few Bishops were dead without successors, the Church of Christ, at least in *England*, were extinct. For if *Rome* be a true Church (which I deny not, without distinction) yet it is easie to prove that we may not lawfully take their Ordination on their terms: and then it seems the Church of *England* dependeth on these few men for its Being to the worlds end, in all likelihood. O what a rash thing it was to imprison *Wren* for Excommunicating, Suspending or Depriving, Censuring, Silencing, fifty Godly painfull Ministers in two years in *Norwich* Diocess, for not reading the Book for Dancing on the Lords daies, For using conceived Prayer before and after Sermon, For not reading the Service at the Altar, and such like: And for expelling three thousand persons with their families into other Lands, by such dealings, with many the like courses! How rashly did they accuse *B. Pierce* for such like practices, and putting down Ministers and Preaching, till he thanked God that he had not a Lecture in his Diocess, alledging that though there was need of Preaching in the Infancy of the Church, yet now there was no such need; suspending Ministers for Preaching on Market daies; and did so effectually put down all afternoon Sermons on the Lords daies, that he suspended him that preached but a Funeral Sermon; and put the Minister to Penance that did but explain the Church Catechism, saying that was as bad as Preaching, and charging them that they ask no Questions, nor receive any Answers from the people, but such as were contained in the Catechism in the Service Book; and putting the Church-Wardens to Penance for not Presenting

Presenting them that did otherwise; yea commanding that the common Service should not be too long, that the people might not be hindered from their Recreations at the Wakes: yea punishing a Minister for Preaching on a Text in *Jonas* of fasting, weeping and mourning, on the Wakes day, telling him his Text was scandalous to the Wakes. (And all these they lay upon the King, as being his Will.) But what should I tell a people of these things that have felt them. Had the Parliament known that it might lie in these mens hands, whether *England* shall ever (in likelihood) have Ministers more, or whether ever Christ shall have a Church in *England* more or not; Yea whether ever he shall have any Ministerial Worship, or one person Baptized into Christ; it might have seemed more wit to have let them crucifie the present Church, then extinguish our hopes for ever. Now when honest B. *Usher, Hall*, and one or two more are dead, the Parliament must go to the Tower to intreat these prisoners, that Christ may once more have a Church in *England*; but if they prove as dogged as they were wont to be, the Church is extinct, there is no probable remedy; our children cannot be Christened again for ever, because no man without a Bishop can Authorise a Minister to do it.

9. But suppose we could send to *Prefster John*, and prevail with him for some Bishops (when the vast Kingdom of *Nubia* that was nearer him could not borrow some Preachers to save the life of gasping Christianity, but it was extinct for want of them;) Yet, alas, how is it possible that we in *England* could be sure that their Bishops were rightly Ordained, having their power from Generation to Generation by a succession of lawfully Ordained Bishops? Yea if we could get some but from *Russia* or *Constantinople*, our difficulty were insuperable. But I beleve these Objectors would not have us to go so far, but rather stoop to *Romes* conditions.

10. But, have not Councils determined, That the Ordination shall be Null which a Bishop makes out of his own Diocess? *Concil. Antioch. Can. 13. & 22.* and then our cure is yet more difficult.

11. But what need I tell an *English* man that these Objectors are not sons of the Church of *England*, what ever they pretend, when the world knows that the Church of *England* took him to be a true Minister that was Ordained in *France, Holland, Scotland, Geneva, Heidelberg, &c.* by meer Presbyters without a Bishop? The world knows that we did not Ordain those again that were so Ordained; no more then we baptized those again that were there baptized. The world

world knows that we gave them the right hand of Fellowship as true Churches of Christ, when we set light by *Rome*. And must those now be Sons and Doctors of the Church of *England* that would persuade the poor people, that they are no Pastors that are not Ordained by Bishops?

12. If yet the matter be not clear, let me intreat you to peruse the Writings of the most zealous defenders of Episcopacy in the Church of *England*, and see whether they did not defend the truth of those Churches and Ministers callings that have no Bishops; and the Pastorall Offices there performed of Ministers in Guiding their Flocks (though they think it were better if they had Bishops.) I will not send you to *Chamier*, *Parau*, *Sadeel*, or any of our forreign Divines, who in their Writings against *Bellarmino* and other Papists debate this Question, because they are known to be defenders of their own Churches. Nor will I mention *Whitakers*, *Reignolds*, or any the most Learned Doctors of our Universities, who are suspected to be no great friends to Episcopacy: But those that are past all such suspicion I will cite; (yet not many, as not standing with my necessary brevity, and being in a known case.)

1. Doctor *Field* the Learned Dean of *Glocester* in his 3. li. of the Church, & c. 39. handleth this very point of purpose against the Papists, whom he brings in thus arguing [By this note it is easie to prove that the Reformed Churches are not the true Churches of God. It can be no Church that hath no Minister: and *Cypr.* saith, the Church is nothing else but *Plebs Episcopo adunata*. But among the Protestants there is no Ministry; Therefore no Church.] Dr *Field* answers [The *minor* we deny, &c.] Yea when they further Object, p. 155. [Whatsoever may be said of those places where Bishops did Ordain, yet in many other places none but Presbyters did impose hands, all which Ordinations are clearly void, and so by consequent many of the pretended Reformed Churches, as *France*, &c. have no Ministry at all.] To this the Doctor answers at large: and distinguishing between 1. Election of the person. 2. Ordination in generall to the Ministry. 3. The assigning to a man that portion of Gods people, which he is to take care of, who *must be directed by him* in things that pertain to the hope of salvation,] he adds [This particular assignation giveth to them that had only the power of order before, the power of Jurisdiction also, over the persons of men.] (So the Presbyters have power of Jurisdiction he thinks.) Next he addes, [p. 157. Whereby it is most evident that that wherein a Bishop ex-

colleth a Presbyter, is not a distinct power of Order, but an eminency and dignity only, specially yielded to one above all the rest of the same Rank for order sake, and to preserve the unity and peace of the Church: Hence it followeth that many things which in some cases Presbyters may lawfully do, are peculiarly reserved unto Bishops, as Hierom noteth; *Potius ad honorem Sacerdotij, quam ad legis necessitatem*; rather for the honour of their Ministry, then the necessity of any law, and therefore we read that Presbyters in some places, and at some times did impose hands, and confirm such as were baptized: which when Gregory Bishop of Rome would wholly have forbidden, there was so great exception taken to him for it, that he left it free again. And who knoweth not, that all Presbyters in cases of necessity may absolve and reconcile penitents; a thing in ordinary course appropriated unto Bishops: And why not by the same reason Ordain Presbyters and Deacons in cases of like necessity? for seeing the cause why they are forbidden to do these acts is, because to Bishops ordinarily the care of all Churches is committed, and to them in all reason the Ordination of such as must serve in the Church pertaineth, that have the chief care of the Church, and have Churches wherein to employ them; which only Bishops have as long as they retain their standing; and not Presbyters, being but Assistants to Bishops in their Churches. If they become enemies to God and true Religion, in case of such necessity, as the care of Government of the Church is devolved to the Presbyters remaining Catholique, and being of a better spirit: so the duty of Ordaining such as are to assist or succeed them in the Work of the Ministry, pertains to them likewise. For if the power of Order, and Authority to intermeddle in things pertaining to Gods service, be the same in all Presbyters, and that they be limited in the execution of it, only for order sake, so that in case of necessity every of them may baptize and confirm them whom they have baptized, absolve and reconcile penitents, and do all those other acts, which regularly are appropriated unto the Bishop alone; there is no reason to be given, but that (in case of necessity, wherein all Bishops were extinguished by death, or being fallen into heresie, should refuse to Ordain any to serve God in his true Worship) Presbyters as they may do all other acts, whatsoever special challenge Bishops in ordinary course make unto them, might do this also.

Who then dare condemn all those worthy Ministers of God that were ordained by Presbyters in sundry Churches of the world at such

times as Bishops in those parts where they lived opposed themselves against the truth of God, and persecuted such as professed it? Surely the best Learned in the Church of *Rome*, in former times durst not pronounce all Ordinations of this nature to be void. For not only *Armachanus* a very Learned and worthy Bishop, but as it appears by *Alexander of Hales*, many Learned men in his time and before, were of opinion that in some cases, and at some times, Presbyters may give Orders, and that their Ordinations are of force, though to do so, not being urged by extream necessity, cannot be excused from overgreat boldness and presumption; neither should it seem so strange to our adversaries that the power of Ordination should at some times be yielded unto Presbyters, seeing their *Chorepiscopi, suffragans* or titular Bishops that live in the Diocess and Churches of other Bishops, and are no Bishops according to the old course of Discipline, do daily in the Romish Church both Confirm children and give Orders.

All that may be alledged out of Fathers for proof of the contrary, may be reduced to two heads. For first, whereas they make all such Ordinations void as are made by Presbyters, it is to be understood according to the strictness of the Canons in use in their time, and not absolutely in the nature of the thing; which appears in that they likewise make all Ordinations *sine titulo* to be void: all Ordinations of Bishops, ordained by fewer than three Bishops with the Metropolitane: all Ordinations of Presbyters by Bishops out of their own Churches without special leave: Whereas I am well assured the Romanists will not pronounce any of these to be void, though the parties so doing are not excusable from all fault. Secondly, Their sayings are to be understood regularly not without exception of some special cases that may fall out.

Thus then we see the Objection, which our adversaries took to be unanswerable, is abundantly answered out of the grounds of their own Schoolmen, the opinion of many singularly learned amongst them, and their own daily practice, in that *Chorepiscopi* or *Suffragans*, as they call them, being not Bishops, but only Presbyters whatsoever they pretend, and forbidden by all old Canons to meddle in Ordination, yet do daily with good allowance of the *Roman Church*, Ordain Presbyters and Deacons, confirm (with imposition of hands) those that are baptized, and do all other Episcopal acts whiles their great Bishops Lord it like Princes in all temporal ease and worldly bravery.

(I will adde his Answer to the next Objection, because it is to the same purpose with theirs that now tell us we are not lawfull Ministers, we are wrongfully put into other mens places by Sequestrators : Thus therefore Dr *Field* proceedeth) [The next thing they Object against us is, that our first Ministers, what Authority soever they had that Ordained them, yet had no lawfull Ordination, because they were not Ordained and placed in void places, but intruded into Churches that had lawfull Bishops at the time of those pretended Ordinations ; and consequently, did not succeed but inroach upon other mens right. To this we answer, that the Church is left void, either by the death, resignation, deprivation, or the peoples desertion and forsaking him that did precede : in some places, our first Bishops and Pastors found Churches void by death, in some by voluntary relinquishment, in some by deprivation, and in some by desertion, in that the people, or at least that part of the people that adhered to the Catholique verity who have power to choose their Pastor, to admit the worthy and refuse the unworthy, did forsake the former that were Wolves and not Pastors, and submitted themselves to those of a better spirit. Of the three first kindes of voidance there can be no question ; of this fourth there may : and therefore I will prove it by sufficient authority and strength of reason.

Cyprian, Cecilius, Polycarpus, and other Bishops writing to the Clergy, and people of the Churches in *Spain*, whereof *Basilides* and *Martialis* were Bishops, who fell in time of persecution, denied the Faith, and defiled themselves with idolatry, perswade them to separate themselves from those Bishops, assuring them that the people being holy, Religious, fearing God, and obeying his Laws, may and ought to separate themselves from impious and wicked Bishops, and not to communicate with them in the matters of Gods service,

L. 1. Ep. 4. *Quando ipsa plebs maximè habeat potestatem, vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes vel indignos recusandi* ; that is, seeing the people have authority to choote the worthy and refuse the unworthy. And *Occam* to the same purpose saith on this sort, *Si Papa & maximè celebres Episcopi incidant in heresim, ad Catholicos devoluta est potestas omnis iudicandi* ; If the Pope and the principall Bishops of the Christian world do fall to Heresie, the power of all Ecclesiasticall judgement is devolved to the inferiour Clergy and people remaining Catholique.

This opinion of *Cyprian* and the rest, if our adversaries shall dislike or except against, may easily be confirmed by demonstration of reason:

reason: For if it do fall out, that the Bishops, and a great part of the people fall into Errour, Heresie and Superstition, I think our adversaries will not deny, but that the rest are bound to maintain and uphold the ancient verity; who being not so many, nor so mighty, as to be able to eject those wicked ones by a formall course of Judiciall proceeding, what other thing is there left unto them, but either to consent to their impieties, which they may not do, or to separate themselves, which is the thing our adversaries except against in the people of our time. Now having separated themselves from their former supposed and pretended Pastors, what remaineth, but that they make choise of new to be Ordained and set over them; if not by the concurrence of such and so many, as the strictness of the Canon doth ordinarily require to concur in Ordinations, yet by such as in cases of necessity, by all rules of equity are warranted to perform the same.] Thus far Dr *Field*.

I finde transcribing will make these Papers more tedious then I intended; and therefore I will forbear most of the rest, which else I would adjoyn.

2. The same Vindication of the Reformed Churches, and the Ordination of their Ministers without Bishops, you may finde in that Learned Godly man, B. *Downname*, and that in his very Writings for Bishops, the strongest for Episcopacy that ever I saw (not excepting the late ones) and very passionate against the opposers of Episcopacy. See his Consecr. Sermon and Defence of it, *li. 3. c. 4. pag. 108*. In the last he writes thus: [Out of a Christian and charitable desire to preserve the credit of such Reformed Churches as have no Bishops, I endeavoured to prevent the Objections of Papists, (mark who are the Objectors) who reason thus against them: The right of Ordination being peculiar to Bishops, it followeth, that where is no Bishop there is no Ordination: Where is no Ordination there are no Ministers: Where are no Ministers, there is no Church. I answered that although ordinary right of Ordination belongeth to Bishops in the judgement of the ancient Church; that yet it was not to be understood, as so appropriating it to them, as that extraordinarily, and in case of necessity it might not be lawfull for Presbyters to Ordain; and much less teaching absolutely a Nullity of the Ordination which is performed without a Bishop, which Answer I confirmed by divers Reasons (see them.) Whereunto I now adde, that there seemeth to be the like reasons for the Imposition of Hands, in Confirmation of the baptized, in the reconciliation of publique penitents, as in the

Ordination of Ministers. But although the two former were reserved as well as the third to the Bishop, yet extraordinarily, in the case of Necessity, and in the want or absence of the Bishop, the ancient Church held it lawfull for Ministers to Impose hands either for the Confirming of parties baptized, or for reconciliation of the penitents. The former is testified by *Ambrose* in *Eph. 4.* & *Augustine qu. ex Vet. & No. Test. mixt. q. 101.* The later by *Cyprian, l. 3. Ep. 17.* and divers Councils, *Conc. Carth. grac. c. 43. Carth. 2. c. 4. Com. Aransic. c. 2.* And the Popish Writers themselves do teach that the Pope may give license to him that is not a Bishop, to Ordain: so that he to whom such license is given, have those orders himself, which he would give to another. *Summa Angelic. ordo. §. 2.* If therefore by the Popes license a Presbyter may Ordain Presbyters, much better may a company of Presbyters, to whom in the *want of a Bishop the charge of the Church is devolved*, be authorized thereto by Necessity, which as they say, hath no Law.] So far B. Downname.

3. B. Jewell in his Defence of the Apol. (authorized to be kept in all Churches) Part 2. p. 131. [Neither doth the Church of England depend on them whom you so often call Apostates, as if our Church were no Church without them. They are no Apostates Mr H. & c. Notwithstanding if there were not one, neither of them, nor of us, left alive, yet would not therefore the whole Church of England flee to Lovaine. Tertullian faith, *Nonne & Laici Sacerdotes sumus? Scriptum est, Regnum quoque & Sacerdotes Deo & Patri suo nos fecit: Differentiam inter ordinem & plebem constituit Ecclesia Autoritas, & honos per ordinis confessum sanctificatus à Deo. Ubi Ecclesiastici ordinis non est confessus, & offert, & tingit Sacerdos qui est ibi solus. Sed & ubi tres sunt, Ecclesia est, licet Laici.*] See more of Bishop Jewells minde, Part 3. p. 346. & p. 2. c. 3. Div. 5. p. 109, 110, 111. & c. 9. Divis. 1. and his Sermon on Hag. 1. and against their doctrine of succession, p. 2. c. 5. Divis. 1. pag. (mibi) 127, 128, 129. So much for him.

4. Learned Sacavia, de divers. Ministr. gradib. cap. 2. pag. 10, 11.

5. Bishop Alley in his poor mans Library, Praelect. 6. & Praelect. 3. p. 95, 96.

6. Bishop Pilkinton in his Treat. of the burning of Pauls Church, and on Hag. c. 1. ver. 1, 2, 3. to 14. c. 2. v. 1. to 11. and on Abdaas or Obadiah v. 7, 8.

7. Bishop Bridges for Supremacy, pag. 359, to 364.

8. Bishop Bilson in his Difference between Christian subjection and unchristian Rebellion, pag. 540, 541, 542. Part 3. & passim, pag. 233, 234.

9. *Alex. Nowell* Dean of *Pauls*, in his *Reproof of Dormans Proof*, fol. 43, 44, 45.

10. *Grotius* himself in his *li. de Imperio sum. potest. circa sacra*, cap. 11. p. 336. saith, that by the precept of Gods Law nothing is on either side determined, as to those Church-Offices, which some Reformed Churches use, and others use not. And having laid down divers Propositions in favour of Episcopacy, he addes these following in favour of Presbytery, as consistent with the former.

[Pag. 354. *Rursum pro Pastorum aequalitate hac prioribus illis minime pugnantia afferimus. 1. Episcopalem eminentiam non esse divini precepti. Probatur hoc satis quia non probatur contrarium, &c. 2. Non plane universaliter observatum, ut cuique civitati unus Episcopus praesesset: de temporibus id jam probatum arbitramur; postea quoque saepe plures in una urbe Episcopi imitatione Judaeorum, qui quot habebant Synagogas, totidem Archisynagogos: Multa autem in una saepe urbe Synagoga (mark that) aut (ut Philo etiam appellat) συναγωγα: unde illud in satyra, In qua te quero profuecha, &c. p. 357. Jam verò etiam Cathedra Episcopales multis in urbibus saepe non menses tantum aliquot, sed & per annos etiam multos vacavere; quo omni tempore Ecclesiae, ut cum Hieronymo etiam loquar, communi Presbyterorum consilio gubernabantur, aut ut Ignatium loquentem audivimus ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἡ ἐκ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου. Et pag. 358. Quamquam autem ex horum patrum sententia, Presbyteris adimitur ordinandi jus, quod ipsum multis in Synodis constitutum videri est; Quid tamen obstat quo minus id ita interpretemur ut Presbyteri neminem potuerint ordinare contempto Episcopo? Una cum Episcopo concurrisse aliquatenus Presbyteros ad ordinationem docere videtur Synod. 4. Carthag. &c. Illud interea non video quomodo refelli possit, ubi Episcopi non sunt, etiam à Presbytero rectè fieri ordinationem: Cum hoc ipsum inter scholasticos Altisiodorensis jam pridem concesserit. Nimirum ea quae ἐκείνης causa observantur, exceptiones suas habent. Quomodo in veteri Concilio Carthag. in causa necessitatis Presbyteris conceditur reconciliare penitentes: & alibi manus imponere baptizatis. Dein ut supra diximus, dubium an Episcopis, an Presbyteris meris, propiores sint Presbyteri, qui nec sub se Presbyteros, nec supra se Episcopum habent. Nam & de Timotheo ita argumentatur Ambrosius [Qui arte se alterum non habebat, Episcopus erat.] Nimirum (ut è Republica, sumamus exemplum.) Multa licent senatui Regem non habenti, quae senatui sub Rege constituto non licent: Quia senatus sine Rege, quasi est Rex. 3. Hoc asseramus: Non leves fuisse causas cur hoc sacul. nonnullis in locis Episcopatus certè ad tempus aliquod ommitteretur.*

retur. 1. Penuria virorum, &c. 2. *Causa hujus consilii esse potuit longa atque inveterata jam planè Episcopalis officii depravatio: (Vide supra.) At profectò nunquam tantos ab Apostolorum ævo ad illa tempora processus ambitio Ecclesiastica fecerat, quantum ab istis seculis ad patrum nostrorum memoriam, ut jam nisi abscissa parte causariâ, morbus vix sanari posse videatur, &c. Quid quod & nomen & eminentia Episcopalis eorum culpa quibus obrigerat, omnem sui reverentiam perdiderat, & in odium venerat plebis, cui etiam erranti interdum mos est gerendus?* 3. *Causa addi potest, quod infestissimis temporibus, magistri veritatis nomine, invisa non culpam tantum ambitionis, sed & suspicionem omnem amoliri debuerant; quod cum sublata Episcopali dignitate sollicitè curaverint, ne sic quidem tamen calumniam effugerunt: Quid non audituri, si doctrina mutatio conjuncta fuisset cum majoris gradus adeptione? Adiciam unam insuper causam cur initio repurgationis non admodum necessarius fuerit Episcopatus. Excitarat Deus præstantes viros, summo ingenio, summa eruditione, nec minore tam apud suos, quam apud vicinos autoritate pollentes, paucos quidem numero, sed qui plurimis negotiis sustinendis pares essent: horum summa apud omnes existimatio, facile supplevit quod ab Episcopatu deerat. Et (si cum Zanchio verum volumus agnoscere) re ipsa nulli magis Episcopi fuere, quam illi ipsi quorum (quamvis hoc non agentium) autoritas ad oppugnandum usque Episcopatum valuit, &c.] Et p. 367. [Exercitium ergo clavium, & jus absolvendi penitentes ex omnium patrum sententia solis competunt Sacerdotibus, hoc est, Presbyteris verbi & Sacramentorum depositariis.] Yea in favour of Lay-Elders he asserteth (having argued them not to be of Divine Institution, yet) 1. That they may be lawfully instituted by Sovereigns, or by the Church on their permission. 2. That it may be proved by Scripture that this Institution is not displeasing to God. 3. That there are examples in pious Antiquity, either of this same way, or one very near it. 4. That it is no contemptible benefit, that by these Elders may be received. But these to exercise their Office with several cautions: 1. Not claiming Institution by Divine precept. 2. Not usurping any of the power of the Keyes, nor of Excommunication, further then Excommunication belongeth to the people (executively.) 3. That the men be not unmeet. 4. Exercising no externall Jurisdiction but by publique Law. 5. Standing as mutable. Thus far *Grotius*.*

To all these let me adde two Episcopal Gentlemen, that you may see the difference between Episcopal Protestants and Episcopal secret Cassandrian Papists.

The eleventh shall be M^r *Chisenhall* a Gentleman that lately answered D^r *Vane* (a Chaplain of the Kings lately turned Papist.) That he is no friend to Presbytery you may be out of doubt by his whole Book; and in particular by these discreet gentle terms which he gives to the Presbyterian Church of *Geneva*, pag.12. [Such an upstart youngling, that wind-egge of a tumult, which being braddened under a Toad of *France*, is become a staring Cockatrice, and thinks to center the world within the compass of his contagious den, darting poyson upon whom he first espies: as experience tels us how he glancing upon the poor *Scot*, has given him such a deadly wound that he will scarce ever recover it, &c.] Is not this Gentleman zealous enough against Presbytery? But yet he is no Papist: Pag.129. he saith [It is not absolutely necessary that Bishops Ordain Bishops. For what if all the Bishops should dye so near at one time, that none were left Ordained by them? Shall not the Presbytery make Bishops? They have Right to the Keyes; which are called *Claves Ecclesie, non Episcoporum*: and they are the remaining Pillars of the Church, and certainly may Confer the Order of Bishop on others: and that the rather because the Councils forbid Bishops of another Province to Ordain, in a Forreign Province. And though it may seem strange to some that Ministers which are subordinate should Ordain Bishops, and so conferre Superiour Orders; it is not (if rightly examined) contradictory to Reason: For in this first Ordination of Priests and Deacons, they are *infra Ordines majores*, which Orders are called Holy and Sacramentall, and are the highest Orders: Witness Pope *Urban Dec. Dist.60. sum. sac. Ro. Eccles. 226*. As for the Order of Bishops it is no more then a Priest as to the Holy and Sacramentall Order only: More excellent in respect of the order of Government, *Which is rather of humane then Divine Right: For as it is Divine it is no more then what every Priest hath by the Sacramentall Order: but as it is humane it is transcendent in relation to Discipline*: and therefore the Presbytery may agree to Ordain one over them to Govern them in Ecclesiastical Rites, as the people may choose a Prince to Govern in Civil affairs. Hence it was that the Apostles sent *John* to *Ephesus*, &c.] So far M^r *Chisenhall*.

12. I will adde also the Lord *Digby's* words in that notable Judicious Letter to S^r *K. Digby*, pag.118. [He that would reduce the Church now to the form of Government in the most Primitive times, should not take, in my opinion, the best nor wisest course; I am sure not the safest: For he would be found pecking towards the Presbytery

of *Scotland*; which, for my part, I believe in point of Government hath a greater resemblance then either yours or ours, to the first age of Christs Church, and yet is never a whit the better for it; since it was a form not chosen for the best, but imposed by adversity and oppression; which in the beginning forc't the Church from what it wisht, to what it might; not suffering that dignity and state Ecclesiasticall, which rightly belong'd unto it, to manifest it self to the world: and which soon afterwards upon the least *lucida intervalla* shone forth so gloriously in the happier, as well as more Monarchicall condition of Episcopacy: of which way of Government I am so well perswaded, that I think it pity, it was not made betimes an Article of the *Scottish* Catechism, that Bishops are *Jure Divino*. But as it is a true Maxime in nature, *Corruptio optimi pessima*, so it holds likewise in Government both Civil and Ecclesiasticall, &c.] So far the Lord *Digby*: Whose words I recite not for his Judgement against the Antiquity of Episcopacy (for I now disclaim disputing on that point:) but a *major*, if Presbytery be likest to the Primitive Government, then at least those may be now true Churches that are without Episcopacy, and those true Ministers that are Ordained without them, and true Ordinances that are administred by such Presbyters.

Nor do I take the L. *Digby's* Reason for mens varying of Primitive forms of Government to be of solidity or safety. Nor do I alledge any of these fore-mentioned Authours as being of their opinion in the whole, nor as if they were with me of the highest Authority. But to evince the full consent of the Episcopall party of Protestants, calling themselves The Church of *England*; to be downright for the Truth of Ministry and Ordinances where there is no Episcopacy, nor Ordination by any but meer Presbyters: And to shew you that *Rome* hath alway argued for the contrary, and used the same Objections, which I am now answering, and that I answer now but on the grounds of the Episcopal Protestants.

13. The Judgement of Learned B^r *Davenant* you may see in his *Determ. Qu. 42. pag. 191, 192.* approving of the Ordination of Presbyters in case of Necessity, and in speciall when Bishops fall into heresies, and refuse to ordain Orthodox Pastors, but will ordain only such as will partake with them in their faction and error; or when they turn combined Enemies to the truth: And hereupon he vindicates the Forreign Churches Ordinations without Bishops.

14. D^r *Prideaux* our last B^r of *Worcester* in *Fascic. Cont. de discipl. Eccl. s. p. 249.* saith, *Presbyterum Presbyteros ordinare posse; presertim*

rim deficientibus Episcopis, concedit cum magistro sententiarum sanior pars Scholasticorum; ut patet ad sent. l.4. Dist. 25. 2. Episcopatum retinent tales Ecclesia (viz. transmarine) licet non per manum unius Monarchicè, sed Aristocraticè per multos administratum. 3. Moderatores & Superintendentes ipsorum analogicè sunt apud ipsos Episcopi, & auctoritate (ut contendunt) ordinandi polleant cum fratribus;] And Orat. 8. de vocat. Ministr. p.77. he saith, that [those that were baptized of Hereticks themselves are truly baptized, and those that are ordained by them are truly ordained.]

15. Br *Andrews* also (as I remember, for I have not the Book now by me) in his Epistles to *Melineus*, goes the same way.

16. See also how directly our Objectors imitate the Jesuite that disputeth against Dr *Potter*, Chap.6. § 20. 21. 22. 23. And see *Chillingworths* full Answer to him, too long to transcribe; Some of his Questions are these, pag. 360. [Whether all those Protestants that conceive the distinction between Priests and Bishops, not to be of divine Institution, be schismaticall and hereticall for thinking so? Whether your form of ordaining Bishops and Priests be essential to a true Church? &c. Whether in saying that the true Church cannot subsist without undoubted true Bishops and Priests, you have not overthrown the truth of your own Church? Wherein I have proved it plainly Impossible, that any man should be so much as morally certain either of his own Priesthood, or any other mans? Lastly, Whether any one kinde of these external Forms and Orders and Government, be so necessary to the being of a Church, but that they may not be divers in divers places? and that a good and peaceable Christian may and ought to submit himself to the Government of the place where he lives, whatsoever he be? &c.]

Much more might be added out of many Authors to prove that the Doctrine of the old Episcopall Protestants is not contradicted by any thing in our Agreement, but by the Objectors is directly opposed.

But I know some will marvell that I bestow so many words in so plain a case, and trouble the Reader and my self with such frivolous Objections, which deserve not a serious Answer (for some have told me all this) But they must know that I have Reasons of weight for what I do. They are men of no contemptible Parts, though of Popish inclinations that manage these Objections, and make a great matter of them; and they are many of them well-meaning men, and of no contemptible Understandings, who through accidental advan-

tages, are taken with them. And if liberty of Sects and Separations be publicly granted and confirmed to all, you shall soon finde that the Party that I am dealing with, will soon by their numbers obscure all other Parties that now trouble our Peace (except the Papists.)

Having therefore shewed that the Consent of Protestant Bishops is against them, I will give you some further discovery of their designs; only adding here that saying of *Musculus* (not as his, but because) cited by *Grotius*, *de Imperio sum. potest.* c. 10. pag. 322, 323. [*Pastorem Christianum de Vocatione sua sollicitum esse non debere, neque ambigere quin Christiana ac legitima sit sua Vocatio ubi ad Evangelium predicandum à pio Magistratu aut Principe vocatus est.*] Though I know this speech must be understood *cum grano salis*, some other requisites being here supposed as implied.

13. It may easily appear whether the Objectors be greater friends to *Rome*, then to our old Episcopall Divines, by the tendency of their present plot: For they would have all the people take us for no Ministers, and our Churches for no Churches, and so all Gods worship be neglected in publique where no Bishops or their Missionaries are. And so when all others are disseised and turned out, the Papists may freely enter, there being none but these few faithfull friends of their own to keep them out, which how well they will do you may by these conjecture.

14. The Objectors do openly back the Papists in the Argument of succession as a proper note of a true Church, against the stream of Protestants that have fully confuted them, both Bishops and others. It were in vain for me to fall on this dispute with these Doctors, as long as so many Volumes against *Bellarmino* are unanswered. *D^r Suttle* saith, *In externâ successione quam & heretici saepe habent & Orthodoxi Non habent, nihil est momenti, lib. de Eccles. cap. 18. fol. 123. pag. 2.* Reade more largely *Br Jewell Defence of the Apol.* par. 2. pag. 131, 132. and in other places. But it were endlessse to cite all that joyn with us in this against the Popish necessity of succession: and it is needlesse as to those that have read the writings of our English Bishops and other Divines, who must needs know already how fully they speak to this point.

15. But it is a higher charge then Popery, that these Episcopall Doctors that I now speak of, are liable to: For my part, I see not how they can be excused from unchurching, if not unchristianing all the people of Christ on the whole earth; or at least leaving it utterly

ly uncertain, whether Christ hath ever a Church, or ever a baptized Christian on the earth? For according to them, no Church is a true Church without Ministers (and it is true of an organized political Church,) and no man is a Minister that is not Ordained by a Bishop, because meer Presbyters have no Power to Ordain; and no man is a Bishop that is not Ordained by a Bishop; and this must be a true Bishop, lawfully called, and not deprived again of his power; and this must be Ordained by a former Bishop, and he by a former, and so the succession must be followed to the Apostles. Now I would desire these seekers (for such they are) to resolve me these few doubts.

1. Can all the poor Christians in our Churches in faith submit to your own Ministry, or to any other mans on earth, as being true Ministers of Christ Authorized to Baptize, Administer the Supper, Guide the Church? &c. Can they know that the line of your succession hath been uninterrupted from the Apostles daies till now?

2. Nay, can your selves or any the learned'st Cardinals at *Rome*, or Bishops on earth know that your successions have not been interrupted? Is Church-History so clear, full and infallible in this? Suppose that by the advantage of the eminency of *Rome* (being the Imperial Seat, and so populous) that they could have such a Certainty of History, Hath every true Church or Bishop or Presbyter in the world so too? If so, I confess Historians have plaid their parts better, both for fulness and faithfulness, then ever I dreamed of.

3. Do you not deserve ill at the hands of all Gods Churches, and God himself, to bring all poor Christians to such an uncertainty as this, whether they have true Baptism, Ministry, Worship, &c. and to leave all Ministers at such a loss that no one man on earth (much less all) can act in Faith? How dare they adventure on a Calling which no man living can assure them that they are lawfully called to? and how should they comfortably go on in the works of it?

4. Must not all these following things concur before you can know that you are a Minister on your own grounds? 1. You must be sure that he that Ordained you, was Ordained himself by a Bishop. 2. You must be sure that this Bishops own Ordination was such as was not void by the Canon: (that is, that it had not as great a defect as the Ordination of meer Presbyters which you say is Null.) And here what a loss are you at when some Councils allow that which another condemns: Some do make Null those Ordinations which others allow of. Particularly, you must be sure that he came not in by Simony (a hard matter:) that he was not a Heretick, or erroneous in the Fun-

damentals : that he was not Ordained by a Bishop without the reach of his own Jurisdiction (else many Canons Null it :) that he was not a man through ignorance or wickedness utterly incapable of the Office : that he was chosen by the Clergy over whom he was to be Bishop (and not only by a Chapter or the King :) Yea that the people themselves had their voices in the Election, or were called to Consent (according to *Cyprian* and the elder times ;) and that the people be present, and have liberty to make their exceptions, according to later times : with many the like. 3. You must be certain that all the Bishops successively from the Apostles times, by whom you draw your claim, were thus Ordained : For one Nullity breaks the whole chain, and nulleth all that follow, as you suppose. 4. You must be sure that never a one of all these Bishops did lose his power again by Heresie, wickedness or other means, before he Ordained the next. 5. You must be certain that the Bishop had *intentionem Ordinandi* (if you be right Papists indeed.) 6. You must know who was the Apostle that was the root of your own succession ; which is a greater matter then to know what Apostle did first convert the Nation.

See B. *Ush.*
ers Brit.
Eccle. Pri-
mor. c. 1, 2,
 3, 4, 5.
 And do you indeed know all these things? Is it indeed so certain whether it were *Joseph of Arimathea*, or *Simon Zelotes*, or any such man, that first converted *England*? Nay do you know the Names of your Predecessors before the time of *Augustine* the Monk? And if you know not who the men were, much less do you know that they were every man of them truly Ordained. If you have curranter History of these things then is yet openly known, why do you not produce it? When the very general Question, Whether Bishops were put in the places of the Flamins, and Archflamins, is so uncertainly determined by History, that about thirty Historians affirm it, and yet Bishop *Usher*, *Jewell*, *Godwin*, *Dr Suttcliffe*, *Sr H. Spelman*, deny it: I think waking men will hardly affirm a Certainty of any History of their own succession by an uninterrupted series of truly Ordained lawfull Bishops to the Apostle that Ordained the first Bishop. Nay it's well known, that a great part of the Christian world is Uncertain what particular Apostle did first convert their particular Countries: which yet were it known, would go but a little way toward the resolving our doubt.

But perhaps some will say, It is not necessary that I prove my succession, let others disprove it that question it. I answer, 1. That Argument may serve to stop the mouth of some busie Questionists; *In foro externo humano* it may have some force: But will that serve before

before God? Either you are a true Pastor or not. If you are not, it is not the difficulty of discovery or of eviction that will make you one: If all the Baptism, and other Ministerial acts that you have performed, are Null, it is not mens inability to prove them Null, that will make them Valid. 2. That should, methinks, be but small satisfaction to your own Conscience neither: For Conscience will expect that you prove your Authority, and not only that others cannot disprove it. For it is Gods judgement and not mans, to which you must stand or fall. And therefore Conscience must needs put you to resolve this Question, How know you that you are a true Minister? and so, How know you that your succession hath been uninterrupted, from an Apostle, in point of lawfull Ordination? 3. But if you think it be enough to Conscience, that you know nothing to the contrary; or that you *think* you have an uninterrupted succession; then why may not this serve turn as well for others? Those that think Bishops to be a humane Institution and unlawfull, do think themselves more rightly Ordained then you; and therefore if *thinking* will serve turn, why may it not serve their turn? 4. And for our people, if it be enough to satisfie their Consciences that Sacraments and other our Ministerial Administrations are no Nullities, because they think so, or because they cannot disprove our claim, then why must they not on that ground submit to them that were Ordained without Bishops, when they cannot disprove their claim? 5. Nay why should people trouble themselves to know whether men be Ordained at all or no? When Thinking must and will serve turn, and a true discovery is impossible. For though you can shew your Orders, yet you cannot shew all the succession of Orders from the Apostle to your Ordainer. I think that man that dare affirm that any one Pastor on earth can know that he is a true Pastor, (if a succession of right Ordination uninterrupted be necessary to it and if want of that make the Ordination a Nullity,) is sick of the disease that *Festus* suspected in *Paul*, and is elevated so farre on the wings of Pride and Learning, that he is quite overgone Humility and Reason.

5. But yet this is not all. Do not these mens grounds leave it certain, that Christ hath no true Church or Ministry, or Ordinances, or Baptized Christians in *England*, nay in all the Western Churches, and perhaps not in the whole world? And then see whether these Popish Divines must not prove Seekers.

For the Greek Church it is well known how oft the succession of
their

their Patriarch hath been interrupted, as to right Ordination; those being thrust in that had no call thereto: and so all the Ordinations that did flow down from them must needs be Null. And there is as little probability of an uninterrupted succession of right Ordination in the Æthiopian Churches, and those scattered rude Christians in Egypt, Palestine, &c. Bellarmine saith (*de Notis Eccles. l. 4. cap. 8. p. (mihi) 312. Non posse ostendi in Ecclesia Græca certam successionem: Nam 1. Fatetur Calvinus in Asia, Ægypto & proinde Antiochiæ, Hierosolymæ, & Alexandria interruptam fuisse successionem: sola constat Constantinopolitana Ecclesia, &c. At Constantinopolitana Ecclesia non est Apostolica; nec ostendit certam originem ab Apostolis, &c.*) Quod autem apud Græcos non sit Ecclesia, probamus alio modo; quia nimirum convicti sunt legitime in tribus plenariis conciliis, Lateranensi, Lugdunensi, & Florentino de schismate at heresi; ac precipue de heresi circa processionem Spiritus Sancti à Filio, &c. Adde ultimo omnes Ecclesia ille Patriarchales, habuerunt per longa tempora Episcopos manifestos hereticos, & proinde interrupta est veterum Pastorum successio.]

And of the adherents to the Pope in Africa, and Asia he saith, [*Non posse quidem ostendere successionem continuam Episcoporum suorum particularium, sed posse ostendere successionem continuam Episcoporum universalium, qui sunt Romani Episcopi, quibus illi subjectos se esse fatentur.*] So that you see in Bellarmine's Judgement what case the rest of the world is in, except the Romanists. And yet the successive right Ordination is a matter of more apparent impossibility to be proved, then the succession that Bellarmine speaks of.

Let us therefore come nearer home and see, Whether it be not Certain beyond all doubt, upon the grounds of Bellarmine and our Popish Doctors, that there is no true Church, Ministry or Ministerial administrations, in this Western part of the world? To begin at home, it is most certain, 1. That according to many ancient Canons (which are their Laws) our English Bishops of latest times were incapable of ordaining; For they lost their Authority, by involving themselves in secular and publique administrations, *Canon Apost. 80.* For neglect of instructing their Flocks (most or many of them) *Can. Apost. 51.* and many more: For non-residence: For unjust silencing and suspending Ministers, and destroying the Preaching of the word, suppressing Learned able Teachers, and maintaining or permitting multitudes of silly souls that could but read, and multitudes of drunken wicked livers. How many Canons do depose Bishops for these! Yet I know we had some very Learned, Pious, Reverend

rend men. 2. But then even these with all the rest were Ordained by such as had no Authority (according to the doctrine of these Objectors consequentially) For the Popish Bishops who Ordained in the daies of *Hen.8.H.7.* and many Ages before, had no power of Ordination. This I prove in that they received their Ordination from the Pope, who had no Authority to Ordain them. To say that *England* had Bishops before *Augustine*, is nothing to the business of Ordination, as long as it is undeniable that the *English* Bishops and Clergy did enslave themselves to the Pope, and profess their subjection to him, and to receive and hold their Authority from him. So that if the Pope had no Power to give Orders, then they were no Bishops (according to the Objectors rule.) Now that the Pope hath no Authority to Ordain, shall be made evident; by shewing that the succession of lawfull Bishops hath been interrupted at *Rome*, and so none since (on their own grounds) can be a true Bishop. 1. I will not undertake to maintain that the Pope is Antichrist, professing my weakness and ignorance of those Propheticall Scriptures, to be so great, that I dare not be confident in my interpretations of them: But yet our English Protestant Bishops have commonly been confident of it, and maintained it: and Bishop *Downames* Book de *Antichristo*, deserves consideration: and if that hold then the case is clear. 2. But however, that it is certain that multitudes of Popes have been such as were utterly incapable of the Office of a Bishop, and power of making Bishops, is evident to any that hath read *Pauls* Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, and the old Canons and the Histories of the Popes lives. Pope *Liberius* subscribed to the Arians Confession in the Council of *Sirmium* [*Libenti animo suscepi in nullo contradicens*] and to that Councils condemnation of *Athanasius*. Vid. *Binnium Tom. 1. Conc. part. 1. p. 470, 480, 422.* & *Baron. anno 357. §. 9. & 344. §. 3, 4, 5.* & *Bel-larm. l. 4. de Pontif. c. 9.* Pope *Honorius* in two General Councils was condemned for a Heretick. Vid. *Bin. Conc. 5. Oecum.* Pope *Stephen 6.* and *Sergius 1.* did judge Pope *Formosus* incapable of Ordaining, when they Decreed that those whom he Ordained, should be Ordained again. Vid. *Sigebert. Chron. p. 74. anno 902.* Reade but what *Platina* saith of them in *Vit. Greg. 7. Urban. 7. Alexand. 3. Alex. 6. John 13. Job. 22. & 23.* Some were Sorcerers, some Idolaters, some jested at Christianity it self; some Arians, Nestorians, Monothelites, Montanists, denied the souls immortality: besides their infamous Whoredoms, Tyranny, Murders, Poysoning their Predecessors, Buying the Popedom, &c. But I had rather give you this in other

mens words, as by them applied to the Argument in hand. Bishop *Jewell Defen. Apolog. part. 2. p. 131. c. 5. Divis. 1.* faith, [I trust you will not think it ill if I a little touch the like in the Bishops of *Rome*, that thereby we may be the better able to see some of the branches of your succession: Therefore shortly to say, you know that Pope *Marcellinus* committed Idolatry: that Pope *Silvest. 2.* was a Conjuror, and gave himself whole body and soul to the Devil, and by the Devils procurement was made Pope: That Pope *Zosimus* for ambition and claim of Government corrupted the holy Council of *Nice*: That Pope *Liberius* was an Arian heretick: That Pope *Leo*, as appeareth by the *Legend*, was also an Arian: That Pope *Celestine* was a Nestorian heretick: Pope *Honorius* a Monothelite heretick: Pope *John 22.* was reprov'd by *Gerson* and the School of *Paris* for an heretick, &c. And to leave Dame *Joane*, &c. This is Mr *H.*'s holy succession! Though faith fail, yet succession must hold: For unto such succession God hath bound the holy Ghost. For lack of this succession; for that in our Sees in the Churches of *England* we finde not so many Idolaters, Necromancers, Hereticks, Advouters, Church-robbers, Perjured persons, Mankillers, Renegates, Monsters, Scribes and Pharisees, as we may easily finde in the Church of *Rome*, therefore I trow Mr *H.* faith, we have no succession, no Bishops, we have no Church at all. But St *Paul* faith [*Faith cometh* (not by succession, but) *by hearing*, and hearing cometh (not of Legacy or Inheritance from Bishop to Bishop, but) of the Word of God.] So far *Jewell*.

That truly Noble Lord *Du Plessis* faith, in *Treat. of the Ch. c. 11. p. 362. &c.* [Examining the Election of the Bishops of the Romish Church, a man shall hardly finde one that may be called a Bishop that can hold proof against the Canons Apostolicall or Ecclesiasticall, either in that which concerneth lawfull Calling or the due exercise of it: Not of Calling; for where is the Election, or the Examination of life and of maners? Where is not (contrariwise) either only favour, or meer Simony? and yet the Canons are plain [That such Institutions of Bishops are void of themselves, and all those likewise void that they bestow upon others.] And, I pray you, when Pope *Eugenius 4.* is depos'd by the Oecumenicall Council of *Basill*, and pronounced a Heretick and Schismatick, and all his adherents likewise, and yet retaineth the Papall Authority against the Judgement of that Council, where are the Cardinals and Bishops communicating with one excommunicated, instituted by one destituted, recei-

ving of him who was deprived of his Calling, a Calling which he could not give? and transfusing it to others, which consequently could not have it themselves. And where is there then (according to their Canons, and according to their own Decrees) so much as one Bishop, or one Priest, since all that time, &c. Not the Bishop of Rome himself created by the creatures of *Eugenius*, or by those whom from time to time they have created: seeing the Law tels us, that *Quod initio vitiosum est, non potest tractu temporis convalescere, &c.* (see further.) So far *Du Plessis*.

Nay were there nothing against the Bishops of Rome but their claiming the Title of Universal Bishops, their own Pope *Gregory* will pronounce (*Epist.* 80.) that it is no other thing then to fall from the Faith: and (*Epist.* 188.) it is Apostacy: and (*Ep.* 78.) it portendeth Antichrist: (yea surpasseth his pride, *Ep.* 80.)

Reade Dr *Prideaux* Lect. 11. de *Antichristo*; & 9. And *Sutlive* fully.

And whether the Reign of Pope *Joane* be of no truth, or force to interrupt the succession, let it rest on the credit of that great number of Historians that report it.

If any man will say, that the Ordination of such as these forementioned Popes, is of more validity then of an Assembly of the most Learned Godly Presbyters, I think them not worthy any further confutation: Yet I desire them to regard these following words of Learned Dr *Hammond* in his Defence of the Lord *Falkland*, pag. 64. [I ask you whether it be not true what his Lordship saith, that a Pope chosen by Simony, is *ipso facto* no Pope? You (durst not I conceive, because you) did not before deny it: and if now you will take more courage, let your minde be known, and we shall not doubt to bring as Claslick Authors as your selves against you. If it be true, then is your answer of no validity, because of no truth: For either that infallibility, or what ever other power, must be annexed to him as a man (which he may be indeed though he be not Pope) or under some other relation, which infallibly belongs to him (neither of which I conceive you will affirm, for then ten thousand to one, some other will communicate with him in that claim) or else he must be Pope, when he is *ipso facto* no Pope; or else that power must be annexed to him by some body that may think him Pope, when he is not, and then either God must run the Error, or that power be given him from some others. For that God should know him to be no Pope, and yet give that power of Infallibility to him (for if you

ſpeak of any other Power it is not pertinent) as long as he is peaceably received, muſt firſt conclude that a No-Pope may be Infallible. And ſecondly, that whoſoever is ſo received by the Church, is ſo: which unleſs there be ſome promiſe of Gods to aſſure me that he hath promiſed it to the Churches blinde reception, will for ought I yet ſee, conclude again, that either the Chair or the peoples error gives him that prerogative.] Apply this reaſon to their Ordination, and you need no more in answer to your Objection. See further Dr Hammond pag. 66, 67.

So that it is too evident, not only that there is no certainty to be had in the Roman Church (and conſequently in any that received their power from them) that there is any one true Biſhop, Paſtor or Miniſteriall Adminiſtration, if ſucceſſion of lawfull Ordination be neceſſary to the Being of theſe, but alſo it is certain that there is no Biſhop or Miniſtry, and ſo no Church and Ordinances; which is a Concluſion ſo notoriously falſe and abominable, that we may know what to judge of the premiſes whence it is inferred.

By this time therefore I hope it is apparent that our Miniſters Calling is not therefore Null, becauſe they are Ordained by meer Prefbyters. And that they that would by ſuch accuſations entice people from their Paſtors to Rome, if they follow on the work according to their Principles, muſt bring them at laſt to be of no Church. Adde to this what I have ſaid in the Preface to the ſecond Part of my Book of Reſt, and you will ſee that at long running the Principles of Popery do leade to flat Infidelity.

Bellarmino confeſſeth (l. 3. de Eccleſ. c. 10.) that [*Non habemus certitudinem niſi Moralem, quod iſti ſint Veri Episcopi.*] (He was loth to ſpeak out and ſay the plain truth, that we can have no proper Morall Certainty at all, no nor probability.) But what then muſt ſalve this ſore? why we may know that [*Aliqui ſaltem ſunt Veri: alioqui Deus Eccleſiam deſeruiſſet.*] True: but therefore it follows that a ſucceſſion of right Ordination (as you maintain) is not neceſſary to ſuch a knowledge. And then how ſhall it be known by the Lords Flock which be theſe true Paſtors? Why he tels us [*Certi ſumus certitudine infallibili, quod iſti quos videmus ſint Veri Episcopi & Paſtores noſtri: Nam ad hoc non requiritur, nec fides, nec character Ordinis, nec legitima electio, ſed ſolum ut habeantur pro talibus ab Eccleſia.*] I pray you mark that all this is but *quod Chriſti locum tenent, & quod debemus illis Obedientiam*: But for this ſecond [*Quod habeant poteſtatem Ordinis & Jurisdictionis*], poor Bellarmine leaves the Chriſtian world

world at a loss; as if it were a thing not to be known. 2. And he durst not say, that God bindeth a people to obey him as being in Christs place, who hath not the power of Order and Jurisdiction: But this is all [*Eos non esse quidem in se veros Episcopos; tamen donec pro talibus habentur ab Ecclesiâ, deberi illis obedientiam, cum conscientia etiam erronea obliget.*] So that is but the Obligation of an erring Conscience, and not of God. But wiser men then *Bellarmino* say, Conscience hath no proper Sovereignty or Legislative power, and therefore may *ligare*, but not *obligare*, we being *eo ipso momento* bound both to judge more truly, and lay by that error, and also to practice the contrary. 3. Observe, I pray you, that the upshot of all is, that this is the whole thats requisite [*Solum ut habeantur pro talibus ab Ecclesiâ*] and so I hope if the Church judge men Ordained without Bishops to be true Pastors, you have *Bellarmino's* testimony that they owe them obedience, as to men that stand in Christs place. But I have been too long about this Section.

16. In the time of the Arian prevalency, when, as the Papiſts confess scarce five Bishops could be found that were not turned Arians, was there not then an interruption of succession in point of right Ordinations? and was all Null both then and since?

17. I have known in the Bishops daies more then one or two idle ignorant Readers, that feigned their Orders, and made the people believe that they were Ordained by the Bishop, and continued many a year in Administration of both Sacraments; and yet when it was discovered, it was not taken for Null which they had all this while done. Why then should Presbyters Ordination be Null?

18. It was not necessary to the Priesthood before Christ, that there were an uninterrupted succession of right Ordination: For the Priests in Christs time were such as had no right to it; not of the right line (which had been long before interrupted:) they bought the Priesthood for Money: and as many judges were annual and two at a time (though not equal:) Yet Christ requireth submission to them as Priests. I am sorry that we must be put to use the same Arguments with these men, as we have done against the old Separatists so long.

But some will Object, That all this doth only prove, that in case of Necessity Presbyters may Ordain, and their Ordination is not Null: But those cannot plead such Necessity that have disobediently put down Bishops themselves.

To this I Answer: 1. Most Ministers of any long standing were Ordained by Bishops, and therefore will have no need of any of this Defence that I have used.

2. The Churches have never the less Necessity of Pastors and Ordinances, notwithstanding the faults of their Pastors.

3. I know of few or none of our Association that can be charged with taking down Bishops: I know none so liable to such a charge as my self, who yet am ready to give an account to any Brother that is offended; and I beleeve that they ought to rebuke me personally and hear my answer, before they withdraw from me, or censure me; much more so many others for my sake.

4. I do not know of any that can be charged higher (as against Episcopacy) then for taking it down so far as the Covenant takes it down. But the Covenant doth not take down all Episcopacy; but only the concatenation of Archbishops, Bishops, Chancellours, &c. which were then in *England*. To prove this 1. The words suffice, which can be no further extended then to the kinde of Episcopacy. 2. See Mr *Colemans* Explication of it to the Lords house, upon which they took it, as in that sense.

Besides, we have not in this County (any where that I know of) once offered the Covenant to any of our people (except those that were in the Garrisons or Armies:) See further Mr *Prins* Speech in Parliament for an Agreement on the late Kings last terms.

5. The late Bishops; even in the judgement of all moderate men of their own party that ever I spoke with, did very many of them deserve to be put down, and more. Reade the Articles against *Wren*, *Pierce*, *Goodman*, *Land*, &c.

6. We do in the very first Article of our Agreement, disclaim a present engaging our selves for any party, as such: or against any: and therefore we cannot in any Justice be disclaimed as a party that are confederate against Episcopacy: When we only desire a unanimous agreement in practice, so far as we are already agreed in Judgment, that our discord or strangeness may neither hinder our further edification, nor yet deprive the Church of Gods Ordinances, or of the beauty, strength, and other benefits of Union.

But perhaps it will be said, that We have no such Necessity, either of Ordination without Bishops, or of private agreements to Govern our Churches without them: For either we have Bishops, or may have when we will.

To which I Answer : 1. Whether we have Bishops or no, we must Govern the Churches committed to our charge, so far as belongs to Presbyters : and we have agreed on no more.

2. I know not of any Bishop we have in this County (nor in many near us :) and therefore how can any seek to them whom they know not, either for Ordination or Government ? If any man will come among us, and prove himself to be our Bishop rightly called ; he shall finde that we will be ready (I hope) to yield him as much obedience as Gods Word commands us.

3. We know but very few Diocesan Bishops living in the Land ; whereof one is a Bishop of another Land, two or three at a very great distance, none of them Bishops of this Diocess : some (I think) in the Tower, where we cannot come at them, and by their impeachments, suppose them uncapable of Ordaining : Therefore we are uncapable of making use of these.

4. We are all Ordained already, and we cannot be new-Ordained again, without 1. Incurring the sentence of deprivation, according to the *Can. Apost. 67.* which requires that he be Deposed who seeketh another Ordination, being already Ordained. 2. Or without un-Churching all or most of Christs Churches, and Degrading his Ministers, by taking our Ordination for Null, as hath been shewed. And we do not go about our selves by this Agreement to meddle with Ordination.

5. This Objection supposeth, either that we are convinced, that Diocesan Episcopacy, is the only lawfull Government of the Church, or else that we may be convinced of it when we will ; or else that Diocesan Episcopacy is such a Fundamentall, that he that beleeveth it not to be Gods only way of Church-Government, (though he be never so willing and diligent to know the truth, yet) must be avoided, and separated from. But the two former suppositions we know to be false, and the third no Protestant takes for a Truth. For Protestants have taken the Creed, Lords Prayer and ten Commandments, for a sufficient test of Christian Doctrine, so far as to discern who are Christians and to be communicated with ; at least taking them with that Explication which an ordinary Believer may easily and certainly finde out, in the rest of the Scriptures. They take those to be no Fundamentals, which so many hundreds of men, yea the most Learned and Godly on earth, cannot yet agree in, or finde out the sense of. 2. Protestants do not believe that all the Protestant Churches except *England and Ireland.* (no nor any one for want of
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Episcopacy) are to be excommunicated, or separated from. The Objectors must therefore remember, that we are not all of a minde about Episcopacy, and therefore cannot yet set it up, because we must not do that which we judge to be against Gods Word. But must we therefore separate or leave all undone? and give up our Flocks to rapine and ruine?

If they say that men of such erroneous principles, if they cannot be rectified, are bound to give up the Ministry to others of better judgements.

I Answer: 1. Shew me but where those men are, in so full a number as may supply the Churches necessities, but so farre, as that I and such as I may conscionably surcease, without the Churches loss, and I here promise that I will joyfully give up my Office, when ever any such fitter man shall be called to my place. And I think the rest of my Brethren will do the like. But we live in the open world, where we have opportunity to know men, as well as others: and we cannot see any such plentiful choice of Able, Pious men to supply all our Places if we should give them up. And either the late Bishops knew of none such; or else they took the drunken Readers (that could scarce yet have a *Legit* to save their necks, if they needed it) to be fitter men then we to edifie the Flocks.

2. It seems these Objectors are of the same minde as the late Prelates, and would deprive and silence us all that are not convinced of the Rightfulness of Episcopacy, if it were in their power. For if they think that we may not be Associated or Communicated with as Ministers, unless we will set up Episcopacy; it seems they would authoritatively remove us, if they could, though we yet do nothing against them.

3. Methinks, modest humble men, conscions of the frailty and fallibility of their own understandings, should not be so confident in a Point so difficult; or at least should not be so unmercifully censorious to their Brethren, as to cast off all that cannot see into a case so difficult so far as they, (suppose they see themselves.) If they think it is of no great difficulty then they are yet more unchristianly censorious, to think that so many Learned, Judicious, Godly Divines as since the Reformation have been against Episcopacy in *France, Holland, Helvetia, Germany, Scotland*, yea in *England*, should all be so wicked, as to shut their eyes against so easie a Truth, this is a hard judgement for humble men to pass. We must intreat them to suppose that as we have read many of their Writings for Episcopacy, so we
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have read many against it: And among such Probabilities brought on both sides by such Learned men, we take it not for such an easie matter to be certain of the right, as some confident men affirm it to be. I know that many heap up arguments and bring us long rols of Authorities for Episcopacy. And I know that *Gerfom, Bucerus, Beza, Altare Damascenum, Parker, Baines, Salmasius, Blondellus, Prin* (in his Catalogue of Writers against Bishops, and in his History of Bishops, Part 2. Ch. 3. and unbishoping of *Timothy* and *Titus*.) *D^r Reignolds*, and others, do give us as long a train of Arguments and Authorities on the other side. For our parts, we are some of one minde (it's likely) in this, and some of another; and it is utterly against my purpose to speak on either side; but, methinks all those men that have without prejudice read the Authors that I have mentioned (especially *Bucerus, Parker, and Blondellus, and Salmasius,*) yea though they have read all that ever was writ on the other side, should be so apprehensive of a difficulty in the business, as to be moderate and modest in the censure of their Brethren, and not to degrade or excommunicate all that differ from them.

But some will Object, If there be as great a Necessity of Preaching the Word, as you mention, yet while Bishops are absent, or you cannot have them for Ordination and Jurisdiction, you should only Preach or instruct people in charity, as private men, but not undertake the work of the Ministry, what necessity soever there be.

I Answer: 1. The Church of Christ is little beholden to such Objectors, that would rather the Church should never have Ministers or Ministerial administrations, then have them without Bishops. 2. Do you think that private men may publicly Preach the Word, and that constantly, according to the Churches necessities? why then may they not as well administer Sacraments. The Apostles had as special a Commission to Preach as to administer Sacraments. 3. Then if it be proved that succession of right Ordination is interrupted, so that no man can be found that hath had such a succession from an Apostle, and so is authorized to Ordain; it seems you would have Christ have no Ministers nor governed Church on earth any more, till he send new Apostles. Or if the Preachers in *New-England* could convert all the *Indians* to the faith, and could not have a Bishop to Ordain them Ministers, you would have these Converts be without Ministers, Sacraments, Government, and Ministeriall Churches to the worlds end. 4. We were many of us Ordained long before the

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Bishops were down: and must we give up our Charges because they are down?

Obj. But you may not Rule or exercise Discipline without them.

Ans. This is answered already. Further. 1. We do not exercise any Rule or Discipline that moderate Episcopal men do claim to be proper to the Bishop. We have only resolved to do the acknowledged duty of Presbyters. 2. But for my part I make no question but Presbyters may and must Rule their Congregations, by all the acts of Christs Discipline; even Excommunication and Absolution. 1. *Hierome* excepted only Ordination as the Bishops prerogative (what time soever he spoke of.) 2. Ministers are called Rectors and Pastors of their Congregations, by Law, and by Divines. 3. In their Ordination the Bishops said to them [Receive the holy Ghost, whose sins ye do Remit they are Remitted, whose sins ye do Retain; they are Retained.] 4. Almost all Episcopal Divines that I know of, do fully confess it. So Bishop *Downname* Defence of Consecrat. Serm. 1.3. c.4. p.105. gives Deacons a power of Preaching and Baptizing, and Presbyters moreover of administering the Lords Supper, and remitting and retaining mens sins. Yea Bishop *Usher* in his Answer to the Jesuites Chall. pag. 133. saith. [In the daies not only of *Cyprian*, but *Alcuinus* also (who lived 800 years after Christ) the Reconciliation of Penitents was not held to be such a proper Office of the Priest; but that a Deacon in his absence was allowed to perform the same. The ordinary course that was held herein, according to the form of the Ancient Canons, is thus laid down by the Fathers of the third Council of *Toledo*: That the Priest should first suspend him that repented of his fault from the Communion, and make him to have often recourse unto Imposition of hands among the rest of the Penitents; then when he had fulfilled the time of his satisfaction, as the consideration of the Priest did approve of it, he should restore him to the Communion.) So *Usher*. It were easie to shew the concurrent Judgements of Episcopal Protestants for Presbyters Governing their Flocks; so be it, 1. That they contradict not the Bishop. 2. And that they allow the Bishop to Govern the Presbyters. But it would be tedious and needles. 5. Almost all Episcopal Divines that I know of (except one or two new ones of these times) do expound all these following Texts of Scripture, as spoken of Presbyters, *Acts* 20.28. *Heb.* 13. 7,17,24. *1 Thes.* 5. 12,13. *Tit.* 1. 5,6,7. *1 Tim.* 3. 2,3,4. *1 Pet.* 5. 2,3,4. And so do the Fathers expound them (though I say not all of them, *tantum de Presbyteris*.) See *Prins Catalogue*

p. 1, 2, 3. and History of Prel. Part 2. p. 315, 316, 317, &c. And for those that of late expound them otherwise, I doubt not but it is easie to discover their mistake, and withall how deadly a blow their interpretation giveth to their own Cause: but that I am resolved now to forbear such Disputes. 6. Church-Government by Pastors is but Directive, by expounding and applying Gods Word, and not Coercive by external force. And if a Presbyter may not Govern direttively; then he may not Teach, and then he hath nothing to do. *Bellarmin.* distinguisheth of interior Jurisdiction *ad populum Christianum regendum in foro interiori Conscientia*: and exterior Jurisdiction *ad eundem populum regendum in foro exteriori*: and he cites *Abulensis Defens.* Part 2. c. 63. saying that the former power of Jurisdiction is conferred by God immediatly on every Priest in their Ordination; (*Bellarmin. de Pontif. l. 4. c. 22.*) *Spalatenensis* hath largely shewed that the proper Ministerial Jurisdiction is exercised on Conscience: and *lib. 5. de Rep. Eccl. c. 12.* he shews that the Presbyter without the Bishop may so binde and loose, and keep from the Sacrament or admit to it: which he oft shews elsewhere, as to that interior power which is only on Conscience. Yea Cardinal *Gusaeus, de Concord. Cathol. l. 2. c. 13.* saith plainly, *Omnes Episcopi & forte etiam Presbyteri, aequalis sunt potestatis quoad Jurisdictionem; licet non executionis: quod quidem exercitium executivum, sub certis positivis clauditur & restringitur, &c. unde cessante causa statuti illius, tunc cessant illa Jura positiva.* Though for my part, I think the term Jurisdiction is a great deal too big to be properly appliable to any Ecclesiastical, Ministerial Government. *Grotius* saith well, *de Imperio sum. pot. c. 8. p. 209, 210. Quod autem querunt nonnulli, habeatne Ecclesia Legislativam potestatem, id ex his qua superius à nobis explicata sunt facile dissolvitur. Nam lege divina non habet; Το πομπὴ δὲ τῶν ἀρετῶν τῶν βασιλείων, & sacerdotum non est νόμος κρείσσων, ut ante citavimus: quare qua ante Imperatores Christianos in Synodis conscripta sunt, ad Ordinem aut Ornatum facientia, Leges non vocantur, sed Canones, habeatque aut solum Consilii vim, ut in his que singulos magis spectant quam universos, aut obligant per modum pacti volentes, & nolentes etiam præciores ex necessitate determinationis, ac proinde ex lege naturali, non ex humano aliquo Imperio.*] Yea a further power there is to give such Directions which Gods Law obligeth men to obey: but this is scarce properly called Jurisdiction. 7. As for those that say the Bishops are the sole Pastors, and the power of Presbyters is but delegate from them, and therefore they may do nothing without them, all Scripture that describe the Office of Presbyters

doth fully contradict them. The same God that set in his Church Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, did also set Pastors and Teachers: and he will require an account of them, of the discharge of their Trust. If the Objectors doctrine were true, and we had none of us *Curam Animarum*, it were a glad doctrine to Presbyters, who might at judgement cast all on the Bishop, and a sad doctrine to Bishops, that must answer for all. And what wise man would then be a Diocesan Bishop when he must take the Charge of many thousand souls, that must wholly be committed to others instruction, and he himself shall never see their faces, nor hear their names. See this conceit of the Objectors fully confuted by *Spalatensis* (no rigid Protestant) *de Republ. Eccles. l.2.c.9.* 8. Papiests themselves confess that when there is no Bishop the Government lieth on the Presbyters. 9. Who knows not (the Bishops confessing it) that in *Cyprians* time, and according to several Canons, the Presbyters joyned with the Bishop in Ordination and Jurisdiction? And if it were a Bishop with his Presbytery that did Ordain and Govern, then it is evident that the employment is not aliene to the Presbyters place, nor above it: though they might not do it solely, because of the Bishops precedency, yet when there is no such President, it lieth all on them; see *Concil. Carthag. 4. Can. 3. & 22.* yea *Can. 23.* it is Decreed that *Episcopus nullius causam audiat absque presentia clericorum suorum, alioquin irrita erit sententia Episcopi, nisi Clericorum presentia confirmetur.* And for the Bishops power over Presbyters, it was so limited that the same Council ordains, *Can. 29.* that if a Bishop shall charge a crime on a Clergy man, or Lay man, he shall be put to prove it at a Synod. And *Can. 30.* If the Judges of the Church gave sentence in his absence, whose cause was tried, the sentence shall be void, and the Judges shall also answer at a Synod for their fact.] And *Can. 34.* A Bishop sitting was not to suffer a Presbyter to stand.] And *Can. 35.* The Bishop was to sit higher in the Church, but at home let him know that he is a Colleague of the Presbyters.] And *Can. 37.* The Deacon must know himself to be a Minister or Servant, as of the Bishop, so of the Presbyter.] Yea *Can. 68.* It is decreed that [*Ex penitentibus (quamvis sit bonus clericus) non ordinetur. Si per ignorantiam Episcopi factum fuerit, Deponatur à Clero; quia se ordinationis tempore non prodidit fuisse penitentem. Si autem sciens Episcopus ordinaverit talem, etiam ipse ab Episcopatus sui ordinandi duntaxat potestate privetur.*] Here you see that one that is unjustly Ordained by the Bishop may be Deposed by the
Clergy:.

Clergy ; And why may they not Ordain without a Bishop, as well as Depose without him? At least they that may Depose a Clerk without him, may reject or cast out an open offender of the people without him. And in the second Council of *Carth. Can. 10.* The cause of a Presbyter in criminals, was to be heard by six Bishops, and not less. And in the first *Conc. Carth.* a Presbyter is to be reprov'd of six Bishops, *Can. 11.* and a Deacon by three. And afterward when Bishops yet grew higher it was Decreed in *Conc. Carthag. 3.* (confirmed in the sixth general Council) that a Presbyter reconcile not a Penitent without consulting with the Bishop, except the Bishop be absent, or necessity constrain: So that in both those cases he might, though he had a Bishop over him. Yea it seems Deacons had some Ruling power in the Church: For the Council of *Elibert, Can. 77.* decree that [*Siquis Diaconus Regens plebem, sine Episcopo vel Presbytero, aliquos baptizaverit, Episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debet.*] 10. The 38. *Canon. Concil. Elibert,* decreeth, That in case of Necessity a Lay man may baptize. And can the Objectors prove that Lay-men have in Scripture more power given them to baptize, then Presbyters to Ordain or Govern the Church? 11. The 98. *Canon* of the fourth *Counc. of Carthage,* decreeth, That a Lay-man shall not dare to Teach, the Clergy being present, except they desire him.] Whereby it appears that in their absence, or at their desire, he might. Now I would know whether a Lay man have any better authority for such Teaching, then Presbyters have for Ordaining and Government? 12. That Presbyters have Votes in Councils (which is the greater) our Protestant Divines at large have proved against the Papists. See *Dr Sutlive de Concil. cap. 8.* so very many more. 13. The Episcopal Divines do affirm that the Apostles themselves having planted Churches, and Ordained Presbyters in them, did retain the Episcopal power in their own hands. Now I would fain know, when *Paul* is so long in *Ephesus* and the adjoining parts of *Asia* (above three years) and so long at *Rome, &c.* Who did Govern the Churches that while, from which he was so far and so long absent? Were they ungoverned? or did another Bishop Govern them? Or rather did the Presbyters, whom the holy Ghost had made their Bishops or Overseers? And have not Presbyters now the same Office? 14. I would know, if a Presbyter, as such, may not Ordain or Rule, whether to enable him thereto, and make him a Bishop, he must have a further Ordination? If no: then it seems, that the first Ordination which made him but a meer Presbyter, gave

him the power, though the presence of his Superiour might *hic & nunc* hinder the execution: If he must be Ordained Bishop, I desire some proof of it out of the B'ble: Where is there either precept or president, for Ordaining any man a Bishop, that was before Ordained a Presbyter? If a Captain of a Troop, or Colonel of a Regiment, either die or be absent, the Lieutenant of the Troop, or Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment, needs no new Commission or Authority for the Commanding of that Troop or Regiment, till another Captain or Colonel shall be chosen.

I must entreat the Reader to remember, that I am all this while necessitated to go upon the Grounds which the Episcopall Divines will own, and to cite only those Authours or Canons which are of force with them, because I am only proving that there is nothing in our *Worcestershire* Agreement that is contrary to their principles, or that must necessarily exclude a Protestant Episcopal Divine from our Associations. And therefore to argue against any of their opinions, would be contrary to my scope; And to have cited *Calvin, Beza, Chamier, Pareus, Musculus*, or any of those multitudes of foreign Divines that are known to be against them, would have been labour in vain; and so it would have been to have cited *Reynolds, Whitakers, Dr Humphrey*, and such like at home, who are some known to be against them, and some no fast friends to them.

If any after all this should require an account of my own judgement about the necessity of Ordination, I say, I am not now about such a businesse, nor do I account it seasonable to say any more then this: 1. God hath determined that every Church shall have a Pastor or Pastors. 2. And he hath stated the nature of their office and degree of their power. 3. And he hath described the persons that he will have to be the Officers by their requisite qualifications. All this is done in his Laws already. 4. There is nothing therefore left to be done but to determine which are the individual persons that are fittest according to Gods description. This God himself also will do, but hath not tied himself to one way in doing it: In generall, some sign of Gods will that this is the man must be had; At first in calling the Apostles his own immediate nomination was the sign: Now the most notable sign is the most eminent unquestionable Qualification of the person, which when God conferreth so notably or discernably, that man must be taken as chosen by God, and they that reject him do sin: These Qualifications lie both in Abilities, Willingness, Conveniency of habitation, or other externals and interest in the people; and if
God

God bow their mindes to consent, there is the fuller signification of his will; yet lest any by intrusion should abuse the Church, God hath made the Pastors and Overseers, Judges of mens fitnessse; or the ordinary discerners of it, for the guidance of the Church in their consent. But then if these Judges or Discerners take a man to be fit (and so ordain him) who is utterly unfit, their ordination is *ipso facto* null, as being against Gods will; for God gave them power only to ordain those that were so and so qualified, and forbad them to ordain others. Also if the Qualification and fitnessse of the person be eminent; the people are bound to see Gods choice, and to accept that man of themselves without Ordination rather then an insufficient man ordained. For as Cyprian saith, *Plebs obsequens preceptis Dominicis & Deum metuens, a peccatore prapposito separare se debet, nec se ad sacrilegi sacerdotis sacrificia miscere: quando ipsa maxime habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi; Quod & ipsum videmus de divina auctoritate descendere, ut sacerdos plebe presente, sub omnium oculis deligatur, & dignus atque idoneus publico iudicio ac testimonio comprobetur, &c. Et sit ordinatio justa & legitima qua omnium suffragio & iudicio fuerit examinata.*] That which I especially note is the first words, that God leaves neither Bishops at liberty who to ordain, nor people whom to choose, but hath so described to them the persons, that if they grossely erre, their action is null: and therefore the people themselves are bound to cast off a wicked, or utterly unfit Pastor, though all the Bishops in the world command them to receive them (as in the Arrians time some did) And on the contrary they are bound to choose the fittest against the Bishops minde, if he would thrust an unfit one upon them. And in such a case there is sufficient signification of Gods will that [This should be the man] and then want of Ordination cannot null his calling, if he had none at all: For where there is no place for controversie there is no need of a Judge: And where God eminently qualifieth one man, and leaves another utterly unfit, there should be no controversie which should be the man. And that Judgement which is committed to Ordainers is limited, and it is directed by Gods Laws, which it may not passe or contradict. If it do notoriously, the same Law commands the people not to obey man before God. Also this Power is given to certain ends: and if it be used against those ends, so that either the ends or that means must be forsaken, it is easie to see that it is means and not the ends. For the means are not alwaies the same, God having store if any one fail. Especially the means is of positive morality,

morality, and the ends of naturall morality: For when two duties come together, and both cannot be chosen, the choosing of the lesse (which must give place to the greater) is a sin: and Positives are lesse (*ceteris paribus*) then Naturals: And the substantial of Positives more necessary then the Circumstantial: It is of flat necessity that the Church be taught and guided, and God publicly worshipped: It is necessary that there be Ministers for that use. It is necessary that these men be godly, able and willing. It is fit that able Pastors be Judges who these be, lest unfit men creep in by deluding the people. But this is but in order to the former as the end. If therefore a Bishop or Pastor, or whoever shall appoint over a people an ungodly man, or an insufficient, this appointment is *ipso facto* null, and obligeth not the people: Nay, God hath already obliged them to worship him publicly, &c. and therefore they are bound to choose a man unordained to this work rather then not perform it: and in so doing they obey God in choosing him whom God hath designed, and he is a true Pastor. For as *Cyprian* saith, (*Ubi sup. Epist. 68. p. 200, 201.*) with the whole Synod, [*Desiderio vestro non tam nostra consilia quam divina precepta respondent, quibus jampridem mandatur voce caelesti, & Dei lege praescribitur, quos & quales oportet deservire altari, & sacrificia divina celebrare, &c. Quae cum praedicta & manifesta sint nobis, preceptis divinis necesse est obsequia nostra deserviant; nec personam in ejusmodi rebus accipere, aut aliquid cuiquam largiri potest humana indulgentia, ubi intercedit & legem tribuit divina praescriptio.*] So that in truth God doth all in conveying the Ministeriall power (as *Spalatenensis* proves of the very Magisterial) yea, he doth by his description and qualifications choose the person, and only require men to accept him whom he hath designed, by discerning and observing the signes of his Will in the nomination. And mark, that seeing all that God leaves to man is no more; therefore Ordination and Election do not so much differ as some think; both being but the Ministerial determination of the person: And therefore it being proved easily that Overseers of the Church are the stated Ordainers, it follows that they are the Principal Choosers; unless you will cross Scripture in making Ordination to be but a meer empty Ceremony. The people indeed must (*necessitate naturali ad finem*) consent; but that's not Election strictly. Or if they first propound the man, yet they do not Determine of him Authoritatively: that is the Church-Officers or Governours part: But if he cross Gods Word palpably by *male-administration*, the people have *Judicium discretivis* (as

Davenant hath well proved, *de iudice cont.*) and must discern their own duty, and not partake in a Pastors sin, nor obey him before God, so that this is neither to give the people any Authoritative determining choice, nor to exempt them from the Authoritative determining choice of their guides, except where their miscarriage makes it null: Much lesse to make themselves Church-Governours: No more then he makes an Army self-governours, that when they finde their Commanders Traitors, and see they would deliver them up to the Enemy, doth tell them they ought to forsake those Commanders in obedience to their Sovereign; and obey the next that is trusty, or (if none be so) choose another till they have further orders: Nay, it is hard trusting the guidance of that man again that hath once betraied us and the Church: And therefore those Bishops in *England* that set up Drunkards and sottish Readers, and cast out such as *Ames, Parker, Bains, Bradshaw, Brightman*, with multitudes, such as *England* was not worthy of; yea, that cast out the conformable so fast, as if they had presently been destroying the Preaching of the Gospel, I say, these have so apparently falsified their trust, that (if we were fully resolved for Bishops, yet) we cannot submit to them for Ordination or jurisdiction. The *Concil. Rhegiens.* decreed [*Ut perversi Ordinatores nullis denuò ordinationibus intersint*] Where then shall we have a Bishop to ordain of the old accused Tribe? Also they decreed [*De remotione ejus quem ordinare, perperam duo presumpserunt.*]

But then who shall be encouraged or allowed publicly to preach without disturbance, of this the Magistrate is the Judge. Of the businesse of Election, see *Grotius* very right *de Imperio sum. Pot. cap. 10.* specially pag. 239. *Ne Plebi invita Pastor obtrudatur, & simul salvo summis potestatibus jure rescindendi electiones, siquid forte in Ecclesia aut Republica perniciem erratum sit.* As *David, Solomon, &c.* did exercise such power: By all this it may be discerned that our Churches, Ministers, and Administrations, cannot by Papists or Seekers be justly questioned for want of succession of right Ordination; no, not though they had not had so much as a Presbyter at first to ordain them. And yet we maintain the usefullnesse and need of just Ordination. But I have been farre longer then I intended upon this Point.

The last Objection that I am to answer is this; Many of our people will not joyn with us, except they may have all Administrations as
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formerly, according to the Common Prayer-Book; especially except they may kneel at the Receiving of the Lords Supper. And some dividing discontented Divines do encourage them in that opinion and way.

To these I answer. 1. We have not in our Agreement medled with those things, but leave every Minister to his own judgement in Circumstantials, only desiring that we may agree as farre as may be, and therefore that we will hear each others reasons; So that some that do associate with us do constantly deliver the Lords Supper to the people kneeling; who think it most suitable to the state of their flocks.

2. I beleve there is no example of such a course of choosing Pastors in any age of the Church, for the people to agree with them before-hand to do as they would have them in every gesture or other circumstance, or else they will not own them or communicate with them.

3. It is contrary to the office of Pastors and duties of people. For they are to choose a Pastor to guide them, and not to be guided by them. Yet we acknowledge the people must not follow a Pastor in known sin. But then they must manifest it to be sin, Therefore I adde.

4. There is no Pastor among us but will be ready to give an account, and offer satisfaction to any of his people, concerning any miscarriage or male-administration. For we have engaged our selves to be so accountable before our Brethren of the Association. And if our people do rest on the judgement of other men, we shall be ready to debate the case with any man that they shall bring: Either to receive satisfaction, or to give satisfaction.

5. How impossible is it according to these mens principles to keep our Churches in Unity? For when many parties be of many mindes, and some will have praier on the Books, and others without, some will have one way of administration and some another, a Minister cannot please all: Either therefore they must yield that he be their guide in their worshiping of God, as to Circumstantials, or else they must break in peeces about every circumstantial difference.

6. Would you submit if all the Bishops had advised or required you to forbear kneeling at the Sacrament? If not, it seems you think it necessary of it self: If you would, then it seems you take it for indifferent: And should any for indifferent things reject the guidance of their present Teachers, and the communion of their Breshren, and the Ordinances of God?

7. I think there is no Pastor of our Associations but will be glad to condescend as far as conscience and duty will permit, for the satisfying of any that are truly conscientious, and therefore I doubt not but by speech or action they will easily satisfy them, when there is particular occasion: And more particularly, as some apprehend a necessity of sitting, because of the example of the Apostles, and other Reasons; and others think kneeling necessary for Reverence: I doubt not but all of us shall be willing to yeeld to the middle gesture of standing to any that desire so to receive; what further yeelding may be, I leave to every Minister to determine, according to the weight of the scruples of his people.

But if any will yet so Insist on kneeling at the receiving of the Lords Supper, as that they will not joyn with Minister or people, except they may have assurance before-hand so to receive it, I shall give them my thoughts of their way in these few Questions:

Q. 1. Do not such make themselves or their leaders (on whose Authority they take up these conceits) to be wiser then the Lord Jesus and his Apostles? Christ thought it not necessary either to deliver it to his Disciples kneeling, nor yet to command that it should be so delivered. And these men it seems do judge it necessary.

Obj. Christ did not command all things necessary, but left some to the command of the Church.

Ans. Things of a standing necessity which ought to be practised by his Church ordinarily in all ages, Christ hath commanded. But things that vary according to the variation of times, places, persons, &c. he hath determined only in generall, and left the speciall determination to Church-Governours, to be varied as occasion requires; (As what time the Sermon shall begin, how long it shall be, on what Text, where the Congregation shall meet, &c.) Now I would know whether kneeling in the act of receiving have any necessity now which it had not formerly, even 1500. or 1600. years ago: Do any bring any new reason of its necessity? I know of none. The common reason is [We cannot serve God too reverently] And was not that reason as forcible then as now? both when Christ was visibly present, and afterward when the Church for many 100. years was possessed with as great a reverence of God as the highest pretenders now are.

Q. 2. Doth it not imply a deniall of Scripture-sufficiency to be the perfect rule of Faith and Life? the great point that differenceth the Reformed Churches from the Papiſts. For though it belong not

to the Rule (the Word of God) to determine of particular circumstances, which either need no determination or are to be determined variously according to the variation of occasions, (and therefore must not be fixedly determined by humane Laws;) yet doth it undeniably belong to the perfection of a Law to leave as little undetermined as may be, which needs determination; and therefore to determine of that which is of standing necessity: And who can give any reason why Christ should not have commanded kneeling at the Sacrament as well as a Council or Bishop, if it be a matter so ordinarily necessary as is pretended?

Q. 3. Do not these men make themselves wiser then all the Churches of Christ for many hundred years after Christ? For it is certain, that for so long the Church used not to receive kneeling; Proved, 1. In that for a long time the Sacrament was received with their Love-Fests conjunctly. 2. For longer time the Churches would not so much as kneel in praier on the Lords Day; much lesse in receiving the Sacrament. Yea, they accounted it a hainous offence to kneel in praier, and made many Canons against it in severall ages. But some object, that as they did not receive kneeling, so they did not receive sitting: For it was standing, and standing was then a praier-gesture, and therefore we must receive it in our praier-gesture now.

Ans. 1. Will not standing now satisfie the Consciences of these men, when they think that all the Primitive Churches did but both pray and receive so? 2. When will these men prove what they affirm, that it was standing and not sitting that was the gesture then used in Receiving? Why, they say, because it was standing that was then commanded in the publike worship. *Ans.* But they should prove that it was in all worship: and not in Prayer and Praises only. How come so many Canons about the Order of Presbyters, Deacons, &c. sitting? Indeed they did keep the Lords day as a day of thanksgiving, as being in commemoration of the greatest mercy that the world hath received, even Redemption by Christ: And therefore partly in commemoration of his Resurrection, partly to avoid all signes of dejection (which were thought unfit on daies of Thanksgiving) they commanded standing in Prayer (not at Sacrament) as judging sitting too unreverent, and kneeling unsutable to the solemnity and rejoycing of the day: so that it was in opposition to kneeling that standing in Prayer was required. And therefore the same Councils forbad Fasting on the Lords day as a hainous sin, and many Fathers made it a mark of the true Churches and Christians

not to fast on those daies: yea and Synods did Anathematize them that then fasted: *Ignatius* his severe censure against such is well known. And therefore they called the Lords daies, the Churches Festivals: And therefore also they forbad kneeling on any week day between Easter and Pentecost, which were Festival seasons. So that our Objectors will never prove that they Received standing: Or if they could, will it follow that it was because that was the Prayer-gesture? I cannot stay to cite many Authors. Only thus much. 1. It appears by their Love-Feasts, at which they sate, that they did not stand in all the service of that day. 2. *Iustin Martyr* saith, *Apol. 2.* [After this we all Rise and offer Prayers, &c.] And is it not plain then that they sate before they rose? and that standing was but the Prayer gesture in stead of kneeling? 3. The injunction is expressly [for standing, and not kneeling] as opposite. I can shew them where it's said [*Die Dominico Jejunium nefas dicimus; vel de Genuculis adorare, &c.*] *Tertull.* (if it be his) *de Coron. Milit. cap. 38.* Let them shew the like against sitting at the Sacrament.

But what if this had been so? Had it not been as good an Argument to say, Standing was their Hearing-gesture: and sitting is ours: therefore we must Receive sitting because it is our Hearing gesture.] And is it not a better Argument then either to say [Sitting was their eating Gesture (and among them where Christ administred it, a homelier sitting then ours is:) and therefore we must take it in our Eating or Feasting gesture: as it's certain the Primitive Christians did.] It is therefore frequently by the Fathers called [a Feast.] *Tertull.* (*ad Uxorem li. 2. c. 4.*) calls it [*Convivium Dominicum.*] Yet will not we urge this better Argument to prove sitting Necessary (but give them that desire it leave to stand:) much less should they urge a plain sophisme for the Necessity of Kneeling.

Quest. 4. Do not these men destroy their own Cause, when they would prove the Necessity of Kneeling, from a Necessity of Conformity to the Universal Church? Nay doth not this Argument shew a Popish heart? For it seems they take not all or any of the Reformed Churches of *France, Holland, Germany, Scotland, &c.* who Receive sitting or standing, to be any part of the Universal Church. 2. If they take not the Primitive Church for many hundred years to be any part of the Universal Church, then they are worse then Papists. If they do, then may not we better argue [The Primitive Church did not Kneel in Receiving; therefore we must not] then they can argue [The Church of later times did Kneel in Receiving: therefore

we must:] For even the Papists in matter of Tradition, do give precedency to the first Churches, and do make the present Church but the preserver and deliverer of the Traditions of the former. Is it not plain therefore that there is something else then the Authority of the first Churches that moves these men; when they cannot be ignorant that Christ and his Apostles and the Church for many hundred years did practice the contrary? Yea they that have written for Kneeling, maintain that there was never any command for it (to the people) no not in the Church of *Rome*; but that they suffered it to come in as a custom silently, that they might not be observed to contradict the old Canons against Kneeling on the Lords daies. Even as low as *Chrysofome's* time, it is but [An Adoration of Christ at the Sacrament] that they prove. And who denieth that? We still pray to him before we Receive: Adoration and Kneeling are not all one: and Adoration by Kneeling is not all one with the doing this in the act of Receiving.

Quest. 5. Do not these men make themselves wiser then all the Bishops and Conformists in *England*, who did ever in their Writings and Disputings, maintain our Ceremonies to be things indifferent? And now they will esteem them so Necessary, that they will turn their back on Gods Ordinances, and become Separatists for them?

Quest. 6. Is it not the more inexcusable for these men to turn Separatists, and that on so small an occasion, as for a Ceremony or Gesture; in that they have both lived in an Age wherein they have so fully seen the mischiefs of Separation: and also have themselves spoke so much against Separatists as they have done? yea and still do; while themselves become the great Separatists, and so do but reproach themselves.

Obj. It is not we that Separate: but they that deny us the Sacrament Kneeling are the Cause.

Ans. So all the Separatists say, It is not long of them; and pretend that they are necessitated to it. But who is to be the Guide of sacred Actions? Minister or People? What if we should deny to give it to them that sit? Would you think that we gave them just occasion to separate? Judge by former times. And yet they have more shew of reason to say so. Besides, I have not seen any put away for Kneeling. But if they may approach the Table and take it with the rest, in what Gesture they please, yet this will not satisfie them unless also it be put into their hands: Though it is undeniable
that

that Christ did deliver it to them all Generally and not to each mans hands, when yet he might more conveniently do it, when they were but twelve. And *Clemens Alexand.* (*Stromat. l.7.*) saith [Also the Eucharist, when some, as the manner is, have divided it, they permit every one of the people to take a part of it: For to an accurate and perfect choosin^g or refusin^g (a mans) Conscience is best.] I adde therefore,

Quest. 7. Is it not enough that they refuse themselves to be guided by their Guides in their own Gesture, but they must also needs Guide the Action of the Minister himself, or else they will separate? Should not he, at least, have the same liberty to administer according to his Conscience, as they expect in Receiving according to theirs? If his Conscience tell him, that he should deliver it but to the company conjunctly as Christ did, and their Conscience tell them they should take it Kneeling; why should not he be as much the guide of his own Actions, as they of theirs? If it were a duty to put it into their hands, it is his duty and not theirs; and therefore the not doing it, would be his sin and not theirs: and what need their Conscience therefore drive them from the Ordinance? else we must needs break all in pieces: For if we put it into every mans hands, then they that think we should do otherwise must depart.

Quest. 8. Do not they that would make more duties and sins then God hath made, forget that they have enough to do already? and that they are wont to think it too much that God himself hath commanded them? and that they will leave themselves at last more unexcusable for the neglect of the duties of Gods prescribing, when they could adde so much more?

Quest. 9. Should we not in doubtfull cases take the safer side? And is it not safer to do as Christ and his Apostles and his Church for many hundred years did, then to follow the novelties of later times? Is it not certain that where there is no Law, there is no transgression? and I know of no Law binding us to Receive kneeling: therefore for my part I cannot fear that Christ will condemn me for following his own, his Apostles and his Churches example, when he never gave me a word to the contrary.

Obj. If Christs example bind to sit, then you must also imitate him in doing it in an upper room, and but to twelve, &c.

Ans. 1. This Objection is nothing to our Question. For we be not affirming that sitting is Necessary, but that it is Certainly lawfull, and that Kneeling is not such a duty, as that men should refuse Communion.

nion with a Church for want of it. 2. Both the known Reasons of the thing, and the after practices of the Church, do assure us that Christs administring in an upper room, and but to twelve, and not to women, were all occasionall and mutable; and the Churches did otherwise: But for a Feasting gesture there is no such proof.

Obj. But we are bound by the Canons of the Church which are still in force.

Ans. 1. Scripture is the Churches sufficient Rule, and the perfect Law of God. 2. Those things that Scripture hath left to occasionall determination, no Councils must make standing Laws for to bind at all times. For if such Laws had been fit, God would have made them. 3. It is the present Guides of the Church that are upon the place, and see the occasions, that must determine such Circumstantials as are of mutable determination. And former Church-Governours can no more take away the power of the present, then they can deprive them of their Office; it being essentiall to the Office of every Pastor to be a Guide or Ruler of his Flock. 4. If you think that all Church-Canons (yea though it be General Councils) bind, then you are bound to Contradictories: for one Council hath oft crossed another. And Papists themselves disclaim many things enjoyned by Canons. The 16. Canon of the 4. Counc. of *Carthage*, requires Ministers not to reade the Books of Heathens: Doth this bind now? Many the like might be mentioned. 5. If you will needs take your selves bound by Canons, I pray you tell me whether the Canons of a few Bishops in *England* of late, should bind against the Canons and constant practice of the Primitive Church, and of the Apostles themselves? They forbid Kneeling on the Lords day; and the Apostles practised sitting at Sacrament; and either our late Canons are Null for contradicting the former which were of greater authority; or else neither are binding. 6. According to their own grounds, our Bishops had no power to make Canons, both because they were no Bishops, for want of a successive true Ordination, and because they had made themselves uncapable. Even the matter of our Bishops Election, according to many Canons, made them uncapable of ever being Bishops more. The fourth Can. *Concil. Aurelian.* Decrees, not only that the Clergy and people must consent, but that if their consent were but forced (or they inclined) by the oppression of those in power, that Bishop should be deposed *for ever*, as coming in more by violence then by lawfull Decree.] Now how our English Bishops came in, I had rather their friend *Grotius* should tell them
then

then I (though we all know that neither Clergy nor people had any hand in it, but a little ceremonious formality of the Chapter) *de Imper. sum. potest. cap. 10. pag. 319.* [*At posteriori aro tota electio Regi reddita. Hodie penes Capitula Imago est electionis: vis tota penes Regem. Nam vacante Episcopatu, Rex cum codicillis, licentiam eligendi continentibus, simul transmittit nomen ejus quem eligi cupiat.*] About which he cites *Burhill, Bilson, &c.*

1. The Doctrine of *Grotius* against a Legislative Power in the Church, you heard before. The Doctrine of the Church of *England* you may finde, *Articl. 6. & Art. 22.* The words are these [*Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an Article of the faith, or to be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.*] And *Art. 22.* [*When (General Councils) be gathered together, for as much as they be an Assembly of men whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God, they may erre, and sometime have erred, even in things pertaining unto God: Wherefore things ordained by them, as necessary to salvation, have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared, that they be taken out of holy Scripture.*]

It were tedious to cite what Protestant Episcopall Divines say to this point. I will only cite one, *D^r Sutlive de Concil. l. 2. c. 3.* Where he laies down this Position, [*Non omnia conciliorum decreta de sacris Ecclesia ministris, & eorum Officiis Ecclesiaeque Ceremoniis & Ritibus, Christianos necessariò ligare.*] *Prob. 1. Non ligant quae novas instituunt Dei colendi formulas, &c. At in actis Conciliorum multa sunt ejus generis decreta. Quis ergo Christianus contra Christianae libertatis leges eis se obligari sinat? 2. Non ligant, idque multo magis, quae repugnant verbo Dei, &c. 3. Non erant imponenda leges onerosae super cervices Christianorum, Mat. II. Act. 15. Hujusmodi ergo onerosas leges excuti posse, nemo non videt. 4. Christus nos liberavit à servitute traditionum & legum humanarum, &c. cujusmodi plura conciliorum sanctionibus firman- tur. 5. Omnia in Ecclesia ad edificationem fieri debent. Si ergo aliqua Conciliorum statuta scandalo sunt Christianis, tolli debent. Si laqueum injiciunt conscientiis, dissolvenda sunt. Si inutilia esse deprehenduntur, & minime decora, abjicienda. Neque sane dubium est quin Ecclesiae Romanae Canones de Ceremoniis, & Ecclesiae Ministrorum calibatu, & hujusmodi, valde sint captiosi & onerosi & inutiles. 6. Mores Ecclesiae Christianae ostendunt omnia Canonum decreta licet alioqui justa non sem-*

per ligare. [Atque hoc ex multarum legum enumeratione videre licet. (See the instances.) 7. Patres Ecclesie non omnia Conciliorum statuta pariter servabant. (See the proofs.) 8. Ipsa Synagoga Romana, licet alios ad statutorum suorum observationem astringere cupiat; priscorum tamen Conciliorum statuta non servat. 9. Ratio docet, mutanda esse vel qua non decent, vel non prosunt, vel qua onerosa & captiosa esse incipiunt, &c.] So far Dr *Sutlive*. Much more might be said to this Objection. Some will marvell that I say so much to these men. Let such know that I am not of their minde that despise all the Episcopall men, as fitter to be rejected then united with. Many of them are Godly and Learned and Judicious, and deserve the chiefest room in our Associations. I was desirous also to save the ignorant from the danger which I foresee.

Lest any should misinterpret what I have here said, against these Popish Objectors, I here profess, 1. That it is far from my intent to raise any jealousies of any pious Episcopall Divines, as if they were Popish. I speak of no other, but that late Generation of *Cassandrian*, *Grotian* Papists, who think they can do *Rome* more service under the name of Protestants, by drawing men to Traditions and Divisions, then if they should declare themselves *French* Papists. I have partly told you how to know them. They will dispute as zealously as a Protestant against the Popes Infallibility, and his being above a General Council, but they can consent to his Primacy, and most of his Doctrines, especially against the perfection and sufficiency of the Scripture.

2. I do not speak against mens seeking a Reconciliation with *Rome*, on just and honest terms. I think it one of the happiest works in the world, could it be accomplished: And I think the *French* are the only people to be first dealt with to that end. And I long to see providence so turn things about, as that there might be a Council first of these two Nations for the attempting of such a work. And I am past doubt, that it would be the happiest way to pull down Antichrist (if the Pope be he) that hath been yet of late undertaken. But if ever such a thing be accomplished, it must be by Uniting in one Creed, as containing all things sufficient to salvation; which must be wholly taken out of Scripture, and not such as the *Trent* Confession is: Upon which Agreement they may openly acknowledge each other for Brethren and true Churches, without compelling each other to Uniformity in the lesser matters, but bearing with each others differences.

rences. I wish *England* such Rulers as will faithfully prosecute such a Pacifick enterprize, without sinfull compliance, and betraying of the Truth. Though I confess, when I consider their Principles and Practices, I am afraid Bishop *Hall* is in the right, that There's no Peace with *Rome*: Yet no fears must hinder men from any just and necessary Enterprize.

3. I solemnly profess that I have no desire by this our Associating, to advance any parties, or carnall Interests; but meerly that all godly, faithfull, Orthodox Ministers, may join together, to guide their Flocks in these licentious daies, lest through our Divisions they be made a Prey. And also that so much of Discipline may be Unanimously exercised as we are all agreed in, lest our Congregations be a reproach through their pollutions; and men should forget the true nature of Christianity, and we have all laid wast, or overgrown with weeds, while the hedge lieth down. Nor do I pretend to an ability of assuring the world, whether Episcopacy, Presbytery or what else is the right way of Government: though I am more perswaded every day, that the Truth must be gathered from the several parties, who each of them hold a part of it in peculiar. But my conceits in these matters, I have no call to open to the world yet, which I perceive not likely much to regard them, as perhaps they do not deserve it.

Lastly, Understand that it is not only those that differ in Government that we desire should Unite with us: but also those that differ in Doctrines, so they be such as can heartily subscribe our Profession, and will manage their differences in Peace and Love. I need not name any parties, seeing it is discernable by our Agreement, whom we do intend.

Only let all know, That the Able, Godly, Faithfull and Peaceable of all these sorts, we heartily desire to unite with as Brethren: but the Insufficient, Ungodly, Unfaithfull, Unpeaceable, we do disclaim, of what Opinion, Side or Party soever they be.

I Shall conclude with this humble Request to all my Brethren in the Ministry, In the Name of our great Lord and Master, that they would forget all former injuries and differences so far, as presently to addressse themselves to seek Peace and Reconciliation: And to that end that they would here and in all Countreys presently enter into some fraternall Associations; and there meekly and self-denyingly to set themselves with one heart and soul to carry on Christs work so

far as we are agreed. Why Sirs, have not Independents, Presbyterians, Episcopall, &c. One God, One Christ, One Spirit, One Creed, One Scripture, One hope of everlasting-life? Are our disagreements so great that we may not live together in love, and close in fraternall union and amity? Are we not of one Religion? Do we differ in fundamentals or substantial? Will not conscience worry us? Will not Posterity curse us; if by our divisions we betray the Gospel into the hands of the Enemies? And if by our mutuall envyings and jealousies and perverse zeal for our severall conceits, we should keep open the breach for all heresies and wickednesse to enter, and make a prey of our poor peoples souls: Brethren, you see other bonds are loosed, Satan will make his advantage of these daies of Licentiousnesse: Let us straiten the bond of Christian Unity and Love, and help each other against the powers of hell, and joyn our Forces against our common Enemy. Have you not had yet time and means enough to observe how God hath been offended with your unpeaceable proceedings? seeking to oppresse and subdue each other by force, rather then to win each other by love and Evidence of truth? The Episcopall party when they were up, making that sad havock of the Church by the persecution of their brethren, which this land is like to lament yet longer: The Presbyterians when they were up, seeking their ejection too rashly, without sufficient means of satisfaction; What should I rip up the faults of others which the Sun hath seen, and the world rings of? Truly Brethren I speak it that we may all be humbled, and go weeping together in seeking the Lord with our faces Zion-ward, saying, Come, let us joyn our selves to the Lord in a perpetuall Covenant that shall not be forgotten, *Jer.* 50.4,5,6. I would not open our shame, were it not necessary to our humiliation and reformation: But the world knows it already. As God tels us of it, so the railing, malicious, insulting enemies tell us of it. Have not some of you so led the way in secret or open vilifying, deriding, contemning and aspersing your brethren, that thereby you, even you, have been the means of raising those calumnies that you cannot allay; and have put those words into the mouths of the wicked, which they daily belch forth to the pleasing of the devil, the grieving of all lovers of holinesse and peace, and the undoing of their own souls, so bitterly and scornfully have used the name of an Independent, that the most Reverend, and Learned, and godly of that way, do with the multitude lie under such contempt, that they are the lesse capable of successfull serving God in their places; so reproachfully and con-

temptuously have others used the name of a Presbyterian, that they have raised by it that scorn in the multitude of seduced ones, which will prove a snare to many a soul, and which these Churches may have cause to bewail while there is a tongue to mention it. Yea, some have ventured into the Throne of God to search the hearts of a Nation, and in such auditories, and with such language to proclaim their pretended discoveries, as I am ashamed to expresse: and when they have done to print it, that there may not be wanting a witness of their sin. Alas, it is past deniall, that you have occasioned those hellish reproaches, which the Satanical *Mercuries* do daily proclaim in the ears of the world; So that a man of another Nation cannot reade the reports of Civill or Military affairs in *England*, or *Scotland*, but he must reade it intermixed with the Accusations, Reproaches, and Slanders of the Brethren. I will not now go so near the quick, as to meddle with matters of blood, even the blood of confessed Saints, in which we little thought ten years ago, that such should have had a hand, as have openly owned it to God and men: Only I will say, These things must sit close to some mens consciences: But this I would seriously have you consider, whether the fearfull danger that the Gospel and Christian cause is in this day, be not principally occasioned by your divisions, emulations and contentions? And if it should fall out (which God prevent) that Academies and Ministry be cast down, that Popery be let in, that the power of godlinesse be swallowed up by schismes and prophanesse; Will not your names be the first in the curse? Who knows not that the divisions of the Pastors leade the people into divisions? yea, and that they are as backward yet as almost any to heal them? In all this I exclude not my self; Though I can truly say, that I alway loved peace, and hated censorious dividing; yet I unfeignedly bewail (and confesse my sin before God and the world) that I did love the one and hate the other no more, that ever I did so much against peace and no more for it. O Brethren, it's we that leade the way to division that must found the retreat, and jointly leade the way to reconciliation. We have no other way left to heal our wounded consciences, and hide our sin and shame (under Jesus Christ:) We have no other way to revive the hopes of the Churches, now they seem to be ready to gasp their last; nor yet to rescue the souls of our poor people who are some of them ready to turn Papists, as soon as liberty hath opened the door wide enough for the Priests and Jesuites to be familiar among them: and the rest of them are ready to think all Religion to be uncertain, or vain, while

they see so many. In the name of God Brethren, return, and speedily and zealously return to Unity and Peace: Send abroad to one another, and stir up the dull, and invite the backward, and draw on the prejudiced and negligent to this work. Alas Brethren, it is greater, more difficult, and more blessed work, then to be done with idle wishing and sitting still. Have you forgotten your Masters sheep-mark? [*By this shall all men know that ye are my Disciples if ye love one another:*] Have you forgotten the Spirits charge, *If it be possible as much as in you lieth, live peaceably with all men, And Follow peace with all men?* To receive it when it's thrust upon you is not following it, and yet happy *England*, if all would do so: Alas, that ever men, that men that make so much conscience of praying, hearing, reading, Sacraments, should make no more conscience of their duties for the peace of the Church? When Christ hath so frequently, so plainly, so piercingly inculcated, Love, Peace, over and over, as he hath done, and yet that Christians, yea, Ministers do so strangely overlook them; and reade them as if they read them not: When the Lord hath placed so much of the very nature of Christianity in it, and made it so necessary to our very salvation, that yet we should passe it over so lightly, and with so little observation: O what hypocrisie! what self-condemning is it for to cry out of the divisions and schismes of the times, as most do, and when we have done to sit still when we should endeavour to heal them, and when we that have made the breach should make it up. Division and want of love is a sin that all men are ready to blame in others, and exclaim of in the generall: and yet that we should be so deeply guilty our selves, as if we had not run far enough in the guilt already: Alas Brethren, are not the effects of our sinne before our eyes which way ever we look? into City, Countrey, into Parliament that late was, and into the Army, into men of all sorts and degrees? and is it not time to return? Again therefore, I beseech you make out after Union and Reconciliation. And to that end get all together, and keep constant meetings in Associations. Most jealousies and jarrings are occasioned by strangeness and distance; When you hear men spoken evil of, and do not hear them speak for themselves. Familiarity would much further the cure of differences: Devils and wicked men can agree in evil doing, and goe hand in hand in sin; and shall not we unite in the work of God? What, we! that look to live in heaven together, and there to be employed all in one blessed work of praising the living and most blessed God? Will it do you good then to remember your strangeness and dissen-
tions

tions now? For my part I daily look death in the face, and live in a constant expectation of my change, and therefore have the better advantage to be faithfull to my conscience, and I must needs professe that when I look back upon my life I have more comfort in the least means that ever I used for the Churches peace, then in all my most zealous contentious Engagements. I am confident Brethren, you scarce know the work that will more comfort you in the review, then to be speedy and diligent in the using of your wit, strength, power and interest for the Union and Reformation of these distracted Churches: Shall it be said (alas, too truly) that Separatists will ride and run and lay out all their pains unweariedly to divide the Church, and that we will not do half so much to heal it and unite it? Our office is to be builders, and building is conjoyning, and demolishing and destroying is dividing. I confesse it is a work of exceeding difficulty, to bring even the best to be of one minde: We are of such various intellectuall complexions and statures, and all so imperfect in knowledge, and they that do know are so unable to convey their knowledge to their prejudiced, unstudied, unprepared brethren, or to make such impression on other mens understandings, as is necessary to their conviction, that it is no wonder if Agreement be a difficult thing. Besides, mistakes once received do so insinuate into the very will, and do so strangely multiply, and engage men before they are aware to maintain them, and error (as all sin) is of such a deceitfull nature, seeming to be the best when it is the worst, and alwaies coming under the pretence of its contrary, and the great deceiver is so skillfull and diligent, to set out his wares to the best advantage, that it is no wonder if the Churches Teachers be perverted. Besides this, men are of such difference in the strength of their naturall parts, and also do so differ in the advantages of improving them, and some study so hard and some so little, that it is no wonder if there be almost as many mindes as men. Some also have such passions to pervert their understandings, and some have such strong temptations and carnall interests, and so many false hearts are ready to creep into the best Assemblies, that it is no wonder if dividing be easier then uniting. Yea, (which is the core of all our misery) there is in most of us so much pride and false estimation of our own conceptions, that it is not the smallest difficulty to convince us of our ignorance, and to make us know how little we know; yea, such proud spirits will quarrell with the light, because it came not originally from their candle; and let the choicest discoveries be sent from heaven to them, they will

contemn them because they are brought them by another mans hand; and if the only way of Agreement be propounded by another, they will cavill or dissent, or envy it becaule themselves were not the motioners or authours. There is no agreement with those men where pride is unmortified: For be they never so unable or unwilling to do the work themselves, yet will they hinder another in doing it. But Brethren, the more difficult this work of agreement is, the more industriously and resolutely should we set our selves to seek it. Difficulties that amount not to Impossibilities, should quicken and not discourage, where the work is of necessity as ours is. I seriously professe that I often wonder how men, learned men, godly men, can maintain so much seeming peace with God, and their own consciences, who do so little for the Churches peace: and how they can ever hope to die in peace that study no more to live in peace? If without holinesse here there be no hope of holinesse or happinesse hereafter, how can there be any hopes of everlasting peace to those that do not here value and pursue peace? What! Preachers of the Gospel? and yet forget their Masters name! [*The King of Salem, the Prince of Peace,*] and forget the Gospels nature and title [to be, *The message of Peace;*] and forget their own office which is to be [*The Messengers of Peace,*] and forget the title of that way which they must preach [*The way of Peace;*] and forget that it is the description of the wicked [*The way of peace they have not known;* and to forget that it is their curse [*There is no peace to the Wicked;* and to forget that great benediction of our Lord, [*Blessed are the Peace-makers,*] yea, and to forget the tenour of our finall sentence [*They shall enter into Peace;*] and the nature of our everlasting inheritance, what absurdities are all these? how inconsistent with that calling which we professe and do pretend to?

But I know there is none of us such enemies to peace, but we would be content to have it so it be upon our own terms; If all men will take up their opinions, and stoop to their wils, what men so wicked but would yield to peace? But is that seeking for it, and denying our selves for it, and closing in Christ, the common center? All that I will say more to you, shall be in these following Prognosticks, which do also intimate the impediments and difficulties, and do point out our own duties.

In generall, I am confident if this be Gods season for the restoring of his Church, it will be his season also for the uniting of his people: And let all the dividers know, that they labour in vain while they think

think to restore the Church by any other means then the loving, amicable closure of the members: Nay, they demolish and destroy; while they dream that they are building; *Sion* is not built by the *Babel*-confusions, If God divide our Language he will blait our work.

More particularly I do foretell you that (for the way to peace)

1. Whenever God means to restore and build his Church in peace, he will open the eyes of his people to see the necessity, excellency, and glory of peace, and give them such deep apprehensions of this, that they will wonder that they were before so blinded as to overlook it.

2. He will (to that end) make them reade more seriously and with observation those Texts of Scripture, which before they slip over and felt no force or savour in: so that they shall wonder how they could so overlook such serious precepts, and such clear discoveries of their Masters will: such as *1 Cor.* 1. 10, 11. &c. and 3. 3, 4. *Rom.* 16. 17, 18. *Phil.* 3. 15, 16. *1 Thes.* 5. 13, 14, 15. specially *Rom.* 15. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. and 14. 1. &c. *1 Jam.* 3. 17, 18. *1 Cor.* 12. 12. &c. *Mat.* 5. 9. *Gal.* 6, 1. *Rom.* 12. 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 18. to the end. O that these few verses of this Chapter were but conscientiously practised even by the eminent Leaders of the Flock of Christ.

3. When God will do this great work, he will wonderfully convince his people of the sinfulness of their divisions, and of that perverse emulation and zeal which they were wont to entitle God himself to, and to glory in as a part of their chiefest duty: They shall no more reproach one another, and lie vilifying their Brethren behinde their backs, and one say [It's all long of these Independents,] and another [This we may thank the Presbyterians for,] and a third [The Prelaticall Conformists did all this: But they shall see that we were all too blame, and every man shall acknowledge his unpeaceable miscarriages, and heartily lament them before the Lord, and loath themselves for all their emulations.

4. Yea, when God will do this work, he will make his people feel an indispensable obligation lying on them, to seek peace, and pursue it; so that they shall be no more able to rest with quiet consciences till they have sent to one another, confessed their miscarriages, and desired reconciliation and constant Associations for the unanimous carrying on the work of Christ, then now they can rest in peace of conscience without Preaching, Praying, or any other duty.

5. Yea, God will possesse them with such a Love to Peace, and

such a fervent Zeale for it, that they shall set themselves with all their might to obtain it; and they that now can hardly be drawn to accept of it when it is thrust into their hands, shall then follow it as thirstily and importunately, as the most zealous dividers are now set on the propagation of their opinions, or rather as the most zealous godly Preacher doth thirst after the winning and saving of souls: And as the zealous Reformers in *Luthers* daies were set against Popery, and the zealous Non-Conformists in *Queen Elizabeth* and *King James's* daies, and also before this late Parliament were set against Bishops and Ceremonies, so that they restlessly prosecuted their work till it was accomplished, so shall the Restorers of the Church be as zealously set for the Reconciling of differences, and the union and association of Pastors and of Churches.

6. Yea God will raise in his people such deep apprehensions of the hainous wickedness of dividing principles and practises (which are now accounted acts of piety) that they shall not make a light matter of them any more: But Christians shall think and speak of Divisions and Emulations, and breaking into parties, as now they think and speak of Theft, Whoredom, Murder, or such like.

7. Yea God will cause his people to detest the very Names of Division, and lay them by as occasions and badges of our disagreement. And I think *Epiphanius* and *Austin's* and others long Lists of Heresies will not be in so good esteem as they are at this day. For though the schisme will be more abhorred, yet it will not be every such difference in Judgement, as some of theirs, that will be taken for a sufficient ground to call a man a Heretick.

8. Moreover, when God will restore his Church, he will give meek and humble spirits to his people, and take down much of that pride which now causeth and continueth our Divisions: Those proud men that now value their Reputation and carnall interests before the Churches Unity, and Reformation; that so value their own understandings, that they think contemptuously of other mens; shall then be low in their own eyes, and prefer their Brethren before themselves. The pride of Christians, especially of Ministers, is now the main impediment to our Union: This cursed sin makes men look with an envious eye at every Brother that is esteemed above them, and (as they think) doth cloud them in the eyes of the people: It makes Ministers seek after applause, and makes them impatient of slighting and disesteem: And while they are striving who shall have the greater party, they are engaged in Division before they are aware: For-

getting

getting that (while they think they are labouring for Christ) they do but fish for themselves, and draw men from Christ by drawing them from Unity. It is this pride that makes men so froward in carrying on any work of God, that unless themselves may have the glory of it, or it may be done their way, they will quarrel and break it all in pieces: as if they had rather Christ had no Church, then themselves should be denied an honourable station in it: or as if they had rather Christs work should be undone, then done without them, or contrary to their conceits. God will turn this devilish distemper into humility and self-denial, when his work shall be done. He will make his people base in their own eyes, and glad to be slighted, vilified and laid by, so it might but conduce to the Unity and Peace of the Church, and the furthering of Reformation. As *Clemens Roman. ad Corinth.* faith, pag. 69 [He therefore that is strong, mercifull, full of charity among you, let him say, [If it be for me, that Sedition, Contention and Divisions arise, I will depart, I'll be gone whither you will; I will do what the people command me, so be it that the Flock of Christ may live in Peace with those Presbyters that are set over them.] He that shall do this, will win himself much honour in the Lord; and every place will gladly receive him.]

9. Yea God will cause men to abhorre that censoriousness of their Brethren, and those secret desires to destroy their reputations, which are the fruit of this Pride. So that they who now are questioning every mans sincerity that doth not please them, and making the worst of every mans actions and speeches, shall then cover mens infirmities by that charity which thinketh not and speaketh not evil, which envieth not, and is not puffed up: And they shall be so conscious of their own faults and frailties, as that it shall constrain them to tenderness and compassion on their Brethren, and to judge the best till they know the worst; and they shall learn to hear a censurer and backbiter with as much indignation as now they hear a swearer or a liar.

10. Yea God will take them off from all their engagements to parties, and let them perceive that the very names of parties are a dishonour to the Church; and that Christians should not think of a party, but as a man thinks of his wounds; with smart and sorrow.

11. Also when this blessed work of healing shall be wrought, God will shew his people the sinfulness of that zeal for inferiour particular opinions (true or false) which makes them think that they ought to do many things against the Churches Unity and Peace. He

will shew them that it is a perverse zeal which chooseth the propagation of a smaller point, before the edification of the body, and the propagation of the substance of the Christian faith; which by that course is apparently hindred.

12. Yea God will open their eyes to see the difficulties of those lower Controversies which they insisted on, till their high confidence in their opinions be abated, so as that they shall pity themselves and the rest of mankind, for our unavoidable darkness and weakness; and not contemn, cast off, or divide from those that differ from them.

13. For God will let men see that it is the substance of Christianity that Christians must Center and Unite in; and he will teach them to take those for Brethren that hold that substance, though they differ in several inferiour things.

14. And God will teach his people to be hereafter less cruel and proud, then to impose new Articles of faith upon their Brethren; and to put their own Interpretations into their Creed: He will teach men to be more mercifull to the Church then to load her with Canons and Constitutions of men, containing unnecessary dividing determinations; and seeking to force all to their obedience.

15. For whenever God intendeth Peace and Unity to his Churches, he will cause men freely to give his Word the honour of its sufficiency, and to take it for a perfect Rule of Faith and Worship; as that which hath left nothing undetermined which was fit for a stated universall determination: And therefore men shall see the vanity, yea the sinfulness of mens undertaking to determine by Canons what God thought not fit to determine in his Laws: except only for the occasional determining of that in particular which God hath determined only in generall, and directed man by his Rules how to determine in special: which therefore must not be by a fixed universal Determination (for then God would have done it himself) but by a temporary determination, to be changed as occasions shall require; and therefore in most things to be left to the particular Church-guides, who are upon the place, and imployed in the work. Also God will teach men to take the Scripture for sufficient in matter of Belief: and to screw men no higher, not adding their supernumerary Articles, as the Council of *Trent*, no nor putting a word among their Fundamentals as necessary which is not in the Scripture. What hope of Union when there is no Uniting Rule or Center agreed on? And can the Papists, or any other over-doing zealots, imagine, that ever

ever Gods universall Church will agree upon any Rule or Center as sufficient besides the Scripture? or ever depart from its sufficiency?

16. Lastly, If God intend Peace, he will (likely) fit his providences to advantage it. He will give preparing seasons and accommodations. Three great disadvantages to the Churches Peace and Unity, are these that follow. 1. Times of Warre; when mens ears are filled with a contrary sound, and their mindes alienated, exasperated, and filled with jealousies. If men do think that in any foreign Churches there be any thing amiss; how much more Christian a course were it, and probable to succeed, to debate the case in peace, then to fight with them? 2. It is an unlikely time for agreement, when one party is in prosperity and power, and thinks he can have his will without condescending to a loving Christian debating of our differences: Mans proud corrupt heart, will hardly be taken off from the using of his carnal weapons and advantages: but will think that God puts such power and opportunities into his hand, for the promoting of his particular opinions and waies, by force, and not by satisfying the unsatisfied. 3. Another disadvantage is, ignorant or wicked Magistrates in the Sovereignty: who either understand not the waies of the Lord, or else hate them, and would undermine them; either, as *Julian*, by giving every party a liberty of contending, and of publishing their delusions, and denying openly the Foundation; and working on the poor people, who are usually easilier taken with confident speeches then with solid reasonings: Or else (on the other extrem) to use a foolish violence, with those that dissent in inferiour things; and to become a discouragement to true piety and tenderness of Conscience. The later we have felt formerly; the former we have felt lately; and fear yet more. But what God may yet do upon this change of our Government, we cannot tell: Let all that love the Churches Peace and welfare pray, That our Rulers may avoid these two destroying extreams, of giving *too much* Liberty, or *too little*.

You see, Brethren, there's many things to be done, and great changes to be made on the hearts of the best, before the Church of Christ is like to be restored by Unity and Peace. Yet God can do all this in a moment, when his time is come. O set to the work, that we may see that our deliverance is at hand. I think you have now as fit a season in one respect, as ever you had: When you had the advantage of superiority and secular Power, your ears were stopt, your hearts

were hardened, you thought you had a speedier way to settlement, then by satisfying Dissenters, and condescending to those Brethren, whom you were readier to contemn. But now God hath either laid you all under hatches together, or left you no assurance of your carnal advantages. Those Martyrs could agree in the Prison, and at the stake, that differed about Ceremonies in their prosperity. If God give you not hearts to hearken to this counsel, and Agree now; I shall expect to hear that you are brought much lower, and conjoyned in that misery where you shall be forced to agree; and then you will look back on your proud Divisions with shame and sorrow.

I do therefore in the Name of Christ intreat, not only the people of this Congregation to Unite; but all the Godly, Able Ministers in this County to Associate with us; of what Party soever they have been. And I do let them know, that we are not so settled in our present Opinions or Waies, but that if they see any thing amiss in our Agreement or our courses, we shall be ready to hear any thing that can be said for our Information and alteration. And if the zeal for their own Parties and Waies should keep them off, let me advise them to be more zealous for the welfare of the Church in generall, and to *take heed least our divisions do prepare our people for Popery, or fasten them in ungodliness: and I dare assure them, That if Episcopacy, Presbytery or Independency, &c. be indeed the Way of God, then is no Way in the World so likely to set it up, as the Uniting and loving Association of the Pastors; Where all things may be gently and amicably debated.*


And I desire that our Brethren in other Counties would take the same course: Not that I dare urge them to unite just on the terms of our Propositions or Profession, if they have better before them. Yet I will say this: That I admire Gods good providence in facilitating our consent herein, so happily in this County: and that it will be found, upon trial, a matter of great difficulty, to bring even Wise and Godly men to agree on the drawing up of Forms: and I seriously profess, that if I had known where to have found but this much done to our hands, I would not have consented that any of us should have attempted to draw up a new and different Modell; but have the more gladly received it, because the Union would have been more full. But as soon as we see our own weakneses or mistakes Corrected by any more perfect Way of our Brethen abroad, we shall accept their Instructions, and Correct them our selves. In the mean time, we shall rather do thus, then nothing.

Finitur Maij 2^o 1653^o.

Postscript.



Postscript.


 Am urged to adde to what is written, a few words of Advice to the People of those Congregations whose Ministers refuse to Associate. Either such Ministers are Insufficient or Scandalous, or they are (or seem) Able and Faithfull. If the former, I advise all conscionable people to endeavour speedily to cast them out, and not think of joyning them with us who cannot receive them. I know some will plead compassion to them; but it's cruel compassion, which for fear of bringing a mans family to poverty, will both connive at his proceeding in such hainous guilt, and at the starving, and everlasting damnation of mens souls. The devil loves such mercy as this is. If indeed you pity such, help them, if you can, to a sight of their sin, in undertaking so high a Calling, and so great a Charge, which they are so unfit for: that they may break off their sin by Repentance, and betake themselves to a work that they are fitter for. *Obj.* But may not Ministers, as well as others, be forborn upon their Repentance? *Ans.* 1. Repentance will not cure their Insufficiency. 2. It must be a very notable Repentance that must at all (much less suddenly) readmit a scandalous person into the Ministry. In the Primitive Churches, after hainous sinning, they would admit him to the Ministry no more, were he never so penitent, though they would admit him to Communion. However, let him be cast out of the Ministry, and Repent then; and if he manifest such Repentance as may satisfie the Church, let them then take him in again, there or elsewhere: But shall he therefore be trusted in his forfeited Office, where he may wrong mens souls, because when he is questioned, he pretendeth Repentance? *Obj.* But how can any other conscionably receive his sequeltred maintenance, when by Law it is his? *Ans.* Is it not given him only as Pastor, for the Work of Christ, and the service of the Church? If there be 200^l *per annum* allowed to each City for a publick Physician, and some ignorant Empericks get into the place, who kill more then they cure, were not he cruelly mercifull that would have these men continue to the murdering

dering of poor people whom they pretend to cure? and were not he wickedly and hypocritically just, that would say, No man else may take the stipend, it belongs to these? If an ignorant man that is wholly unacquainted with Seafaring, should get to be the Pilot of a Ship of Warre, or of richest lading, would any be so madly mercifull or just, as to let him alone to the drowning of himself and all that are with him, for fear of putting him out of his place, or giving his maintenance to another? I will give such titular Pastors better advice: and that is, That they would lament day and night, as long as they live, the heavy guilt of the blood or damnation of souls which they have incurred, and that so far as they are able, they would make the Church restitution of the Tithes which for so many years they have so unjustly received; it being, before God, but plain Robbery; and one of the most hatefull kindes of Robbery that can be imagined; to starve and destroy mens souls, and then to take hire for it. But enough of them.

2. But if the Ministers that refuse to Associate cannot be proved Insufficient, or of wicked lives, then I would advise all their Peaceable Godly people, to joyn together, and desire their Pastor to Associate with his Brethren for a Unanimous carrying on the Work of God. If he yet refuse, he will no doubt, give some reason of it: Which if he do, his people may do well to desire him, to meet once, at least, with the Associated Ministers, and give in his Reasons to them. This they should desire, both 1. Because the people may there hear both sides speak together, and so be the better able to judge, whether his Reasons for Dissent be sufficient or not: and 2. Because Christianity and common charity bindes that Dissenting Brother to manifest to the rest what he judgeth to be their Errour, and so great an Errour that he dare not Associate with them. And it is not a sudden appearance, and slight casting in some superficial Reasons, that must satisfie his Conscience, or satisfie his people: but it must be a fair and full Debate of the whole business; such as may be apt or sufficient for a manifestation of the Truth. If after this the dissenting Pastor will not yet Associate; the People (having been present and heard the Debate) may be the better able to judge, whether the grounds of his Dissent be tollerable or intollerable; and accordingly they may know how to carry themselves to him. Where note, that I can give no people a particular direction before hand, that will fully reach all such cases; seeing they are so diversified by circumstances. And therefore I would have all such people as have a
Minister

Minister that declineth Union and Association with his Brethren, to desire the Advice of that Association of faithfull Ministers who are next him; who will be best able to advise them when the case is known: In the mean time, common Reason requires that People should hear and obey such a Pastor with more jealousy then if he were in Union with his Brethren. 1. Because the judgement of one man is not to be valued before the Judgement of many as Godly; unless it be fully manifest that he is of more painfull studies, and a stronger Judgement then all those are. 2. Christ doth so plainly and pressingly require Unanimity, Accord, and Association of Brethren, that he that will refuse this so plain and great a duty, may well be suspected the more in the rest of his Doctrine. 3. It is more probable that that man means to play the Pope and tyrannize over the Flock, and make himself Lord of Gods heritage, who will do all alone, singularly or on his own head; then he that doth all in Unity, and is ready to give an account of all his doings to the rest of his Brethren, and to hear what they can say against him.

But perhaps you will ask, What if we cannot get our Pastor so much as to come to the Associated Ministers to give in his Reasons of Dissent? I answer, Then try whether he will entertain a Debate with some one or two that they shall send to him. If he will not do that neither, it is too probable, that he is so Proud or Ignorant, as that a People should be jealous how they trust him with the guidance of their souls. But yet I would not have such rashly to reject him, but first advise with the next Associated Ministers.

Quest. But how shall we judge, if he do come in, whether his Reasons be of weight or not? *Ans.* Partly by what you hear replied to them (and therefore do not content your selves to hear them from himself alone) and partly by the evidence that they carry. He that will prove it his duty not to Associate, must prove that there is some sin which that Association would engage him to. If there be any such sin, it is either something unlawfull to be subscribed in our Agreement; or something to be necessarily done in practice. Hear him therefore manifesting and proving either of these. I can foresee the vain cavils that some are like to use, by the experience I have long had of the Separatists arguings. First, Perhaps they will tell you we have such and such bad Ministers among us in our Association; and here they will aggravate all the faults of such as they except against, as if they were notoriously graceless. To this I would desire the Hearers to return these Answers. 1. That we have agreed to

reject from our Society all that are of known Insufficiency, or Ungodliness, or Unfaithfulness in the main work. And if any one get in among us, that is guilty of any scandall, which we were never sufficiently acquainted with, we judge it no more our fault, then it is the fault of a Church that an Hypocrite is in it, or a sinner that none accuseth. 2. We had rather of the two erre in judging too favourably, and permitting some in our society that are less fit, then in judging unrighteously, and rejecting the faithfull servants of Christ. No Society hath all the members of equal integrity, and beyond exception. 3. Desire those Brethren that Object this but to search their hearts and waies, and remember what may be said against themselves, and cast the beam first out of their own eye; at least to censure, as humble men, that are sensible of their own miscarriages and imperfections; and how much allowance the best must have, that they may pass for currant. 4. Tell them this, which I think, may give them full satisfaction: If they have any charge against any member of our Association, let them bring it in, and they shall be fully heard, and we will reject all whom they shall prove fit to be rejected. Can they desire more? Will men of any Conscience or face of common honesty, let fly at men behinde their backs, and not bring in their charge to their faces, and hear them speak for themselves: Yea and withdraw from a Society meerly because of the presence of such, whom they never accused to that Society? Would they be thus dealt by themselves? If we have bad members, might not their presence who are better, do more then their absence to remove them, or hinder them from doing any hurt? 5. Take heed lest out of your own mouthes you be condemned; while you acknowledge that even bad men are forwarder to Reformation and Unity then you.

They will perhaps further tell you, that we do but make a shew of Reformation, and we leave all or many ungodly ones still in our Churches; they are even common Parish-Churches, composed of the common multitude, as they were before.

Ans. This I have answered sufficiently already: Further I say, 1. No mans mis-practice is any reasonable cause of excepting against our Agreement: The Propositions which we subscribe doe exclude as many as I can finde any Scripture warrant for excluding. If the Objectors deny this, let them give their reasons against the Propositions, and not against any mans practising contrary to them. Would any wise man say, I will not subscribe Propositions for Reformation,

mation, because such a man will not reform exactly that doth subscribe them? As if he should say, I will not consent to the Law against swearing, because such a Justice doth not punish Swearers. 2. Before they withdraw for any mans personall fault (in permitting unfit members in his Congregation) they must admonish that person and convince him of his fault, yea, and convince that association of their fault in not casting him off, or else why should they divide from an Assembly for one mans male-administration? Or if all be guilty, they must be dealt with as in case of other sins, before they be rejected. If I know some of the Congregationall way that admit unfit persons into their Churches, shall I for that refuse communion with them and others of that way. 3. We are not to reject any member from our Church-communion that desires it, without sufficient cause produced against them. Let these Objectors therefore name the particular persons who have been proved unfit, and yet been retained; and not for shame, speak of our retaining Parishes, multitudes, the ignorant, the ungodly, &c. in generall, when they name no particulars. As if we must therefore condemn and punish men as ungodly, without any accusation, meerly because they are many, or because such men clamour out generall reproaches: The multitude of members is one part of the honour of Christs Churches, as the purity is another.

These Objections I therefore here answer, that people may know, they are not sufficient to warrant any Minister to withdraw from Unity. And again I do advise all godly people to consider, that it concerneth them to know the reasons of their Ministers dissent, and to be well satisfied in them: For else 1. They may be guilty of encouraging and following him in a Division. 2. It is the Churches, as well as the Pastors that must be linked together by these Associations, and therefore seeing it is by the Pastors that they must (principally) preserve that Union and correspondence, the withdrawing of the Pastors, tendeth to the dividing of the Churches themselves. 3. They cannot safely trust their souls under a dividing Pastor. And let them but observe when all pretences are taken off, whether with many these prove not the true causes of withdrawing? 1. Some men are conscious of so much ignorance, that they will not joyn with Ministers, where there is like to be any trial of their parts, for fear of being shamed upon the disclosing of their weakness: In a Pulpit they may possibly seem some body; but they will not endure a closer trial. These men would do well to learn, that Christian honour is not got

as other honour is, by contesting or subtil contriving for it: but by an open and humble confessing of weakneses: He that will needs be greatest, shall be least: and he shall be greatest that will be the lowest and servant of all. He that will save his honour shall lose it: Pride is the greatest shame among Christians. For my part I value the youngest learner that is humble and diligent, above a hundred of these close hypocriticall Rabbies, that have nothing but big looks and contempt of others, to cover their ignorance.

2. Others you shall find, that will withdraw and divide in meer pride of their own supposed godliness, and censoriousness of others, as unworthy of their fellowship: These are the worst of all: So contrary is it to the true nature of Christianity to be proud and censorious, and to say to our Brother, Stand by; I am more holy then thou! What sin hath our Master more rebuked and shamed then pride and censoriousness? There is no obscurity in those plain commands: *Judge not, that ye be not judged: Who art thou that judgest another mans servant? to his own Master he standeth or falleth: Why dost thou judge thy Brother? or Why dost thou set at nought thy Brother? We shall all stand before the judgement seat of Christ. Let us not therefore judge one another any more, &c. Rom. 14. 4, 10, 13. see Gal. 6. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.*

If these men be godly indeed, they will be so humbly conscious of their own unworthiness and great imperfections, that they will be readier to draw back on that account, and say, I am not worthy to be Associated with Christs Ministers: rather then to say, Such a one is not worthy to joyn with me: (except he will come and prove him indeed one fit to be rejected.) And truly in my experience, they prove none of the best men themselves, nor furthest from exception, who are so ready to condemn their Brethren as ungodly. How oft have I heard one man accusing his Brethren as men void of grace, or thus and thus faulty: and within a few daies, heard others as deeply accusing him, for pride or covetousness, or ignorant, careless Preaching, and negligent, disorderly, rash, empty performance of Gods work; as a man that doth but disgrace the work of Preaching, and make men loath Gods Word, through his ill managing of it. Thus frequently do I hear men accused on both parts: Alas, that men conscious of their own weakneses, should not forbear such vilifying of their Brethren! Perhaps one may excell in judgement or solidity, and another may excell in zeal and diligence: Must each therefore despise or reject the other? He is a rare man that is generally excellent.

3. Others you will finde will divide, meerly to fit themselves to parties, or to serve a thriving side, against the unity of the Church: These Pastors, if known, are unfit to be owned.

4. Others will hold off, for fear of displeasing their ungodly Parishoners, by this exercise of Discipline that we have agreed on: especially if their maintenance lie in the peoples hands: These servants of Mammon are unfit for Christs service. I confess it is a great temptation to men that have a Family to maintain, to cast themselves on a way that may lose their Maintenance: But is he fit to teach others the doctrine of Christianity, Self-denial, taking up the Cross, parting with things present for the hopes of future, &c. who will openly contradict it all himself?

Quest. But put case that the people are satisfied of the Ministers Reasons for withdrawing?

Ans. Both he and they must faithfully propound those Reasons to the Associated Brethren: 1. Else how can we that erre be rectified? 2. If they hear not both sides speak, they may easily be deluded, and satisfied in their sin.

But a greater difficulty occurs then any of these. What if a Congregation have the choice of their Pastor, and they cannot agree in choosing, but one party will have one man, and another party will have another? How will your Union be carried on, when the people cannot agree about their Teachers? *Ans.* I confess I foresee a sad calamity like to befall the generality of the Churches in this point, if God do not wonderfully prevent it. For I finde it such a difficulty to have many men of one minde (even of the best) that I can hardly expect that ever the people should long agree in the choice of their Ministers: especially if they have divers propounded that may seem fit. For the Ancient experienced, or meeker sort of Christians will be for a man of Solidity, Judgement and Peace: The younger and the more rash, unexperienced Professors, will rather incline to a man of Zeal, who is inclined to Divide, and under pretence of further Reformation, to fall into unwarrantable separating waies. And usually, such unexperienced people are untractable, and will have their way, be it never so wrong: For passion quite perverts their judgement: and that passion is often indulged rather then suspected, because it goes under the name of Zeal. You will have also carnall superstitious persons, setting in for a man of their own stamp, to humour them; and so how many parties may there be? Especially if publique Maintenance be taken down, and people allowed to main-

tain whom they please; then most great Congregations will be (in all likelihood) divided into two or three parties. Or if men grossly erroneous, and intolierable, should by Rulers be put in the publique Place, and so the best people forced to separate (which I strongly fear) in all these cases our Union will be difficult. Yea, if people grow into a dislike of their Pastors; and one part would cast him off, and the other would continue him: Or if there should be two Ministers together, and part of the people should cleave to one, and part to the other. What now should be done in all these cases? I answer, It is not hard to tell what should be done: but it's hard to bring even godly men to do it. I will premise this Prognostick, That I have little hope when I have said all, to prevail with either the wilfull, self-conceited superstitious party, or the rash youth, whose Zeal doth carry them beyond all sober, considerate, judicious proceedings. But for the sake of the rest I will tell them what must be done.

- I. First it must be Resolved on, That the Church must not be divided. And therefore in all debates, keep that Resolution firm. And that Minister or party that is for Dividing, do but discover a strong ground of suspicion, that their Cause is the worst. All true Pastors and Christians will be so tender of the Churches Unity, that they will try every preventing course, and wait and suffer much before they will yield to the Division of a Church. *Obj.* But if we must either consent to an unfit Pastor, or Divide, it is not long of us, but of the rest. *Ans^w.* There are several degrees of fitness and unfitness: If he be one that is utterly incompetent and intolierable, then you must use all right means to keep him out: and if you cannot prevail, you must further do, as I shall anon acquaint you more fully. But if he be one that is competently fit, though with many imperfections, you must do your best to have a better, but rather accept of him than Divide. The Reason is plain: God hath flatly commanded Unity, and forbidden Division: but he hath no-where forbidden the Accepting of a weaker competent Pastor, to prevent such division. God hath not yet provided enough for every Church of the Abler sort, (alas, how few are they in comparison of the rest that yet are honest and tollerable!) If therefore all the weaker must be cast off, then the farre greatest part of the Churches must be unchurched, or be without any Pastors.

- II. This therefore being first Resolved on, *That the Church must not divide*, you must secondly take this as certain, that *God hath not put it in the power of the people alone, to determine who shall be their Pastors,*
except

except in case of Necessity, where his ordinary way of Determination doth fail.

This is so fully proved by many others in Writing already, and it is so contrary to my intended brevity to insist on such points, that I shall say but little.

Observe carefully the difference between Election, Determination and Consent: Choosing or Electing sometime signifieth only The first Nomination of one person of divers that be offered, though yet there may be no Power finally to determine, whether that Person shall stand. Sometime it signifieth the said Nomination with Determination also. To Determine is Authoritatively and finally to decide the case, and set down, who the man shall be. To Consent, is but to be Willing to have that man who is Elected or Determined of.

Now I affirm 1. Gods Word hath left it undecided, whether the people shall be the Electors, so as first to nominate the man that shall be their Minister, or not. The Apostles chose two for Judas room, and left God to take one by Lot. The Apostles required the Church at Jerusalem to choose seven men for Deacons, as supposing them acquainted with their lives, and as being loth to put any upon them, in that Office especially, which medled with money matters. But for Elders (for all the shew from *Act. 14. 23.*) there is no command or any thing equivalent, that the people have the Nomination.

2. The Power of Authoritative determining who the man shall be, is clearly in Scripture denied to the people. For it is appropriated to the Church-Rulers, under the name of Ordaining. For *καθίστημι*, used, *Tit. 1. 5. Act. 6. 3, &c.* signifieth an Authoritative appointment, which is not a meer useles Ceremony (as some make Ordination to be, that necessitate the Ordainer to lay hands on him whom the people Elect) but comprehendeth the Determination that this must be the man. For my part I believe that it is the Church-Guides or Ordainers that have the sole Authoritative Determination, and the people have the full and free judgement of Discretion, to judge whether the Ordainer have rightly determined, or not. But if that should be otherwise, yet still it is evident that ordinarily the Ordainers have a Negative voice; and that the Church cannot take to themselves a Minister without them: Or else it would follow, either the Church-Rulers must Ordain whomsoever the people nominate (which is not to be imagined) Or that the people may take them Ministers unordained (where Ordainers may be had) which is as vain a conceit.

Note also, that it is not only to the Office of the Ministry in General that Ordination is Necessary; but also to the fixing of Ministers to particular Charges. The Apostles Ordained the seven Deacons, as appropriate to the Church of *Jerusalem*: and Ordained them Elders in every Church, *Act. 14.23.* and commanded *Titus* to Ordain Elders in every City, *Tit. 1.5.*

Observe also, that though there be some controversies whether this power belong to a fixed Bishop, or General Minister, as the Apostles, or to a Presbytery, or to a single Minister of that same Church (if there be any left;) yet all are agreed that it belongs not to the People. Conclude of this therefore that the People (alone at least) cannot justly determine who shall be their Pastor.

3. Yet the Determiners or Ordainers must have the peoples Consent, ordinarily. Because the Ministeriall power compels not to obedience by outward violence: And therefore Consent is of naturall Necessity to the peoples actuall obedience. If a man set a Steward over his Family, the rest of the servants are bound to obey him, whether they chose him or no: but yet because they cannot be made to obey him against their Wils, a wise Master will chuse such a one (if fit) whom the servants will soonest consent to: So if a man be to send his sons to the University, he will not tell them that it is in their own power to choose themselves a Tutor; but himself will do that; and command them to obey him. But yet because they can never learn against their wils, therefore he will not (ordinarily) force them to a Tutor whom they will not consent to, if others may be had: (Though perhaps he may urge them to consent by some sharp words or dealings.) So that the Ordainers should please the people as far as may stand with their welfare, and no further.

III. Thirdly, That when a Church is at variance about the choice of a Pastor, or determining who shall be the man, *they are bound to seek the advice and determination of Church-Guides*: For seeing it belongs to them to Determine, whether there be difference or no, (by Ordaining) they must especially be sought to when there is a difference.

4. If the Ordainers or Ministers determine of a fit man, you must stand to the Determination, though perhaps another might be more fit. If the man by them determined of, be utterly incompetent, you must first prove it to them, and (if that serve not) appeal to some more General Assembly, or seek further to men more unquestionably Judicious and faithfull then they are.

5. If the people will not thus be satisfied, the refused Minister must remember his duty, and not offer, without order and authority, to make himself the head of a dividing company.

6. If he will not obey, he is to be admonished by the Pastors of that Association, and to be Avoided and Rejected, if he be obstinate.

7. If any passionate part of the Church will stick to that man, the rest that fear God must admonish them, and if they be obstinate, avoid them, according to *Rom. 16. 17. Now I beseech you, Brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them: For they that are such, serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies: and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple.* I have seen this verified in the issue, of some that I durst not so have thought of in the beginning. Poor inconsiderate, unexperienced Christians little know what they do, when they take part with dividers, and encourage them in division. They do but strengthen their own snares. Such men fish most for themselves, even when they think themselves they are more zealous for Christ than others.

8. Were there no other remedy, rather than the Church should divide, they should (after solemn seeking God) let God himself determine it by a Lot, as *Matthias* was chosen.

If you once fall a dividing, you will give the worser part such an example, that they will presently choose themselves Teachers that will please them, and leave but few to hear or maintain a pious Ministry.

8. If the Church-Guides be so corrupted, that they all conspire to force on the people unsound, insufficient or ungodly men, then the people may reject them (as *Cyprian* adviseth them) of their own accord; as being left destitute of Christs orderly Remedy.

9. What hath been here said of the first case, may suffice to determine the other cases. If a people have two Ministers, and some would adhere to one and reject the other, and the rest adhere to him and refuse obedience to the former; in this case they should all take the advice of the neighbour Associated Pastors: For, though it be disputed, whether such Associated Ministers have any Regent Authority over a neighbour Church, yet all agree that they should be consulted and heard in order to Unity; and that's enough to the business in hand. If they can prove their Ministers fit to be ejected, let them there prove it. All Christians are bound to be accountable to

their Brethren, in such offensive actions, as have a face of division or disobedience. If both the Pastors in question be approved of, then the Associated Ministers should advice the people to lay aside their carnal sinfull contentions (which the Church of *Corinth* was so plainly chid for) and to close with both, 1. Because two Ministers are far fitter to Guide a Church (specially if great) then any one alone: Yea should one of them be but weak, and the other more able: a weak hand will afford some help. 2. It is the Scripture way to have more Elders then one, and if they reject their Pastors, and supply the room with private men, they will, likely, have weaker then they reject. 3. It is not in the peoples power to reject one that is already their Teacher: except when he is utterly intollerable, and all orderly means for his ejection do fail. Prove from Scripture that any people may else reject or depose their Minister. 4. Much less may a lesser part of a Church do it, when the greater dissenteth: no nor a greater, because it tendeth to division.

If the people are unruly and will not agree; the neighbour Ministers must admonish both the said Pastors, and charge them in Christs Name that they avoid Divisions, and that themselves do heartily and lovingly close and entertain no motion to division from the people: and that will break the peoples dividing purposes, if the Pastors be but resolutely against it, and do not secretly foment it (as commonly they do.) If either of the Pastors be resolved for Division, and reject this admonition; the godly people are bound to suspect that man, and to admonish him, and not side with him; seeing it is usually the true mother that would not have the childe divided: and an ill sign when men draw Parties and Disciples after them. And the neighbour Ministers are to admonish such a man, and proceed with him as he receiveth or rejecteth the admonition. Many differences in Judgement and Practice must be tollerated among Brethren to prevent dividing: but dividing it self is not to be tollerated: (except where the cause is just; which must be a great necessity.) What should be done with those particular persons, that will own but one of the Pastors, and yet will joyn with the whole body of the Church, which acknowledgeth both, I will not now attempt to advise; because it will be fittest to do it according to the quality of the persons, their reasons, their carriage in the business, &c. all which may much vary the case.

If it appear, that the people reject or disown a Minister for private grudges, or for crossing them in their opinions or old customs

in things unnecessary, or worse, those people must be the more sharply dealt with. Much more, if it be for crossing them in their sin, or telling them the truth. But in case a Minister have by weakness or passionate speeches, or neglect of his duty, given just offence to his people, yet the fault be not such as to cast him out: then the neighbour Ministers must advise him, humbly to acknowledge to the people his weakness or miscarriage, and to promise his faithfull endeavours to reform: and if any persons remain passionately unreconcilable to him, they must be the more born with (so they drive not to a division) because he gave them so much occasion of offence. No humble man can violently prosecute another, for being too violent against his faults: but will rather submit to it, as Gods afflicting, humbling, reforming rod. And it's two to one, but after some experience of his more holy, harmless, diligent behaviour, those very people will own him, that did disclaim him.

Lastly, If all remedies fail, let one of the Pastors depart, and say, Let him take the living childe undivided: And the better man will likely be the readiest to do it; according to that I before cited out of *Clem. Roman. ad Corinth.*

Let none wonder that I speak so much on this subject: For if the Scripture were conscionably observed, men would take Church-division for a greater sinne then Adultery or Theft. Mutinies and Divisions do more infallibly destroy an Army, then almost any other fault, or weakness: and therefore all Generals punish Mutineers with death, as well as flat Traytors. I confess ten or twelve years ago, I wondered oft to finde both Scripture, and almost all the voluminous Writings of the Fathers in every age, to be so filled with exclamations and argumentations against Church-dividers and Hereticks: But now I know a little better the reason of it; and how prone, even Godly, Zealous men (especially young unexperienced Christians) are to it, and of what desperate consequence it is. Our Union is our strength and beauty: Commonly they that Divide for the bringing in of any inferiour Truth or Practice, do but destroy that Truth and Piety that was there before. I like not him that will cure the Headach by cutting the Throat. No Master, no Law, no Profession was ever more mercifull, gentle, meek, more for Unity, Love and Concord, then the Master, Law and Profession of Christians. O that the Lord would speedily arise, and stirre up in all his people in the world, so mighty a Zeal for Unity

and Sanctity, that those blessed Twins might conjunctly flourish, which thrive ill when they are divided: and that the true Saints of Christ may once taste that sweetnesse which such a blessed State of the Church would afford! However, the friends of Peace and Holinesse shall taste of it, Reade *James* 1.13. to the end. *1 Cor.* 1. & 3. *Heb.* 12.14.

F I N I S.

Errata.

Prop. 17. lult. r. [*determine*] Prop. 19. R. 10. l. 6. for [*he must*] r. [*we must*]: In the Preface on the Letters of reference [*b. i. k.*] adioyned to [*mortifie the flesh, and overcome the world and the Devil*] are misplaced. p. 8. l. penult. for [*Intruders*] r. [*Invadrs.*] p. 20. l. 5 r. [*Poims.*] and l. 20. for [*charitate*] r. [*claritate.*] p. 58. l. 32. r. [*Saravia.*] p. 74. l. 17. r. [*that kinde.*] p. 96. l. 37. r. [*some have used.*]





Quakers Catechize

An Answer to

Generall-papers
of theirs

T Rich. Baxter

London

printed in the year 1655



TO THE
READER.

READER,

I Suppose thou wilt marvel that I trouble my self with so wilde a Generation as the People called Quakers are; or that I trouble thee with a few hasty lines which I wrote on such an Occasion; I'll truly tell thee the cause of both: 1. They sent me five severall Papers, one of them containing the Queries which I answer, and others of them almost nothing but a bundle of filthy railing words, [Thou Serpent, thou Liar, thou Deceiver, thou childe of the Devil, thou cursed Hypocrite, thou dumb Dog] with much more of the like. They chose out one day, when it pleased God to confine me to my Chamber by sickness, to come into our Assembly, and after Morning-Sermon to fall a questioning the Preacher, my assistant; and because he avoided publick disputing with them at that season, as not taking it for a profitable spending of the Lords-day; they call him the hireling that flieth, it seems referring to John 10. 12. and so confessing themselves to be the Wolves. I finde that they do so challenge, and brag, and triumph; if we say nothing to them, and that too many simple People expect that we should answer them, that (after an unprofitable verball discourse with an unreasonable railing fellow) I resolved to

send them this brief Answer to their Questions: And because they abhor Syllogisms and Disputings, I was fain to deal further with them in their own questioning way: I had before offered to come and answer all their Queries in their Assembly, if they would consent that I might do it without disturbance; But instead of permitting that, they denied it, and sent me a Letter of Reviling, calling me over and over, Serpent and Hypocrite, and the like Names, and commanding me in the Name of the most High God to answer their Questions in writing, that they might print them with their Reply; so that if I say nothing, they will insult; If I write to them they will print it: Being therefore so far called to speak, I chose rather to print my own Papers, how mean soever, then let them do it.

Two Objections I foresee will be raised against me; One is, That the Persons are so contemptible, and the errors so gross, that it's a needles work to strive against them; To which I say, Let sad experience witness, whether it be needles, when they so much multiply, and so many, where they come, are presently infected. The salvation of the poorest Christian is so far from being contemptible, that it is worth much more then our greatest diligence. 2. It will be said, It is but the Churches of the Separatists and Anabaptists that are emptied by these Seducers; and it's best even let them alone to keep their own Flocks, and secure their Churches, or if they fall off, it may shew others the tendency of their wayes, and so prevent their turning aside; To which, I answer: 1. Though the stream of Apostates be such as first were Anabaptists or Separatists, yet here and there one of the young unsetled sort, do fall into that stream that were not before of them, but perhaps inclining to them, and so do some few that had no Religionsness. 2. I had farre rather that men continued Separatists and Anabaptists, then turned Quakers, or plain Apostates; And therefore would do all that I can to hinder such an emptying

ing of their Churches as tendeth to the more certain filling of Hell; It's better to stop them in a condition where we may have some hope of their salvation, then to let them run into certain perdition; I did therefore take it to be my duty when these poor Neighbours, who had before been Anabaptists, Separatists, and some Seekers, had turned Quakers, to offer them a verbal Answer to all their vain Questions, that I might have had so much opportunity to undeceive them; When they refused that, and said, they wou'd not be drawn into a Serpents snare, I thought best to send them my Answer in writing, committing it to some of their Neighbours, that they might desire leave to read it in their Assembly; And when I heard that they would not grant that neither (for all their insulting adjuring of us to answer them) but talk of Printing something against me, I chose rather to tell the world of these Passages between us, then leave them to their reports; especially hearing how they encrease in London, and other parts, and that the ignorant have need of some plain Information to prevent their Apostasie and perdition in this temptation.

April 20th.
1655.

R. B.



TO THE
Separatists and Anabaptists
IN
England.



Though Gods minde be most plainly revealed to us in his written Word, yet are his Providences also teaching, and it is the duty of his Servants to reade and study them; especially the Pœnal withdrawing or withholding of his grace, and giving men up to believe lies, and to vile affections, to a reprobate sense, and to an abominable conversation, these are such discoveries of the sore displeasure of the Most High, as should make even the beholders to fear, and all that stand but near to this heavy judgement to fly away from it, as the *Israelites* did at the cries of the *Rebellious followers of Corah*, Num. 16. lest the earth should have swallowed them up also: I am not of their minde, that make light of the strange Providences in our military affairs and changes of State, though I think every carnal admirer of them, doth not understand them: But it's a matter of very sad consideration, that many of those same men that seem so much to magnifie these, do no more observe, understand, and lay to heart the more remarkable Providence of our heavy spiritual judgements!

ments! The overlooking of these Providences makes many fear lest it be but their own interest which they study in the other, and lest by reading themselves and their own Names where they should reade God, they turn this Light into darkness or seduction, and by sur-fetting on this Feast, do contract those diseases that are like to be their bane; What is Gods Word for, but to make himself and our duty known to vs? And so he doth very much by his Works, where we may see his Nature, and something of his Approbation or dislike, especially as they are read by the help of the Word. Certainly, God is known by the judgement which he executeth: (specially when) *the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands*, Psal. 9. 16. The hand of God is apparently gone out against your wayes of Separation and Anabaptism: It is your duty to observe it: You may see you do but prepare too many for a further progress, Seekers, Ranters, Familists, and now Quakers, and too many professed Infidels, do spring up from among you, as if this were your journey's end, and the perfection of your Revolt. And it is your Churches and those that lean toward you that presently receive the Doctrines of the Deceiver, and are the stream in which some others with them are carried away. You may see you cannot hold your followers when you have them; Your work is blasted, Your labour in vain, nay, worse than in vain; You do but prepare men for flat Heresie and Apostasie; I have heard yet from the several parts of the Land, but of very few that have drunk in this venom of the Ranters or Quakers, but such as have first been of your opinions, and gone out at that door; The rest are but here and there a young person that was not noted for any great matter

matter of Religiousness, or only liked it, and inclined to your wayes; And if any others be seduced, the evil ariseth from among you, and from your Graduates do they receive their taint, as yours do from the Papists and the great Deceiver. Is it your Ministry or ours that they bend their force against? Is it not part of their present business to do your work, and cry down Infant-Baptism? One of the Queries which they here put to me is [What expresse Scripture I have for Infant-Baptism? which I must shew without consequences or else confess my self a false Prophet:] And another tendeth to prove us no true Churches: The Quakers then are Separatists and Antipœdobaptists, though more: I speak not this to reproach you, but to minde you of the tendency of all your endeavours, that you may seriously, as before the Lord, consider, whether he do not witness from Heaven against you and your wayes, by giving up your followers to such abominations as since the dayes of the *Nicolaitans* and the rest of the *Gnosticks*, the Sun hath not seen, at least so openly and commonly owned. Have you well considered into what your Societies were resolved in *Germany* and other parts? And do you well consider what fruits they here bring forth, and how likely they are to be shortly quite corrupted, if a speedy stop be not made? And what it is that you have done to the Church of God, and how much it is beholden to you for the prosperity of truth and piety. Is it like to be Gods way which so ordinarily leadeth to, and endeth in such desperate evils? I make not this my first or chief Argument against you, but it's a considerable second, and should make wise men at least suspicious of such a course: Nor would I thus argue from the Apostasie of a few, or upon some unusual accident;

But

But when such hath been the Fate of the stream of your party, from the very first rising of them in the world, to this day, I think it not inconsiderable. Nor would I thus argue from any temporal judgement or oppression by a persecuting Enemy; for I know that is no such sign of Gods displeasure: But if I suspect whether those persons are in a way pleasing to God, whom I see him so usually deliver up to Satan, I hope I may be excused. Certainly, Gods Churches are the places of his Blessing and his Delight: And certainly such spiritual plagues as our eyes now behold, are as evident Notes of Gods heavy displeasure, as men can expect to see on earth. And we have the more reason yet to be suspicious, that this is Gods disowning of your way, and Testimony from heaven against it, in that he followed the first Hereticks, the *SIMONIANS* and their followers, with the same kinde of judgements, and by such fearfull desertions, did then witness his detestation of those that withdraw from the Unity of his Church.

And it is very remarkable, that it is a pretence of our Impurity, and of a greater purity with you, that is pleaded by those that first turn over to you, and that this height of all impieties should be the usual issue of a way pretended so exact and clean: Doubtless it is none of Gods minde by this to discourage any from Purity and true Reformation, but to shew his Detestation of that spiritual pride which makes men have too high thoughts of themselves, and too much to contemn others, and to desire to be further separated from them, then God in the Day of grace doth allow of; Where the Tares (of ungodly men) are such as cannot be pulled up and cast out of the Church, without danger of pulling up, and casting out some of the Wheat, even the weakest

weakest true Believers with them, there God would have us let both grow together till the time of Harvest; But these proud men will stand at a further distance, and will dislike Gods gracious dealing with sinners, and their eye is evil, because he is good; and they will not grow in the same Field (or Church) where such Tares do grow, but will transplant themselves and remove from the field, because God will not pluck up the Tares, (especially if any Ministerial neglect of Discipline be conjoynd as too commonly it is;) and in stead of blaming their own pride, and misunderstanding of Gods mercifull dealings with sinners, they lay the blame on the corruption of the Church, and call it, *A Field of Tares*, and not of *Wheat*: In one word, it is most evident, that spiritual Pride doth turn most men from us to you, and that this is the very sinne that undoes such a multitude of Professors of Religiousness, and which hath let in all Gods Judgements upon us, and the sinne which he is now witnessing against from Heaven. As none more like to Christ then the humble that are mean in their own eyes, and compassionate to others; so none are more like to the devil than the proud, that think highly of themselves, and contemptuously of others; And the better the thing is that they are proud of, the worse is their pride, in this respect, that it is the setting up of Gods precious mercies against him, and the building of Satans house with Christs materials: The Pharisees Liturgy is of too frequent use in the Separated Congregation [*I thank thee, O God, that I am not as other men are, &c. nor even as this Publican.*] He that maketh us to differ from other men, and expecteth thanks for his differencing grace, doth yet abhorre a proud ostentation of it, and a diminutive esteem of his
smallest

smallest mercies unto others, and all proud desires that they should be thrust below us further then he hath appointed: It is the good of sinners, and the honour of God that is the end of Discipline, and not that we might personally be extolled and judged of above what is meet.

I beseech you take this plain Admonition in good part from a Desirer of your Recovery and Salvation.

Richard Baxter.

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**AN ANSWER** to a young unsettled  
Friend, who before inclining strongly to  
Anabaptistry, at last fell in with the Quakers,  
and desired my thoughts of them and their  
wayes, which seemed to him agreeable  
to the Scriptures.

**I** have perused your request, and am glad that you are not so confirmed in your misery, but that you will yet ask advice of your Friend; I pray God you be so ingenious and happy as to take it: It is a very sad thing to me, and should be so much more to you, to think that after so much pains as you have taken in duty, and so much Zeal as you have professed for God, you should yet be so unacquainted with the Will and Word of God, and Christ should have so little interest in your heart, as that such horrid unchristian Doctrines and Practices should be so easily entertained by you, and so far approved of: I marvel why you took it for so great a work of grace to convert you from

prophanesse, and now will take it for a greater work to convert you to it again, or to much worse? Was it not the same Ordinances that you despised before Conversion, which you now much more despise? Was it not the same Ministers that then you scorn'd whom ye now reproach with farre greater bitterness (if you do as those whom y<sup>e</sup> plead for do?) Is it not the same Christians whom you then derided, and now revile at, and condemn as children of the Devil? O miserable man! Is all your hearing and praying come to this? Dare you meet the Messengers of Christ in the face, and tell them they are Liers and Deceivers? Dare you cast out the holy worship of Christ, as false worship, and seek to draw people into the contempt of it? Dare you damn those Churches, and millions of Saints that Christ hath bought with his precious blood? Dare you seek to draw men to hate their Teachers, whom Christ hath set over them, and to hate his people, as if they were the Children of the Devil, and to hate his Worship and holy waies? Alas, that ever a man in his wits should look upon such abominations as amiable, and much more that any man should be so mad as to do this under the Name and Profession of a Christian! That you can imagine that the furious opposition to the whole Army of Christ, his Officers, Church and Ordinances, can yet be a work that Christ accepteth: what should you better know Christs work from Satans, nor know that it is the Dragon whose warfare these men do manage? I must needs profess, that it is a very grievous thing in mine eyes, that after all our pains with mens souls, and after therejoycings which we had in their seeming conversion, and Zealous lives, we should yet see so much ignorance, levity and giddinesse of Professors, as that they are ready to entertain the most horrid abominations! That the Devil can no sooner bait his Hook, but they greedily catch at it, and swallow it without chewing;

Tea,

Yea, nothing seems too gross for them, but so it seems Novel-ly all goes down. I am afraid, if they go a little further, they will believe him that shall say, The Devil is God, and to be worshipped and obeyed. Shall I freely tell you whence all this comes? Even from heighth pride of heart: You see it not (it's like) in your self, or in them, but I shall endeavour to make you see it both in your self and them. For your self, you confesse to me, that you have long thought that Infant-Baptism was an Error, and that now you think the Quakers are in the right; and yet you neither did once reade any one of those Books which we have written to prove Infant-Baptism to be a Dutie, nor did once seriously and impartially lay open your Doubts to your Teacher, nor ask his advice, as if you were even then too good to enquire, and would venture your soul to save you a little labour, yet are you now confident that you are in the right, and he and all of his minde are in the wrong. You know you are a young man, and have had little opportunitie to be acquainted with the Word of God, in comparison of what your Teacher hath had: If you presume that you are so much more beloved of God than he, that God will reveal that to you without seeking and studie, which upon the greatest Diligence he will not reveal to him; What can this conceit proceed from but pride? God commandeth study and meditating day and night in h's Laws; Your Teacher hath spent twenty, if not an hundred hours in such Meditation, where you have spent one: He hath spent twenty, if not an hundred hours in prayer to God for his Spirit of Truth and Grace, where you have spent one: His prayers are as earnest as yours: His Life is much more holy and heavenly than yours; His Office is to teach, and therefore God is, as it were, more engaged to be his Teacher, and to make known his Truth to him, than to you; Is it not then apparent pride for you to be confident

that you are so much wiser then he, and that you are so much more lovely in Gods eyes, that he will admit you more into the knowledge of his Mysteries, then those that have better used his own appointed means to know them? and for you in ignorance to run about with the Shell on your head, exclaiming to the world of the ignorance of your late Teachers? I say not that you do so; But the Quakers whom you approve of do so, and much more.

I pray you tell me, Did you ever study well what Paul meant, 1 Tim. 3.6. where he requireth, that he that is Ordained should not be a Novice, lest being lifted up with pride he fall into the Condemnation of the Devil;] The Word translated a Novice, signifieth a New Plant, a late Convert, or new or young Christian; You see here that such are in most danger of being lifted up with pride, and why so? But because, 1. They have not yet knowledge enough to acquaint them with their ignorance and great weaknesses. 2. Nor have they yet grown to a just degree of humility, and other establishing preserving graces; You see also that to fall into Pride, is to fall into the condemnation of the devil. You know sure that it is no wrong to you to say that you are but a Novice or raw Christian, for it is but a few years since you came out of utter ignorance and carnality; and therefore that you have reason to be very watchfull against this sin, yea, by the evidence that you give in against your self, you might see that you are too far ensnared in it already.

And for the Quakers, you are blinde if you see not their horrible pride; You'le perhaps think it strange that Pride should be the very Master-sinne in them that go in so poor a garb, and cry out against Pride so Zealously as they do; and go up and down the World, as if they were sent from Heaven to perswade men to wear no Lace, or Cuffs, or Points,  
and

and that damn so many Ministers for being called Masters. But alas do you not know that Pride of inward qualifications commonly called spiritual Pride, is the most killing and abominable! the better the thing is that you are proud of, the worse is your Pride. O what a brave thing doth it seem in these mens eyes, that they should seem to be possessed with such an excellent spirit as can trample upon worldly glory, and can boisterously contemn all that are not of their Sect, and that can despise Dignities, and be equal with the greatest! Yea, that onely they should have this admirable spirit, and all others are the Children of the Devil, and under their feet: Though other men should never so much slight them, yet do they wonderfully please themselves with these high thoughts of themselves; For Pride is first an over-valuing of a mans self; and thinking of himself above what is meet, and then a desire that others should do so by him too.

If yet you see not the pride of these men, I will shew it you in these four particular Evidences, and that so plainly, that if you know the difference between the language of heaven and of hell, you may easily perceive the Devil speaking by their mouths, &c. They affirm themselves to be perfect without sin (yea, some of them say, they are Christ and God.) And is it possible that any man in this life, that is not mad with spiritual pride, can indeed beleve, that he hath no sin? What? that he transgresseth no Law? That he doth love God in the highest degree that he is bound to do? That he never hath a thought or word that is sinful, nor sinfully loseth one minute of his time? Yea, and this when in the eyes and ears of the wisest, they foam out their own shame, as the raging Sea doth cast out the dirt. The devil himself hath either less pride, or less ignorance, than to think himself to be perfect without sin; If they have no sin, what need they pray, Forgive us our sins? or what further need have they of the blood  
of

of Christ or his Intercession to procure them any further forgiveness? If you can see no pride in this, I fear you are blinded with them to destruction.

2. And is it not apparent pride in them to set up themselves so far above all the people of God on earth? Yea, to vilifie the most holy and eminent Servants of God, and condemn all the Churches in the world, as if Heaven were made for them alone (if it were so well) that all of them did believe a Heaven besides that within them, which, I suppose, is but a soorie Heaven.

3. And yet more unmatchable pride and impious infidelitie is it, to damn all the Church and people of God for this 1600 Years at least. indeed God had never a people on earth of these mens way: But (to let pass the Scripture ages which condemn them) tell me, Had Christ any Church since the Apostles daies till now, or not? If he had not, then he was no Head of the Church, and so no Christ: For there is no Head without a body: If he had a Church, Tell us where it was, and when? Do you not know (if you know any thing of the state of the Church for 1600 Years) that Christ had no Church on earth of the Quakers minde, and that all his Ministers have been such as they condemn, and have been called by as honourable Titles, as they are now? And is not that man either an Infidel and enemy to Christ, or stark mad with pride, that can believe that Christ had no Church till now, and that all the Ministers of the Gospel for 1600 Years were the Ministers of the Devil: (as they say of us that tread in their steps) and that all the Christians of that 1600 Years are damned (as now they dare denounce against those that succeed them) and that God made the world, and Christ died for it, with a purpose to save none but a few Quakers, that the world never knew till a few Years ago; Or at least a few Hereticks that were their Predecessors of old.

4. And



4. And I should suppose that their proud, scornful, railing language should put it out of doubt what spirit they are of, to any that are acquainted with the language of Christs Spirit, and of Satan, and are able to judge of spirits by the most palpable effects, and to know darkness from light.

But you say, It is Scripture-Language which they speak: I answer, The greater is their presumptuous sin in making so ill a use of Scripture-Language, as to serve Satan by it, and use it to reviling; What if Christ call Judas a devil? Is it therefore lawfull to call Peter so, or any faithfull servant of Christ? But I perceive you think they justly condemn us, because we are called Masters of men, contrary to Mat. 23. Alas, that a Christian should be so ignorant, as not to know that even calling Master and Lord too, is commonly allowed of in Scripture, and that it is not the Title, but 1. The proud affecting of the Title. 2. And the Lording it over mens faith, as Masters of that (as if others must be of their m.nde, right or wrong) which Christ there condemneth; Even as in the same place he forbiddeth being called Fathers, in the very same sense, when yet it is frequently allowed in a better sense. But for the fuller answering of these scruples of yours and the rest about Tithes, and such like: I send you herewith, an Answer to the Questions of some Quakers near us in the Parish of Bromsgrove, and refer you to my Defence of the Worcestershire Petition, Printed some Years ago.

To your Question, What I think of these men; I will tell you what I think, and am past all doubt of.

There are in England a Companie of young raw Professors, that have more Zeal than knowledge; And there are a company of carnal hypocrites: that place all their Religion in holding certain Opinions, and using certain external Worship, and siding with a Religious Party. It is no hard matter to mislead all these, if they be not better guided by others

then by themselves: While they have due regard to the Judgements of their Teachers, that know more than themselves, and so live in a learning way, till they have attained to better understanding, they may escape Deceivers; But if they are once brought to be wise enough in their own eyes, and to despise their Teachers, then they are like a man that hath lost his way in a dark night, or that hath lost his Guide in an unknown Wilder-ness, or like a Dog that hath lost his Master, and therefore will be ready to follow any body that first whistleth to him. The Papists and the Devil know this well enough, and therefore their first endeavour is to unsettle these people by taking them off all dependance on their Guides, and that must be by bringing the Ministers into contempt with them; For, if they could once accomplish this fully, and separate the people from their Pastors, and so assault the people alone, or with weak, and unlearned Teachers onely, they might then easily bear down all before them; and one Popish Friar or Jesuite would non-plus five hundred of our most famous Sect-masters; They remember yet that it was the disgracing of the Popish Clergie, partly by their own notorious ignorance and viciousness, and partly by our perswading men that the Pope is Anichrist, which was the main advantage which the Reformers had for the ruining of the Papal Kingdom; And therefore they would, partly in Policie, and partly in Revenge, attempt the destruction of our Churches by the same means. These Papists seeing the temper of our foresaid unsettled Professors do creep in among them, and use their utmost skill to unsettle them more, and bring them into dislike of their Teachers, without which they have no hope of succeeding; Their first waies are by reproaching the settled Government of the Church, and by drawing men to Separation and Anabaptism; and then perswading them that these are glorious Truths of God, which their former Teachers are un-

able

able to receive, and that they are but a blind, self-seeking, proud sort of men, that would enthrall all men to their Judgements, when they are in utter darkness themselves: When they have gotten them but thus far once, to despise their Guides, then do they proceed further with them, and persuade them that they that were blind in the points of Baptism and Church order, are so in other things as well as that, and that this light which they have seen already, is but a spark, and that these being daies of glorious discoveries, there are yet more and greater matters to be revealed. Hereupon they put a handsom dress upon many of the grossest points of Popery, and recommend these as the new and rare discoveries. But this they do not in the Name and garb of Papists, but (as the Popish Few at New-castle) they turn Anabaptists, and then rise a step higher, and lead others after them; so that the silly people shall never know that it is Papists that are their Leaders; Yea, they will cry out of the Pope, and call all that differ from them Antichristian, purposely to divert suspicions, and blinde mens eyes. Thus these Papists have begotten this present Sect of Quakers; first pretending to strange Revelations, Visions and Trances, such as are commonly mentioned in the lives of their Saints in the Legends: And so you have here and there a Papist lurking to be the chief Speaker among them, and these have fashioned many others to their turns, to supply their rooms, who yet know not their own Fathers.

And so the Quakers among us are [The ignorant, proud, giddie sort of Professors, first made Separatists or Anabaptists, and perhaps more (for the most part of them) and then drawn further by Popish subtilty, and now headed with some secret dissembling Friars, and by them, and by the devil enraged against the Ministers of Christ, and set upon the propagating of the substance of Poperie.

If You ask me, how I know that it is Papists who thus se-

duce them? I answer, 1. Because they do the Papists work, and maintain their cause, as far as yet they dare venture to bring it forth; I could tell you of abundance of Poperie that the Quakers and Behmenists maintain; As that the Pope is not Antichrist (which is at least to their advantage, whether Poperie or not) and the disgracing and secret undermining the sufficiency of the Scripture, the decrying of the Ministrie, the unchurching of our Churches, the slighting of Justification by Imputed Righteousness, and drawing men to the admiration of their Inherent Righteousness, and of their Works, the crying up the Light within us, and the sufficiency of common Revelation, the setting up the strength of Mans Free-will, the asserting the Necessitie of a Judge of Controversie above Scripture (which they are content should be the Spirit of Revelations a while, till they can bolatier exchange that for the Pope) the extolling of Monasticall Communitie and Virginitie, and Alienation from worldly imployments, the Doctrine of Perfection without sinne in this life, with many more of the like nature: All this the Papists have taught the Quakers. If you say, They might learn it without them; I would ask you, Whether in all these great Points you think the Papists are rightier than the Reformed Churches? If you say they be, speak out, and confess your self a Papist; If you say they be not, then who, think you, should reveal all this Poperie to the Quakers? No: the Spirit of God, for he is not the Author of Poperie, or any falshood; If it were the Devil, then it seems that Poperie and the Quakers Faith is hatched by the Prince of darkness; And whether it were Friars or Devils, or both, that make Quakers; it's not worth the while to dispute, as long as we know that it is Poperie that they hold, and the Devil befriendeth it.

Perhaps you will say, That they hold many certain Truths, they crie down Pride and Drunkenness, and Worldlinesse, and crie

crie up Mortification, and Charitie, and Humilitie. I answer, And do not we do so, as well as they? These are Points where we are agreed with the Papiſts: Do You think that God would extraordinarily ſend theſe men to preach down the very ſame ſins which are commonly preachd down already, better then they can do it, by thoſe men whom they reproach? All that is good among them, is only that which is as common among us, and I hope a little better maintained and managed; And all that wherein they differ from us is their Popiſh and heretical errors.

2. But to give you further ſatisfaction, it is known by certain proof, that it is the Papiſts that do ſeducẽ and head them: Many of themſelves have confeſt ſuch things, and their preſent induſtry among us is well known (which that they may proceed in with leſſ impediment) they are the Zealous Defenders of Uni-verſal Toleration, or Liberty for propagating ſoul-poifoning Doctrines, for all the torments of the Inquiſition in other Countries. Have you not ſeen a Sheet of Paper, Publiſhed by Mr Prin, Containing an Oath of a Citizen of Briſtol, taken before the Magiſtrates of that City? I will tranſcribe you the Depoſition, leſt you have not ſeen it.



The Information of George Coolifhey of the City  
of Briſtol Ironmonger, taken the 22<sup>th</sup> Day  
of January, 1654.

**W**Ho informeth on his Oath, That in the Moneth  
of September laſt, this Informant had ſome  
Diſcourſe in Briſtol with one Mr Coppinger, an  
Irish-man, formerly a School-fellow of his, that came  
thither.

thither purposely for his passage into *Ireland*, who told this Informant, that he had lived in *Rome* and *Italy* eight or nine years, and had taken upon him the Order of a Friar of the *Franciscan* Company; And he told this Informant, that he had been lately at *London* for some Moneths, and whilst he was there, he had been at all the Churches and Meetings, Publique and Private that he could hear of, and that none came so near him as the Quakers: And being at a Meeting of the Quakers, he there met with two of his Acquaintance in *Rome* (the which two persons were of the same *Franciscan* Order and Company) that were now become chief Speakers among the Quakers, and he himself had spoken among the Quakers in *London* about thirty times, and was well approved of amongst them. And this Informant further saith, that the said Mr *Coppinger* asked him, What kinde of Opinions in Religion there were in *Bristol*? And this Informant told him, There were several Opinions and judgements, and not naming any Opinions of the Quakers, the said Mr *Coppinger* asked him, whether there had been any Quakers in *Bristol*? And the said Informant answered him, No; Whereupon the said M. *Coppinger* told him the said Informant two or three times, that if he did love his Religion and his soul, he should not hear them, whereupon this Informant told him, that he thought none of them would come to *Bristol*, who expressly replied, that if this Informant would give him 5<sup>l</sup>, he would make it 500<sup>l</sup>, if some Quakers did not come to *Bristol* within three weeks or a moneth then following. And on the morrow following the said *Coppinger* departed from this City for *Ireland* his native place, and about eighteen daies after, there came to this City two Persons that bare the name of Quakers.

This is a true Copy of the Original Information taken upon Oath Jan. 12. last at Bristol, before the Town-Clark and Magistrates of the City.

**I**F you further ask me, Why the Papists are so diligent in these kinde of works? I answer, Their Tyrannicall Faction and Schism is maintained by works of darknesse and unconscionable deceipts; And they know in such works as these they are not like to lose their labour, they have so many severall ends which they hope to attain; Some they may bring directly to Popery it self, Some they bring to a great part of Popery before they know where they are; All of them they procure to do their work in disgracing the Ministry, and many of them in disparaging the Scripture: At least they know when men are loosened from all former grounds, they are readier to receive a new Impression; Also by this means they think to make the multitudes of Sects, and the madnesse of them to be a shame to our Religion; And by this Argument they turn many others to their side: They use from hence to assault our common ungrounded Protestants, and say, You may see now what it is to depart from the Unity of the Romane Catholike Church ( for so they will needs call their transcendent schism. ) And when they talk among their own followers in France, Italy, and other Countreys, they mightily from hence confirm them in their errors, and do so aggravate the Heresies and Sects among us which themselves have cherished, that they make the world abroad believe that the Protestants or Reformers in England are almost all running stark mad, and even given over to the devil to possess and move and shake their bodies, and that we are broken into so many shreds, and pieces, that we are almost So many men so many mindes, and have now no face of a Church among us, especially having the advantage of the suffrages of some few over-angry Divines among our selves, who ( on another ground ) comply With the Separatists, affirming that we have no true Churches, where there is not the Episcopal prebeminence; You see then what game the Papists play in their fomenting of their Sects, and what use they make of them at home and abroad.

To conclude, I intreat you to consider well of the sense of these passages in the holy Scriptures, Eph. 4 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. where you may see that Christs Officers or Ministers are settled by him in his Church for the edification, unity, and (at last) the perfecting of the body, and the preserving of the poor people from the snares of such Seducers [that we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of Doctrine by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive] Young unsettled Novices, and proud self-conceited Professors and Opinionists are like a bundle of feathers tost up and down, and carried that way as the winde of temptation driveth them.

I Cor. 11. 18, 19. [When ye come together in the Church, I hear that there be divisions among you, and I partly believe it; For there must be also Heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you:] I pray you mark here what Gods end is in permitting these Divisions and Heresies among us? They are the Winde that must sift us and shew us which was the wheat, and which the chaff. This trial is to prove you, and all of us, and see whether we are light or solid, approved and sound in the faith or hypocrites; If this trial turn you quite over to the division of Separation and Anabaptism, and to the Heresie of the Quakers, we shall know that you were before a proud, giddy, unsettled Novice, not approved of God, nor sound at the heart. And it's an excellent work of God, thus to prepare for the great Judgement, and make such an open discovery of superficial, proud, unanctified men; For as it's said, 1 Joh. 2. 19. [They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us; but they went out, that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us.] The Lord open your eyes, and humble your heart, and acquaint you with your great darkness and imperfections, and with the sufficiency of holy Scriptures, and the necessity of his Order and Ministry, and the need that you have of those Guides whom you despise, and the obedience and submission that you owe them, and the excellency of the Churches Unity, and the mischief of all divisions and heresies, and recover you from their snares.

Your true Friend,

RICHARD BAXTER.





A N  
A N S W E R  
T O T H E  
Q U A K E R S  
Q U E R I E S.

*Miserable Creatures!*

**B**Efore the last I wrote to you, I had received three several Papers, with the Names of three several Persons of you inscribed, *viz.* One *Jane Hicks*, one *Thomas Chaundler*, and *Edward Neway*. These I have yet to shew, though the spirit that possesseth you did since prevail with you to call me false Liar and Serpent in *folio*, but for telling you that I had received them from you: Forsooth, because I named not the woman before, and because *Neway* wrote not: But might not I receive them as from them, and having their Names, and only theirs, inscribed for all that? Since that time, I have received two more, One subscribed by *Richard Farnworth* and *Thomas Goodier*, and another without any subscribed Name. I shewed *Tho. Goodier* that with his Name, and asked him, whether he owned it, who told me, he neither read it nor mine which it replied to, and yet so farre believed those that had, that he owned his Name at it. Having received in your first Letters, almost nothing but some Sheets of [Thou Serpent, Viper, thou Childe of the Devil, thou Son of perdition, thou dumb dog, thou false hireling, thou false Liar, Deceiver, greedy Dog, thou ravening Wolf, thou cursed Hypocrite,]

poctite, ] with much more of the like ; I returned you no Reply, as confessing my self not so well skilled in that language and learning as you are ; And for the dunghill-heaps of false accusations annexed, I pass them by, as being well known to be impudent slanders ; Such as my [upholding accursed, Prelatical Government, false Worship, &c.] for which you dare say [the vengeance of the Lord is against me,] while you instance only in one word of a Paper of mine, wherein I moved that men be restrained [from Preaching against the Essentials or Fundamentals of Christianity,] which one of you tels me is a restraining men from [speaking any more in Christs Name, and a persecuting Christs Ministers :] We may see what Christianity, and Christs Ministers are in your account, who take it for such damnable enmity to Christ, for a man to be restrained from Preaching that there is no Christ, or from reproaching him : I do not think, if I had desired that men should be restrained from calling you damnable Hereticks, or the Bastards of the Papiests, that you would have been so froward, as to have said, that herein I was your Enemy ; Nor do I think you would have taken it for any dangerous restraint to the Liberty of their Consciences ; But Christ will deal justly with you, though you deal unjustly with him and his.

When your Praters were here, I desired to know the further ground of all these heavy accusations, that must prove me a childe of the Devil, a greedy dumb Dog, a Son of perdition, with all the rest. And I could have no proof of all but this, That I was called Master, That I stood in a high-place to preach, and that I studied, and that I preached by an hour-glass, and so would limit the Spirit if I had it; and that I took money for Tythes : False Doctrine and Worship I was charged with in general, but not one word of instance in any particular that I can remember : To these Charges I shall give you some account anon

When I had received your 24 Queries, I sent you my Answer, That if you would but subscribe your Consent that I should come to your meeting, and answer them all by word of mouth without disturbance, and you would receive what was made plain to your selves to be the Truth ; I was willing to come

over to what end: This motion you detest and reject with a Sheet of further Revilings, in the same language as the first were: I hope you will not take it ill, if I reply not in that grinning or barking Rhetorick; For, if I be a dumb dog, you cannot expect that I should equal you in snarling, or barking, or howling.

But have you not bewrayed your deceitfulness in refusing to consent that I should come and answer your Questions? Do not you shew by this, that you are children of the Darkness, and the Works of Darkness you are carrying on? When you hate the Light, because your Deeds are Evil? Why would you send me Queries, which you would not give me leave to answer by speech! What was it that you feared?

But instead of this, you [Charge and Command me in the Name of the most High God, to answer them in writing] that you may [publish them with your Reply, if need be.] But when I desired to see the Commission by which you claim this Authority, you shew me none, but tell me, It is invisible. And may not all the world command me on these terms, as well as you? In stead of admitting me to answer in your Congregation, some of you came over (taking a time when the Lord had shut me up by sickness, and could not go to the Publique Meeting) to make a disturbance in our Assembly, *Mark 25.* and to try your Rhetorick on the mindes of People in this place: Whereupon it pleased the Magistrate to binde one of you to the good behaviour, for the publique Disturbance, and Railing at the Magistrate: And upon this you send another Paper with an outcry against us as Persecutors: When you might know, that I was not concerned in the business; and when indeed no man did so much as once ask my advice in it. But, as for them that did it, I dare no more accuse them for persecution, then I dare accuse them for persecution who shall burn a Thief in the hand. Alas, what impatient souls are you to cry out so much of persecution, when many a poor scold is duckt in the Gumble-stool for words more incomparably sweet, and Lamb-like than yours?

I shall now come to say somewhat to your Papers; and first give you a word of my reason, why I may not answer them

so punctually in order, and word by word, as you command me to do; 1. Because I dare not be guilty of losing so much precious time: 2. Because I have much more profitable work to do, though you accuse me for idleness, because I do not dig or thresh: When yet your Praters, when they were here, did neither dig nor thresh any more than I: Nor do I hear that they do elsewhere, as they follow their seducing employment. 3. Because you have heapt up *non-sense*, vain repetitions and confusions, so as to answer you accordingly, would be of small use to any, and would but prove me to be like your selves. Many more Reasons I over-pass. There is not a scold in all the Countrey, but may as honestly and reasonably command me in the Name of God to come and scold with them in the Market-place, as you may Command me thus to answer your scurrilous scolding Papers. Yet you shall have no Cause to complain that I have over-passed any thing that's worthy to be regarded.

**Y**our first Query is, [*What's the first Principle of the pure Religion?*] To which I answer, 1. That God is] and next [that he is a Rewarder of them that diligently seek him] *Heb. 11. 7* 2. Do you ask this as Learners? No, that you renounce. Or as Teachers? Why then do you not shew your Commission to teach? And why do you not plainly Teach, but ask Questions? Or do you ask it for matter to feed your prating and standering?

Your second Query is, [*Whether they are a Church of Christ that beat and persecute them that witness forth the Truth in his Name? &c.*] *Ans.* Doubtless it's possible for a true Church to be guilty of injuries. But you have as little Cause to put this Question, as the *Turk* hath. What would you answer, if a *Jew* or a *Turk*, or a *Witch* should put this Question? [Is it a true Church that persecuteth them that witness the truth?] Surely, it's nothing to you, who witness abominable falsehoods and dreams. 2. But I'll tell you what do; When you come home, go to some of your Gossips, the *Friars*, or other *Papists*, and ask them this Question: Whether it be a true Church which

which set up the *Spanish* Inquisition? and caused the *French* Massacre? and hath by flames and sword drawn out the blood of so many hundred thousand true Christians? Ask them, Whether the Butcheries of the *Waldenses*, and the *Irish* murders were done by a true Church? It may be they will give you a more satisfactory Answer than I can, because you will sooner hear them.

Your third Question is about *Infant-Baptism*. Of that I have already written a whole Book, which in modesty you should peruse, before you call to me for more. Have you soberly read what I have there wrote already? If not, to what purpose should I write more to you of the same Subject?

Only to your Query, I will adde this Query to your Founders and Anabaptists: Whether by this time they do not feel Gods plagues upon their party? And whether God do not visibly testify against them from Heaven, in giving up their Disciples to all kinde of abominations? And whether the Plague of *Rhabaoth* be not on those hearts, and of the blinded *Sodomites* on their eyes, that in all this can see no reason at least to be very suspicious of their way? And whether they are yet resolyed to wink on to destruction, or to stay till all turn Quakers, Ranters or Infidels? And how much *England* yet feels it self beholden to Separation and Anabaptistry? And whether it be not the Separated and Anabaptists Churches that are emptied by the Quakers?

Your fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth Queries are all about Tythes: The substance of which I had answered long ago to some of your leading Brethren, in a Book called: *The Worcestershire Petition Defended*; To which Book I referre you, to spare the labour of speaking one thing twice; and modesty should have taught you to take notice of that which I have done already, before you call for the same things again. Only let me now adde these Queries also to you.

Q<sup>n</sup>. I. Whether have you read any of those Books that are written long ago, to prove that Tythes are still of Divine Right? If you have not, were it not well-beseeming a tender

Conscience to hear all that can be said, before men adventure to rail against that which they do not understand.

Qu. 2. Whether there be not sufficient Scripture to warrant a man to Dedicate part of his Lands to God, for the service of his Church, and promoting of his Worship? Yea, Whether they did not in the Primitive times, so Dedicate all? Selling it, and laying down the Price at the Apostles feet.

Qu. 3. Is it not lawfull to take and use that which is so Dedicated? And if the Apostles and first Church-officers might take all, May not we take the Tenths, when they are thus Devoted?

Qu. 4. If our Ancestors, many an Age ago, have given the Tenths to the Church, for the Ministry, are not those sacrilegious Church-robbers that should now take them away, having nothing to do with them? And do not you counsel men to the sin of *Judas*, or of *Ananias* and *Saphira*?

Qu. 5. If one that bears the bag prove a *Judas* and Thief, or one *Nicolas* a Deacon should lead a Sect of *Nicolaitans*, your Predecessors, Whether are all the Apostles therefore Thieves, or all the Churches and Pastors greedy dogs, for taking much more then the Tenths, even mens whole Estates that gave them to that use?

Qu. 6. Whether I, or other Ministers do ask the people so much for preaching, as the Quakers receive themselves? Do not you receive meat and drink, to sustain your lives? But we ask not meat and drink of any, nor any thing else, that is theirs: The Tythes is none of theirs, nor ever was, nor their fathers before them; but they bought or took Leases of their Lands, with the Condition of paying the Tenths, as none of their own. We ask them not for a penny, but only to divide between theirs and ours, and give us our own.

Qu. 7. If it be not a wrong to the people more then to the Ministers, to have the standing Church-maintenance taken away, Why then do people petition so hard for Augmentations, where Means is wanting? Or else do worse.

Qu. 8. If the Supream Rulers of the Commonwealth, may lay an Excise or Tax on the Nation, and pay Souldiers with  
one

one part of it, what forbids but that they may pay Ministers of the Gospel with the other part? And if they may lay a Tax for them, Why may they not fix a settled Maintenance in Tenths for them, much more, why may they not let them possess that which is theirs already by their fore-fathers gift?

*Qu. 9.* Where doth any Scripture forbid paying or taking Tythes? I have shewed you in my other Book, where it com<sup>d</sup> mandeth allowing sufficient Maintenance? Shew where it condemneth the Tenth part any more than the ninth, or the eleventh or twelfth?

*Qu. 10.* When God hath commanded a sufficient Maintenance in general, and left it to humane prudence to judge what is sufficient (before they give it,) If then a man shall say [Where doth the Scripture require the Tenth? and you are no true Ministers who take the Tenths;] Is not this as wise as to say [Though Christ and his Apostles did wear cloaths, yet shew where any of them preacht in doublet, or breeches, or stockings, or else you are false prophets for wearing these;] Is not this as wise arguing as the other, and to the same purpose?

And where you ask us so oft, Whether the Apostles took the Tenths, I tell you again, they took more, that is, men sold all and laid down the money at their feet. Its true, that then the poor also were maintained out of it; And if you will shew a Commission to examine us, we will give you an account how far we maintain the poor out of our meer Tenth part. In the mean time its unreasonable, that you demand, that we should *so maintain them as to suffer no beggars*; For, if all that a Minister hath will not maintain twenty poor people, if he give it them all, how should he then maintain a hundred with it?

Your 10<sup>th</sup> *Qu.* is, [Whether Christ enlightneth every one that cometh into the world?] To which I answer, Yea, he doth so; All that come into the world of nature, he enlightneth with the light of Nature (so called, because it is a knowledge gotten by the Book of the Creatures, and natural means, without supernatural Revelation, though it be of grace also, as it is freely given after a forfeiture;) And all that come into the world of grace, he enlightneth with the light of supernatural Revelation.

Having

Having said as much to this Query, as you require, I will *gratia* adde something that I may please you by supererogation: I lately saw another Paper of your Queries which you have disperst in other places, which speaks almost only of *This Inward Light*; In which I perceived, 1. That you falsly intimate that we deny the necessity of an inward Light, when as we maintain, that the external Light of the Word alone is not sufficient without the inward Light of the Spirit. 2. You there intimate to us a supposed sufficiency of the inward Light that every man in the world hath. Concerning which I shall say more anon, and now only demand of you, 1. Whether you mean it is sufficient to leave men without excuse, (That we maintain as well as you) or is every mans Light sufficient to his salvation? If so. *Qu. 2.* Was it sufficient before Christ preached the Gospel and sent his Apostles? Or is it now sufficient to all that never heard the Gospel? If so, Is not the Gospel a vain and needless thing? Or are you Christians that dare so affirm? *Qu. 3.* If the world have sufficient Light, what need they your Teaching, or Discourse, or Conviction? *Qu. 4.* If all have sufficient Light within them, what need there any converting Grace? *Qu. 5.* Then why did Christ send *Paul* to open mens eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light? If they had sufficient Light before, *Act 26. 28.* *Qu. 6.* I pray you do not disdain to tell me when you have rub'd your eyes, if all men have sufficient Light within them, Why you got up into the Judgement-seat, and pronounced me so oft to be in darkness, and to be void of the Light, and to have none of the Spirit? If all have it, why may not I have it?

But let me tell you further in your ear, that we that you so frantickly bawl against, have read *Bellarmine* and other Papists so oft, that we cannot be ignorant who are your Teachers, though your selves are ignorant; We know how earnestly the Jesuites would perswade us, that there is a Light in every mans conscience, which if he improve and husband well, God is bound to give such additions as shall make it become saving, and that by the good use of natural Light, men may certainly get supernatural; and that it is in mens own power, what light soever they have to improve it to salvation.

Your



Your 11<sup>th</sup> *Qu.* is, [*Whether we have seen Gods face?*] *Ans.* Whether these be Learning, or Teaching, or quarrelling, or doting Questions, I leave to your consideration: but what Call you had to propound them to such Serpents, Dogs, and Children of the Devil, as you call us, I know not: But however I'll answer you truly, 1. By the eye of reason I have seen that there is a God, and that he is Infinite, Incomprehensible, most Great and most Good &c. 2. The same I have seen more clearly by the eyes of faith. 3. But I never saw God by the eye of flesh, for none can so see God and live, *Nor hath any man seen God at any time, saving the only begotten Son who is in the bosom of his Father, he hath declared him.* 4. Nor have I seen him in glory intuitively, or as the glorified in heaven do. If you say, you have seen more, I shall not be very forward to believe you, till I see better fruits of it. I also therefore demand of you, Whether he that hath seen God do not abhor himself (as *Job* did) in dust and ashes? And whether the true knowledge of God do not ever abase the soul, and make a man very mean in his own eyes? And then is it likely that ever those men had the true knowledge of God, who make it their business to exalt themselves, as having the Spirit, and being perfect without sin, and to revile and bedung other men with their reproaches, as being all the children of the Devil, and of darkness, that be not of their strain, and rave not as they do? The Pharisee that thanked God he was not as other men, nor as the Publican spoke humbly and modestly in comparison of you, and yet was he counted a proud self-justifier: If ever you come to the least saving sight of God, it will mightily change the proud strain of your spirits, and make you abhor the thoughts of your present evil ways.

Your 12<sup>th</sup> *Qu.* is, [*Whether we have the same infallible Spirit, as the holy men of God had that spoke forth the Scriptures?*] *Ans.* Why must you know this? Are all Dogs and Serpents with you, that have not that Infallible Spirit? But we hear the croakings of your Papist Guides in that word [*Infallible;*] that's the pillar of their Kingdom, and the Matter-point of their New Religion, *That their Church is Infallible;* For denying which, *Knot* the Jesuite against *Chillingworth*, and a late notable gawdy Orator *S. W.* against *D<sup>r</sup> Hammond*, and others

of them, would fain perswade us that we subvert Christianity, and are little better than Infidels, because we are not Infallible : But I will answer you and your Masters together in a word : 1. The Prophets and Apostles had infallible Inspirations of new matters of Divine Verity, not before revealed, because they were to be Gods Pen-men, and Messengers of such New Revelations, I have none such that I know of. 2. The Prophets and Apostles were guided infallibly in the manner as well as the matter, so that every word that they wrote to the Churches, was infallibly true ; I have no such Infallibility, nor your Grandfather the Pope neither : He may erre while he pretendeth to the greatest infallibility in deciding Controversies. 3. What man soever he be in the world that beleeveth any Truth, he doth infallibly beleeveth it ; For he that is in the right, is not deceived so far, and he that is not mistaken is so farre infallible, which is no more than *non fallitur*. 4. But if by [Infallibility] you should mean the clearness and Subjective *Certainty*, as distinct from the Objective and the bare truth of our Conceptions, then I say, that's another thing than Infallibility, and not to be so called, and of that *Certainty* men have different degrees : All true Christians are Certain of their Fundamentals, yet sometime with some doubting, so that they may finde cause to say with the Apostles, *Lord, Increase our Faith* ; Or, *We believe, help thou our unbelief* ; But in lesser controverted Points which Salvation dependeth not on, the best man on earth may erre, much more be Uncertain : So that in a word, Every Church *in sensu composito*, while a Church, is infallible in the Essentials of Christianity ; and so is every true Christian : And also they know infallibly every other truth that indeed they know ; because Truth is Truth, whether they know it or not, and when they do know it they are not deceived ; But in many things we all erre, because we know but in part, and so far are deceived.

Well, I say still, Fair fall the honest humble Christian that will confess with *Paul*, *that we know but in part* ; For I shall never like pretenders to un-erring Infallibility more ; I know but two such Pretenders, and they are both the most abominable Deceivers and Deceived, One is the Pope and his Clergy, and who more erroneous ? The other is your selves, even  
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distracted with error. The Pope venteth abundance of falshoods in Doctrine, and corruptions in Discipline and Worship, and with all these errors in his hands, protesteth he is infallible. The Quakers (all that yet have wrote to me, or spoke to me) pour out the greatest abundance of most impudent Lies, and spue their filthy railings in the faces of almost all they come near, so that I know not whether ever the Sun saw a more hardened, shameless, abominable generation than they (with their brethren the Ranters) are; and yet with all this filth upon their lips, they confidently profess that they are infallible and without sin; You may well excuse us, that we be not hasty in believing you, till we see more reason for it.

Your 13<sup>th</sup> *Qu.* is, [*What is Hells mouth that the wicked go in at, &c.*] I answer, 1. You are liker to know ere long than I; If a miracle of grace save you not, you'l be better able to answer this Query, then yet your unbelief will give you leave. 2. It sufficeth me to know, that Hell is a state of endless misery, where such as you shall everlastingly bear the effects of Gods wrath and justice with the devils and his Angels that now seduce you, if timely recovery prevent it not.

Your 14<sup>th</sup> *Qu.* is, [*Whether the Bible be the Word of God? and Matthew, Mark, Luke and John be the Gospel, and whether there were any Gospel before them, and whether they be the Light?*] To which I answer, 1. Only Jesus Christ is the co-essential, co-eternal Word of the Father, being one with the Father. 2. But the holy Scriptures are the temporal expressed Word, that is, the signs of Gods minde to man, so that Christ and the Scriptures are not called the Word in the same sense, no more than is the word of a mans minde, and the word of his mouth or pen. This signifying word was preached before it was written, and then was the Gospel, but it was written after it was so preached at first, that it might be a standing Rule, and might be kept entire and sure to the Church to the worlds end; For the bare memories of men would not have kept them for us with such certainty as they have been kept in Scripture, and delivered unto us. This Word therefore is the Light, but not as Christ is the Light, or as the Spirit is the Light, for there are many Lights that must concur to give us Light. It is a wise

Question of him that shall ask, Whether the Light by which a man sees be the visive faculty of his eyes, or the light of a Candle, or the light in the Air, or the Sun? Why it may be all these, There must be, 1. A Sun. 2 A light from that Sun in the air. 3. An inward light in the eyes. 4 And that outward received by the inward, before you can see; So God in Christ is the Sun, Mans Reason is the Eye, The Gospel or Word of God is the external Light flowing to us from the Sunne, The Spirit closeth these two together, even the Gospel and our Reason, and by its powerfull work in that closure, breedeth a special illumination in the soul which the Word alone could not produce.

I shall adde some Queries to you. 1. Do you beleve the Scriptures to be true or not? If you do, then you must beleve what they say of themselves; But they call themselves the Word of God, *Mar.7.13. Rom.10.8. 2 Cor.2.17. & 4. 2. 1 Thes.4.15. 1 Pet.1.25.* And often they are called, *The Laws of God, his Testimonies, his Statutes, his Precepts, his Promises, Gospel, Covenants, &c. All Scripture is Written by Divine Inspiration, 2 Tim.3.16. The word of Prophecy is a sure Word, 2 Pet. 1. 19.*

2. Will you give us leave to smell the Pope in your endeavours to disgrace the Scriptures, though your own Noses be stopt? For we have been used to deal with him at this weapon, and know that this is the main point of his New Religion.

Your 15<sup>th</sup> *Qu.* is, [*Whether we own Revelations, or no?*]  
*Ans.* I own all Divine Revelations, and disown all diabolical ones, so farre as I know them. I own all those blessed Revelations contained in the holy Scriptures; for they were infallibly sealed by multitudes of uncontrolled miracles, and a spirit of holiness; I believe that the Scriptures or Laws of Christ being finished and sealed, we must hold these till the coming of Christ, *1 Tim.6.13,14.* and that Christ will be with the Preachers of this same Doctrine to the end of the world, *Matth. 28. 20,21.* and that these are able to make men wise to salvation, without any more additions, and therefore no more is to be expected. But yet I beleve, 1. That God hath not  
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tyed himself from revealing particular matters in subserviency to Scripture extraordinarily, as divers murders have been revealed, and the like matters of fact. 2. And I beleve that all true Christians have the illuminating, sanctifying Spirit of Christ to help them to know all the meaning of the Scripture, which is of flat necessity to salvation, and more, according to their several measures of the Spirit, with other helps.

Your 16<sup>th</sup> *Qu.* is about *Singing Davids Psalms;*] To which, I say, Till you have considered what is already written on that Question by Mr *Cotton* and Mr *Foard*, I know not why I should add any more; If all Scripture be written for our use and learning, why may not we speak to God in the words of *Davids Psalms*, as well as any other Scripture? Tell me if you can? And further, *Qu. 2.* They being used by the Church till the Apostles times, where do you finde that they did ever forbid or abolish that use? *Qu. 3.* Whether is it more lawfull for us to speak Gods praises in the words of holy Scripture, and particularly of *Davids Psalms*, or for you to rake together all the threatnings and sharp reproofs in Scripture, to serve your turn to rail and slander me with?

Your 17<sup>th</sup> *Qu.* is [*What's the soul of man which the Ministers of the Gospel are to watch for, as they that must give an account to God, and what is it that captivates the soul, and what death is it that hath passed over all, &c. and what is the Serpents head that must be bruised?*

*Ans.* Seeing I am fallen under your Catechizing, I will readily obey, 1. The soul is that spiritual substance, which causeth by its lower power, your life, growth, and nourishment, by its next power your feeling, and by its highest power (proper to man of all inferiour Creatures) your Reasoning, Intellectual Knowledge and Rational Willing and Affections; which together with the Body, constituteth the whole man. Supposing that you look not for a Definition, because you so abhorre Logick, I think this in brief may serve your turns. 2. The whole man is oft called the soul in Scripture, because the soul is the most noble part of him. 3. I pray mark the Text that you alledge, *Heb. 13. 17. Obey them that rule over you, for they watch for your souls, as those that must give account, that*

they may do it with joy and not with grief, for that is unprofitable for you:] Because you have put this Text into my hand, I will mix my Answer with these few Queries to you; (For I suppose you expect no great exactness of order from me.)

Qu. 1. Whether many words in Scripture translated [*Masters διδασκαλῶν, &c.*] be not of as low and humble an importance, as [*Rulers?*] And therefore seeing God calleth Ministers the Rulers of the Church, are they not so far Masters, as the word Master signifieth a Guide or Teacher? And why else are they oft called Teachers? Qu. 2. If God bid the people obey them as Rulers, and the Quakers perswade them to abhorre and reject them as Dogs, Serpents, and Sons of perdition, Which is to be obeyed, God or the Quakers? And whether it is the Spirit of God, or of the Devil and Antichrist that the Quakers speak by? Qu. 3. Is it the Ministers or the Quakers that watch for the good of souls, and have the Rule over them? Qu. 4. If the present Pastors of the Churches be not true Ministers, speak out, and tell us, who are, and where we shall finde them, and where they have been from Christs time till now? Or, Whether Christ hath been so careles of his Church, and so unfaithfull of his promise, as to leave his Church without Pastors from the Apostles dayes till now? And to leave all the world without true Pastors, even till now, except the Congregations of the Quakers in *England*? Qu. 5. According to this Text, Whether will it be to the peoples profit, or disprofit, to despise and discourage their Teachers and Guides, and make them do their Office with sighing and grief? and will they have in the end a better bargain of it to hearken to their Rulers, or to the despisers of them? Consider well of these things.

4. I proceed in my Answer to your Qu. That which hath captivated your souls is the Devil by sin, The understanding by blindness and error, your hearts by pride and hardness, your wils by transporting passions and perversness; and so your lives by open wickedness; Imitating your Leader, and going up and down like raging beasts night and day seeking whom you may deceive and devour: And against all your rage it is our duty to wait patiently; in meekness instructing  
such

such as oppose themselves, *If God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth, and that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil, who are taken captive by him at his will,* 2 Tim. 2. 24, 25, 26.

5. *The Death that passed on all is,* The Separation of the soul from the body, and of Gods special favour of grace from both, and the guilt of everlasting misery for sin.

6. *The Serpents head,* is, the Devils power and policy, when such as you are vanquished by the Light, and your folly made known to all, and when the Kingdom of Satan in sin and darkness is overthrown, then his head is bruised, as Christ in his own Person gave it the great bruise on earth, in the vanquishing of Satans temptations, in the perfect holiness of his life, in his Miracles, casting out Devils, and in his triumphant Death and Resurrection, and afterward in the success of his Doctrine.

Your 18<sup>th</sup> *Qu.* is, [*What is the flaming Sword that keeps the Tree of Life, and what the Cherubims?*] *Ans.* 2 Tim. 2. 2. [*But foolish and unlearned Questions avoid, knowing that they do gender strifes, and the Servant of the Lord must not strive.*] You intrude into those things which you have not seen, vainly puffed up by your fleshly minde, Col. 2. 18. It shall suffice me to know that the flaming Sword is Gods terrible restraint, and the Cherubims are Angelical Executioners of his Will: Wisdom hath two Gates, the Gate of Grace, and the Gate of Glory; These things are seen by faith now, and by intuitive intellectiōn in the life to come.

Your 19<sup>th</sup> *Qu.* is, [*Whether they that stand praying in the Synagogues, or Idols-Temples, and love greetings in the Markets, and binde heavy burthens on the people, and are called of men Masters, be not out of Christs Doctrine?*] *Ans.* Because this is all that you go about to prove me a false Prophet by, I shall say the more to your satisfaction. 1. If our Temples be Christs Temples, do they not blasphemously make Christ an Idol, that call them Idols-Temples. 2. If you are not wilfully blinde, you may perceive that it is not all the external actions mentioned *Mat* 23. that Christ condemneth, but the pride and hypocrisie which the Pharisees manifested in them. Mark first that

that he bids men even hear the hypocritical Scribes and Pharisees, and observe and do what they bid men observe and do, because they sat in *Moses Chair*. It is not therefore all the faults there charged on them, that will acquit men from observation of their Doctrine. Is this agreeable to your practice, who damn men that despise not, and reject not Christs most upright and faithfull Ministers? Their sinne is laid down in the 5<sup>th</sup> verse [*All their works they do to be seen of men*] Prove this of us if you can? Because they were proud [*They loved the uppermost rooms at Feasts, and chief seats in the Synagogues.*] Prove this by us if you can? I had rather have a lower room at a Feast than a higher, and ordinarily rather none than either; I use, not the chief Seats in Synagogues; I sit in the midst of the Assembly, and so I may conveniently be heard when I am to speak, I care not where I stand. Greetings in the market-place, when did I desire? Or to be called *Rabbi*? But I pray you mark that it is not [*using*] but [*loving*] the uppermost rooms that Christ condemneth, else no man must sit uppermost, and then we must have none but round Tables, or not sit at all: So consequently it is not being called *Rabbi*, or *Master* that Christ intendeth, but a proud desire of, and love to those Titles: As a man may accept of the highest room for *Order*, that *loveth* it not in *Pride*; so may he accept of the Title of *Master* from those that owe him respect, though he love it not in pride.

Besides, I pray you note, that Christ forbiddeth the Name of *Master* no further than he forbiddeth the Name of [*Father*] v. 9. [*Call no man your Father upon earth;*] And yet do you not know how oft the word [*Father*] is owned in Scripture, and *Children* commanded to love and obey their *Fathers*, and honour them: I know the highest of your Sect do forbid the owning of any such Relations, or Names, as *Fathers*, *Children*, *Husband*, *Wife*, *Master*, *Servant*, *Magistrate*, *Subject*, and they forbid all affections to such Relations, or honour, or respect: But if you were not hypocrites, you would plainly speak this out, and then people would better understand you, when you rail at Ministers for being called *Masters*.

But for the sake of those among you that are not past recovery,



covery, I will tell you that, which, it seemeth, you know not; The Pharisees had their several Schools, Sects, as the Philosophers had, and every one gloried in his Disciples, and those Disciples in their own Sect-masters; One cried up such a man, and another such a man; Infomuch that sometimes the followers of these several Sect-masters would fall together by the ears, and kill each other in the Temple, and in the Streets, while they contended for their Masters honours: And look what faith the Masters was of, the Scholars must all be of his faith; They must take their belief on trust from him; These leading men that were the Masters of their Schools and Sects, whom none must contradict, were called by the Jews, *Rabbies* and *Fathers*, as the Papists now call their Bishop, *The Pope*, which signifieth *A Father*, because as children must be wholly ruled by the Fathers, so would the Pharisees have their Disciples to be by them, be the matter right or wrong. Just thus do the Papists require, That the people believe as the Church believes, that is, the Pope and his Consistory, whatever it be, and tell us, That they are Infallible, as being guided by the Infallible Spirit, and therefore we must believe them by an implicit Faith. Now the Lord Jesus meeteth with these Pharisees, and commandeth his Disciples, That they call no man on earth Father, or Rabbi, or Master, as the Pharisees were called, that is, To have no such absolute Master of your Religion, or Lord of your faith, because we have all one such Absolute Father, which is God, and one such Absolute Master, which is Christ; This is the very same thing that *Paul* meant, when he chides them for saying, *I am of Paul, and I am of Apollo*, as if Christ were divided, or *Paul* had been crucified for them, 1 Cor. 1. 13. And it's the same thing that *Peter* means, 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2, 3. where he giveth Ministers the honourable Title of *Elders* and *Overseers*, and *Pastors*, and bids them, *Oversee, and feed the flock of God*; but yet forbids them doing it, as *Lords over Gods heritage*, because the heritage is Gods, and Christ is the chief Shepherd. *Paul* calls a Bishop, *The Steward of God*, Tit. 1. 7. *One that must rule the Church*, 1 Tim. 4. 5. & 5. 17. and saith, *He that desires the Office of a Bishop desires a good work*, 1 Tim. 3. 1. But yet he would not have them taken for absolute Masters of Christs

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School, but as Christs ushers, and as Stewards in his Hse [ *Lit-a man so account of us as the Ministers of Christ, and Stewards of the mysteries of God,* ] 1 Cor. 4. 1. neither more nor less.

There are divers words in the Greek tongue, which the Gospel was wrote in, which we translate by one word [ *Master;* ] but if our language be more scarce of words then the Greek, it doth not follow that Christs words are all one. The word here used in *Matthew* is *ἡγεμῶν*, and elsewhere *ὁδῶν*, which is as much as the chief Leader of the way, or the Sect-master; What if this be forbidden, is all Mastership therefore forbidden, because this one is? The word *διδασκαλῶν* is translated [ *Master* ] too, and sometime [ a Teacher. ] I pray you consider here your most ignorant and sottish dealing; The Gospel was not written by the Apostles in *English*, but in Greek: Because one word signifieth a Teacher and a Master (such as a Schoolmaster is) and our Translators sometime translate it a Teacher, and sometime a Master, you impudently cry out, that one of them is not Scripture, and yet yield that the other is; When in the Greek they are the same word, as you may see it used in *Ephes.* 4. 11. *Luke* 2. 46. 1 *Tim.* 2. 7. 2 *Tim.* 1. 11 *Act.* 13. 1. 1 *Cor.* 12. 28. *Mat.* 10. 24. *Luk.* 6. 40. *Heb.* 5. 12. *Jam.* 3. 1. In all which places the holy Ghost useth the word *διδασκαλῶν*, though we English it sometime *Masters*, sometime *Teachers*, and sometime *Doctors*, yet it is all one word in the language that the Scripture was written in; and therefore Scripture alloweth one as much as another.

And if you will stick to the English, you may finde the word [ *Master* ] used oft enough: And if it be lawfull for another man, why not for a Minister? *Tit.* 2. 9. 1 *Pet.* 2. 18. 1 *Tim.* 6. 1, 2. *Col.* 3. 22. & 4. 1. *Eph.* 6. 5, 6. Though the word *δουλοῦντες*, signifieth such a Mastership as Ministers of Christ will not own as Ministers, though over their hired Servants they may own it.

It may be you think *Paul* crossed Christs Rule, and was a false Prophet, because he calls himself [ *A wise Master-builder* ] 1 *Cor.* 3. 10. Or do you think that the holy Ghost did erre, when he called Teachers [ *The Masters of the Assemblies.* ] *Eccles.* 12. 11.

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That the Spirit is no enemy to Titles of honour, you may see in *1 Pet. 3. 6.* where *Sarah* is commended for obeying *Abraham*, and calling him Lord. And *Act. 26. 25.* *Paul* calleth *Festus*, *Most Noble Festus*, and calleth *Agrippa*, *King Agrippa*, *Act. 26. 2, 26, 27.* And *Rom. 12. 10.* We are commanded [*In honour to preferre one another.*] So that it's one mans duty to give those Titles which another may not ambitiously seek. For my part, I will gladly make this agreement with you, I will never wish any man to call me Master, nor be displeas'd with any that doth not (on that account) if this will satisfie you. But then I confesse, I dare not condemn them that use so much civility or respect, because Gods Word is of more esteem with me, than your most confident fancies and reproaches.

By this time, methinks, I may well take leave to salute you with this Query, *Whether that man be not void of the fear of God, and given over to a scared Conscience, that dare go up and down to rail against the most faithful and painful Ministers of Christ, whom they are not able to charge with any crime but humane frailties, and that because they are called Masters? and all this upon meer sottish ignorance of the Scripture, that so commonly useth and alloweth the Title.*

All that I could get to all this from your Prater *Tho. Goodier* that was here, was but this, [*I deny thy Greek and Hebrew, if the Scripture be truly translated:*] which is but to say, I deny the words of Christ and his Apottles: For true translating, there are many words in the Original Language, which have not so many and apt in English to express them by? Translating excludeth not the necessity of explicating; And who knows not that one English word hath many significations? There is a Beast called a Wolf, and a Fish called a Wolf, and an eating disease called a Wolf; Are these therefore all one, because they have one Name; So a Sect-master is called a Master, One that would be the Lord of mens faith, is called a Master, and a Teacher of the Church of Christ, is called a Master: Doth it follow that all these are forbidden because one is?

Your Prater also made a stirre with me for calling the sacred Languages *the Original*, because forsooth the Spirit of

God is the Original. And is not that a wise man to go cry down the Ministry, that cannot discern the difference between *the Original Cause*, and *the Original Language*?

He charged me also to be empty of the Spirit, because I studied, and told me, he did not study, no not in speaking what to say, I the less marvel at his *non* sense: But I pray God forgive me that I study no more; Do you think we cannot talk without study, as well as you, and I hope a little better; and when the lazy fit overtaketh Ministers, they are ready to preach without study, as well as you do: I can bring you a woman fit for the Gumble-stool, that shall without any study talk it out with the best of you: We do not so despise God, his Word, or our hearers, as to speak, before we consider what to say. Reade 2 *Tim.* 2.15. *Psal.* 1.2. 1 *Tim.* 4. 15. *Psal.* 119 15, 23, 48, 78, 97, 99, 148. and see whether it be not our duty to study and meditate continually day and night. And whereas you call us to thresh and dig, I profess if God would give me leave, I should take it for a great recreation and refreshment to my body; and should think it incomparably a more easie life than that which I endure; *Solomon* knew, and I know to my sorrow, *That much study is a weariness to the flesh*; And might I but plough and dig I should yet hope to live in some competent health, who now spend my dayes in continual pain and languishing. But then how shall I fulfill Gods command, 1 *Tim.* 4. 15. [*Meditate on these things; Give thy self wholly to them (mark wholly) that thy profiting may appear to all*] How should I [*watch over the Church day and night,*] *Act* 20.31. yet whereas your Prater feared not before God to affirm, that if I had no pay I would not preach: I do here profess before the same God, that he is a Liar, and I prove it, because I have long preached already without pay, and been glad of Liberty, and I would labour with my hands, as far as my languishing body would bear, to supply my necessities, as *Paul* did to stop the mouths of your Predecessours, rather than I would give over preaching the Gospel. Judge therefore whether your Lying Spirit be the Spirit of God, or the meet author of Reformation, or whether indeed you are perfect without sin?

Your 20<sup>th</sup> *Qu.* is, [*Did ever the Lord of Heaven and Earth, or*

*Jesum*

*Jesus Christ bid thee, or any of you, Go, and Preach to a people, or was any of the Apostles or Ministers of Christ, made Ministers by the will of man?*

*Ans.* I offered your Prater here to shew him my Commission from God, if he would shew me his, and he told me that it was invisible; and why may not you take the answer that you give? 2. The Lord called his first Apostles by his own voice, and appointed them to call others, and to establish an Order for the succeeding of others in that Office of the Ministry to the end of the world, *Mat.* 28. 21. and till the Saints be one perfect man, *Eph.* 4. 11, 14. that they that should ever after be called, might not expect a voice from Heaven to their ears, but might be called in Christs appointed way? And in this way I have been called by Christ. The Signs of his Call are, 1. My competent qualifications. 2. My thirst after the good of souls, and the building of that house of God. 3. The Ordination of authorized Church-Officers. 4. The Call and Consent of the people of Christ, over whom he hath set me. 5. And afterwards the success of my labours. 6. And some daily assistance of the Spirit in those labours. 7. And some Testimony of the Spirit to my conscience of Gods acceptance. These seven set together are my evidence of mission, shew you the like if you can.

2. Neither *Paul* nor any true Minister is called by the meer will of man, nor are we the servants of men; Nor were the Apostles called by men at all, but immediatly by Christ. But all afterwards were to be called by Christ, through the Ordination of men, *Tis.* 1. 5. *For this end left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst ordain Elders in every City* [ *Act.* 14, 23. *When they had ordained them Elders in every Church, &c.* ] The gift was given *Timothy* by prophecy [ *with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery* ] *1 Tim.* 4. 14. *Paul* directeth him whom to make Bishops, *1 Tim.* 3. Will not all this suffice you?

Your 21<sup>th</sup> *Qu.* is. [ *Whether had any Ministers of Christ an hour-glass to preach by, or took a Text, or raised Doctrines, Reasons, Uses, Motives, or a carnal Bell to call people together by? Prove these things by Scripture, or else be silent, and never profess your selves to be Ministers of Christ more.* ]

*Ans.* By your patience, I must tell you, that the Conclusion

is but your Lordly ignorant Command (such as is joyned to many of the other Queries;) Scripture is Gods Law, and a sufficient Rule for Doctrines, and Worship it self: But was never intended to name to you every circumstance that is lawfull about that Worship; Hath Scripture told you at what place you shall meet, or at what hour? I tell you again, you speak with no more wisdom, then if you should say thus [Prove that ever man read the Bible with a pair of Spectacles, or that ever Christ or his Apostles used a printed Bible (when Printing was invented but a while ago) or that ever they used an English Bible (when they wrote in Greek) or that ever they preached in doublet, breeches, or stockings, or else call your selves Ministers of Christ no more?] And why so? Because you command us, and yet tell us your Commission is invisible. These Circumstances are purposely left by Christ to the determination of humane prudence, as occasions shall require; And therefore he bids us *Do all things to edification, and decently, and in order*, 1 Cor. 14. 26. 4. And therefore sure we must discern what is edifying, decent and orderly; This is plain to them that will see: *What, Came the Word of God out from you, or came it unto you only? If any man think himself to be a Prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write are the Commandments of the Lord; But if any be ignorant, let him be ignorant*, 1 Cor. 14. 36, 37, 38.

But I pray you, if an Hour-glass be unlawfull, tell us whether a Clock be lawfull, or a Dial, or a Watch? Or whether it be lawfull to observe by the Sun how the time passeth? and why one is more unlawfull than another?

But your Prater told me, it was a limiting of the Spirit of God; As if I cannot limit my self, and not limit the Spirit; Or as if the Spirit excluded Reason and Prudence, and set a mans tongue a going, so that he cannot stop it. Did the Apostles stint the Spirit, because they appointed their meetings on the Lords Day, and did not stay two or three dayes together? Why then may not we resolve upon an hour, as well as they did on a day, for one is limiting, as well as the other? I think if I had your spirit to liquor my tongue, I should be angry at the Hour-glass, and preach the people out of the place.

And for a Text: 1. Know you not that Christ himself took a Text, *Luk. 4.* and applied it: Know you not that it was then the common practice of the Church to read, expound, and apply the Scriptures, as *Ezra* did? Know you not that there is Doctrine, Reason and Use in all the Sermons and Epistles of the Apostles? Know you not that we are commanded *rightly to divide the Word of Truth, as workmen that need not be ashamed, and to study thereto?* *2 Tim. 2. 15.* Ah wretched souls that dare so blindly cavil with the work of God!

For what you say of [*a carnal Bell*] it is like the rest which I before answered, not fit for the mouth of a reasonable creature to have mentioned. But I must tell you that our Bells are not carnal, if they were, they would scarce sound, so well, or last so long. If your meaning be, that you would have us baptize our Bells to make them spiritual, as your ghostly Fathers of *Rome* do, we will keep our carnal Bells, till we know more reason for that practice.

The 22<sup>th</sup> *Qu.* is this, [*Whether are not they that bear rule by their means, and seeks for their gain from their quarter, and seeks for the fleece, and makes a prey upon the people, and are hirelings, be not false Prophets, yea or nay, and whether such be not to be cried out against now, as they were then?*]

*Ans.* To this I have sufficiently answered already to your Brethren in my other Book. Only let me tell you, 1. It is a most certain thing that God allowed the Priests the Tythes, and much more, when he thus cried out against them; Dare you deny that? If you dare not, confess then that it was not the meer taking of Tythes that caused God so to rebuke them. Read but *Mal. 2<sup>d</sup>* and the 3<sup>d</sup> without Spectacles, and then judge. It's most evident then that the thing that God condemneth, was not taking Tythes, but covetous greedy desires after gain, and neglecting the good of souls, and the work of God: And are not we as willing to cast such out, as you are to reproach them? Whether we seek theirs or them, and whether we are not willing to spend and be spent for the salvation of our people, we must be tried by a more righteous Judge than you.

Your 23. *Qu.* is, [*Whether do you own trembling and quaking*  
which

which the Scripture witnesseth?] *Ans.* I own the fear of the Lord, which is the beginning of wisdom, and think him blessed that feareth alwayes, and that he that hardeneth his heart shall fall into mischief; But I think that the great Quaking that was in the Army of the Philistines, was no vertue or blessing to them, nor any sign of God among them, *1 Sam. 14. 15.* And I think that *Perfect love casteth out fear*, and that those shakings and quakings that come not from the humble sense of sin or judgement, or the like, but in violent motions of the body affectedly, are either Papistical tricks of deceit, or effects of Phantastical conceit, or the motions of the great Deceiver within you. I read of it as one of Gods curses, that [*The Lord should give them a trembling heart,*] *Deut. 28. 65.* And I am of opinion that the curse is fallen upon you, which is written *Psal. 69. 23. Let their eyes be darkned that they see not, and make their loins continually to shake.* Gods Kingdom is Righteousness, Peace, and Joy in the holy Ghost.

Your 24. and last *Qu.* is, [*Whether do you say you shall be free from the body of sin while you are on the earth, and whether shall any be perfect yea or nay?*]

*Ans.* I believe that all true Converts are free from the dominion of sinne, but not from the remnants of it; And that our grace is of a perfect kinde, as a small Candle is of a perfect kinde of fire, which yet will not enlighten all the Town or House, nor scatter away all the darkness, as the Sun will do; I believe also that in the instant of death, when we part with the flesh, we part with all the remnants of sinne. And for the Doctrine of personal sinless perfection here, I believe the Devil, the greatest sinner bred it; the Pharisee received the fore-tastes and preparatives to it, the Hereticks and Papists first entertained and cherished it, Christ detesteth it, and never man that knew himself, or had one spark of true grace and Christian experience, did to this day heartily believe it of himself, And I think it is a part of the Papists dung which they have taught you to feed upon. Christs Kingdom is an Hospital, he hath no Subjects in it but diseased ones. The Fathers Kingdom before had perfect Subjects, and so shall it have again, when Christ hath perfected us: For when he hath perfe-



perfected us by healing all our diseases, and subduing all our enemies, even the last Enemy Death (at the Resurrection) then will he give up the Kingdom to the Father, But now, *In many things we offend all*, Jam. 3. 2. and *there is no man on earth that doth good and sinneth not*; And if we say we have no sin, we deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us; Therefore the truth is not in you Quakers.

I conclude my Answer with this Question to you; If you think you are perfect without sin, whether do you also think that you are already in Heaven or perfect Glory? For what can keep the soul from the perfect enjoyment of God, but sinne? And to enjoy God perfectly, is to be glorified perfectly: But I forgot that your Brethren think Heaven and Hell is only within men. Perhaps you look for no more Heaven then you have: And I wonder not at it: For if you did, in the way you are in, you are no more likely ever to finde it, then Darknes is to have communion with Light, or *Belial* with Christ. The Lord give Repentance unto life, to those of you that have not sinned unto death, and shew you another Heaven before you are out of reach of it, and a further Hell before you are in it. Though I look for no thanks from you for my charitable desires, yet you shall have them whether you will or not.

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**H**AVING been at this labour at your command to answer your Queries, may I not in reason expect that you should answer some of mine, which I do but request, and not command: But I desire of you, that you will not put me by with Gumblestool Rhetorick in stead of Answers, but speak considerately, truly, and to the Point in question. I mean, first, that you will answer all those Queries which I have before put to you among my Answers to yours, and then that you will answer also these twenty Queries following.

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*Qu. I.* Are they not the very same Ministers which you rail at, and which all the Drunkards, Swearers, Whoremongers,  
G
and

and sensual wretches in the Countrey do hate and rail at as well as you? Are you not then on their side, and possess with the same Spirit? They despise the Preachers of the Gospel, and would have them down, and so would you, even the very same men as they would; When they had opportunity, they rag'd against them with Swords, and so do you with filthy tongues: Would not all the covetous, malignant, ungodly Enemies of Piety, have Tythes down as well as you? What think you? I can witness it of most of my acquaintance that are such. Moreover, were they not the same sort of Ministers which the late Bishops silenced, suspended, and otherwise troubled; and which you revile at? Is it not then the same Spirit by which you and all these were or are acted? Consider and judge.

Qu. 2. Whether it be not the same Spirit which moveth in you, and in the Papists? When the Papists say, that we are no true Ministers of Christ, but Deceivers; and teach the Divination of our own brain, and delude souls, and so say you: The Papists say, Our Congregations are no true Churches, who own us as their Pastors, and so say the Quakers; The Papists know that the great thing that must be done before they can seduce the people among us, is first to make them despise and reject their Teachers, and therefore they bend all their wits and endeavours to vilifie them, and draw the hearts of the people from them; and so do the Quakers. The Papists main error lieth in the contempt of the Scriptures; They say, they will not take it for the Word of God, but on the authority of the Church, and that it is but part of his Word; The Quakers say, It is not the Word of God. The Papists say, It is but a dead Letter, and so do the Quakers: The Papists say, It is not fit to be the Judge of Controversies, and so say the Quakers: The Papists preferre the Vulgar Translation before the same words in Hebrew and Greek, which the Spirit did indite the Scriptures in, and so do the Quakers in *English*. Could the Papists but get down the Regulating Authority of Scripture, they would think they had won the field; For they will not endure that all Spirits should be tried by the written Word, no more will the Quakers. The Papists maintain mans

Free-will

Free-will hath power before conversion to repent and believe and turn to God, and that it is not only the fruit of the Spirit in the Elect, and so do the Quakers. The Papists tell men of the sufficiency of the common-light that is within them, and so do the Quakers. The Papists say, That a man may be perfect without sin in this life, and may fulfill all Gods Commandments, and so do the Quakers. The Papists make this their perfection to lie in casting off worldly Callings, Imployments, Relations after the flesh, and propriety, as their Nuns, Monks, and Hermites do; yea, and in casting off their old names, as their Pope doth when he is made Pope: And so do many of the Quakers, and much worse, as I have seen in Papers under their own hands. The Papists place their Righteousness in their own Works and Perfection, while they slight the Imputed Righteousness of Christ, and so do the Quakers. The Papists place this Righteousness of their own Pharisaically in externals, and things that have a shew of wisdom and humility, and neglecting of the body, not in any honour to the satisfying of the flesh, as *Touch not, taste not, handle not, which all are to perish with the using*, Col. 2.18,20,23. so do the Quakers, in stead of preaching the Righteousness of Christ, call out for a formal Righteousness and Perfection of our own, consisting in such things, as these following, to wit, that we wear no Points, nor Cuffs, nor Lace, nor any such like, that we preach on the lower places, and not (as *Ezra* did) in a Pulpit; that we use not an Hour-glass to discern how the time passeth (whether a Clock or Watch be as dangerous, I know not:) That we say [*Thou*] and not [*You*] to him we speak to (when the word that Christ used signifieth *Thou*, as well as *You*: That we call not men *Masters*, or women *Missresses*, when the Scripture frequently useth and alloweth it, and much more: (though Christ forbid us to have any Sect-Masters, or Masters of our Faith;) In such like as these doth the Quakers Righteousness lie, while they are ignorant of Christs Righteousness; And just is it with God, that they who set up their own righteousness against Christs, should be given up to that hellish delusion, as to take the most Satanical slanders, lyes, heresies and railings, to be their Righteous-

ness: Were it not tedious, and not much necessary, I could shew in many more particulars, how the Papists and Quakers do so conspire, that we may well know whence their doctrines and delusions came.

Qu. 3. Whether there were ever greater Monsters of Ingratitude upon the face of the earth than these are, who set their hearts and tongues against those Ministers of Christ that lay out themselves for the saving of souls, through all the scorns and opposition of all sorts of wicked men, with whom these wretches joyn against them? Yea, and make their very study and labour their crime, when it were much easier for us to preach without study, and that, I hope, with somewhat more truth, sense, and order than they that so boast of the Spirit.

Qu. 4. Were not those faithfull Servants of God that suffered Martyrdom under Heathen and *Arian* Persecutors, just such Ministers as these men do now vilifie; or wherein was the difference? And do not these wretches justifie their murderers?

Qu. 5. Are not the Ministers whom these men despise, of the same calling and practice, as those were that suffered death in the flames in *Q. Maries* dayes? Such as *Braasford*, *Hooper*, *Latimer*, *Ridley*, *Cranmer*, *Saunders*, *Philpot*, and the rest; Were not these called Masters? Did they not preach in Pulpits, and take Tythes or money for Preaching, as their due maintenance, and the other things that the Quakers accuse us for? And do not these men justifie the bloody opposers of them, and condemn Gods Saints afresh?

Qu. 6. Whether ever the earth bore men that did more proudly despise others in comparison of themselves? And whether their language savour of the Spirit of the Lamb of God? Or can he have any taste of that Spirit of Christ in himself, that doth not even feel, that their proud and railing language is of the Devil?

Qu. 7. Was there ever a generation known on the earth, that did more arrogantly step up into the Throne of God, and censure his Servants, whose faces they never saw; and whom they can charge with nothing, but being Preachers of the Gospel, and

that

that in a Pulpit, having an hour-glass, taking Tythes, &c. to be Ministers of the Devil, sons of Perdition, with much of the like. Though Christ hath said, *Judge not that ye be not judged; And who art thou that judgest another mans servant? To his own master he stands or falls.*

*Qu. 8.* Was there ever a Generation of men on whom the Image of the Devil was more visible than on these? He is the Prince of darkness, pride and malice; And the depth of Ignorance and height of pride and malice breaks out so abundantly in their carriage and discourse, that all, not utterly blinded may see it. It is the work of the Devil to be the *Accuser of the Brethren*; And so it is the very Religion and business of these wretches, to accuse Ministers and godly people to be Hypocrites, Lyars, Children of the Devil, Serpents, Vipers, with much the like.

*Qu. 9.* Is it no kin to the blaspheming of the holy Ghost, for such wretches, when they have poured out the most horrid lies, slanders, railings, and false doctrines, to profess solemnly that all this is from the Spirit of Christ within them, and make God and his holy Spirit the Author and Patron of all?

*Qu. 10.* Can that man that hath one spark of Grace believe that he hath no sin? Can he have so little knowledge of himself? And consequently of the need he hath of the Physician? Dare you say to Christ, we will not be beholden to thee for thy blood to wash us any more, or to thy Intercession to pardon us any more? Do you not believe, *That in many things we offend all*, Jam. 3. 2, *If we say that we have no sin we deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us? If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness: If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his Word is not in us*, 1 Joh. 1. 8, 9, 10. Are not all Christs Disciples taught daily to pray [*Forgive us our trespasses?*]. For my part, I am one that is sick, and have need of the Physician, and dare not tell God, that I will ask him pardon for no more sins, nor be beholden to him for any more. But O what a power hath the Deceiver with these wretches, that in the midst of their horrid railing, slandering,

and other wickedness, will stand to it that they have no sin; Just like the Swearer, that will swear he never swore an Oath; Or the Drunkard, that will swear he was never drunk, when he lieth drunk in the Channell. *Solomon saith, There is not a just man upon earth that doth good and sinneth not, Eccles. 7.20.* and these Quakers that Pharisaically and Papistically justify themselves, do give him the Lie.

Q<sup>n</sup>.11. Whether those that deny the Scripture to be Gods Word, as these Quakers do, and deny that there is any such Person as Jesus Christ, who suffered at *Jerusalem*; now glorified in heaven in the humane Nature, and only call somewhat within themselves by the Name of Christ, I say, whether these are not abominable Infidels, having nothing to do with the name of Christians?

Q<sup>n</sup>.12. Is it not damnable Hypocrisie in these wretches, to prate so much of Scripture, and call for Scripture, while they thus deny it to be Gods Word?

Q<sup>n</sup>.13. Is it not damnable hypocrisie in them to call themselves Christians, when they are Infidels, and deny the Person of Jesus Christ crucified to be in heaven?

Q<sup>n</sup>.14. Is not he a Pagan and no Christian, that thinks that the light which is in all the *Indians, Americans,* and other *Pagans* on earth, is sufficient without Scripture?

Q<sup>n</sup>.15. Was that Light in *Paul* which perswaded him, that he ought to do many things against the Name of *Jesus*, sufficient to convert him to the Faith of *Jesus*? Or did Christ give him needlessly a Light from Heaven, and by *Ananias* his Doctrine? Or had *Cornelius* sufficient Light within him before *Peter* preached to him? Or had all the world sufficient Light within them before Christ sent abroad his Apostles to preach the Gospel to them? Or did Christ send them a needlesse Light by his Apostles? Have those Persecutors sufficient Light within them to cause them to beleive in Christ, who think they do God service in killing or reproaching his Ministers and people?

Q<sup>n</sup>.16. If all have sufficient Light within them, what need you go up and down to teach or perswade them? Is it needlesse Light that you bring then, or is it hellish darknesse?

Q<sup>n</sup>.17.

Q 17. Is it not a most sottish trick of you to go up and down prating and commanding, and yet refuse to shew your Commission from God? And to call Ministers to shew theirs, and refuse to shew your own, but say it is Invisible within you; Are you so mad as to expect any should beleve an invisible and indemonstrable Commission? And might not we as well tell you ours is Invisible (but that indeed it is not?) Or should we beleve every one that prates of a Commission within him, or no? If not, why should we beleve you more than others that say the like?

Q 18. Seeing you cry down our Ministry and Churches, tell us, which is the true Ministry and Church, and when yours begun, and where it hath been since Christs abode on earth till now? Speak plainly, and let us know, whether you are indeed Papists or Pagans?

Q 19. Is not that man an Infidel and a Scorne of Christ, that dare say, he came into the world, and shed his blood, to gather only a few raging Quakers in *England* 1652 years after his Incarnation? If Christ have no Subjects but these, he is a poor King? If Christ have been till now without Subjects, he was no King; If without a Body, he was no Head; If without a Spouse, he was no Husband; Therefore shew us what Church Christ hath had, or confess your selves Infidels.

Q 20. Did not the spirit of the Quakers speak in *Numb.* 16. 3. just as you do now against Magistrates and Ministers? And is not God very patient that causeth not the earth to open and swallow you up quick, as it did them? Do you understand that the *Simonians* (or Disciples of *Simon Magus*) and the *Nicelaitans*, whose Doctrine and Deeds Christ hateth, *Revel.* 2. and other *Gnostick* Hereticks in the Apostles dayes, did deal by them, and the Church then, as you do by us now? and that the second Epistle of *Peter*, the Epistle of *Jude*, much of *1 John*, and *2 John* were written purposely against them; besides many other Scriptures? And have you well considered those Scriptures, and applied them to your selves?

When

When you have answered these Questions, I require you to have no more to do with me, nor any of this Church. For we renounce you as Hereticks, after a first and second Admonition, and will have no fellowship with such self-condemned persons, nor receive you into our houses, or bid you, God speed, lest we partake of your wicked deeds, *Tim 3. 10.*  
*2 John 10, 11.*

*Kedermister,*  
*March 28. 1655.*

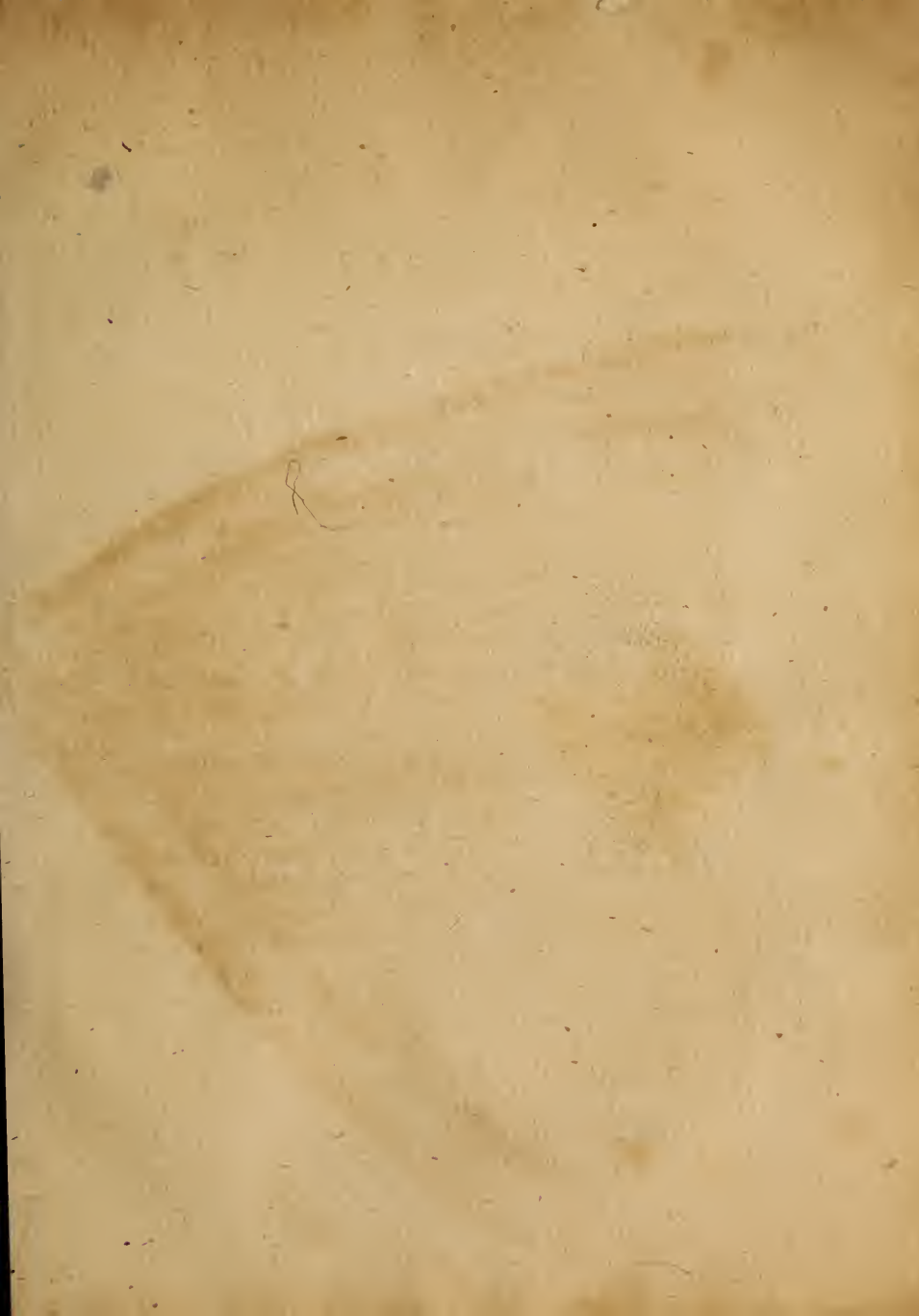
*Richard Baxter.*

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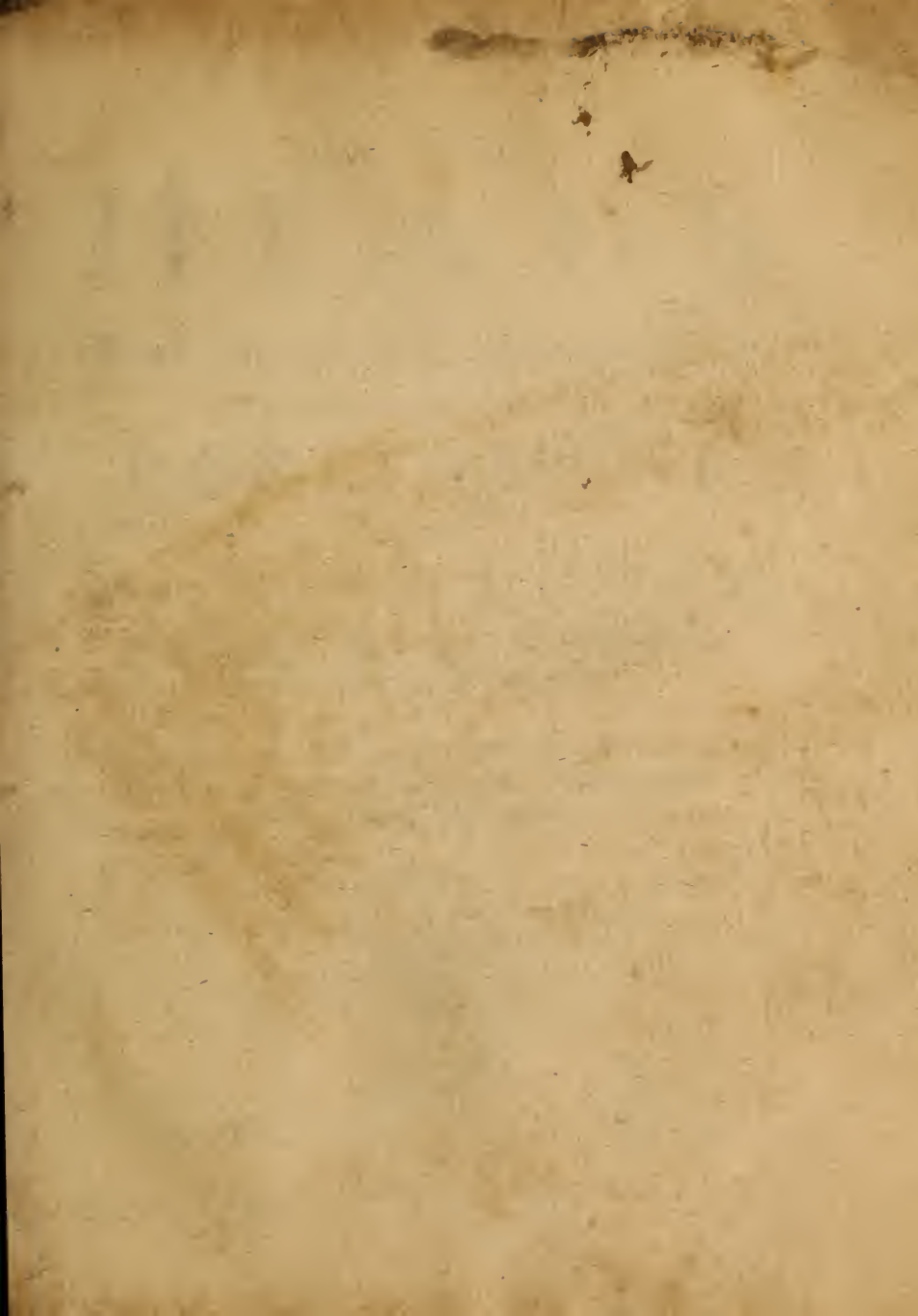
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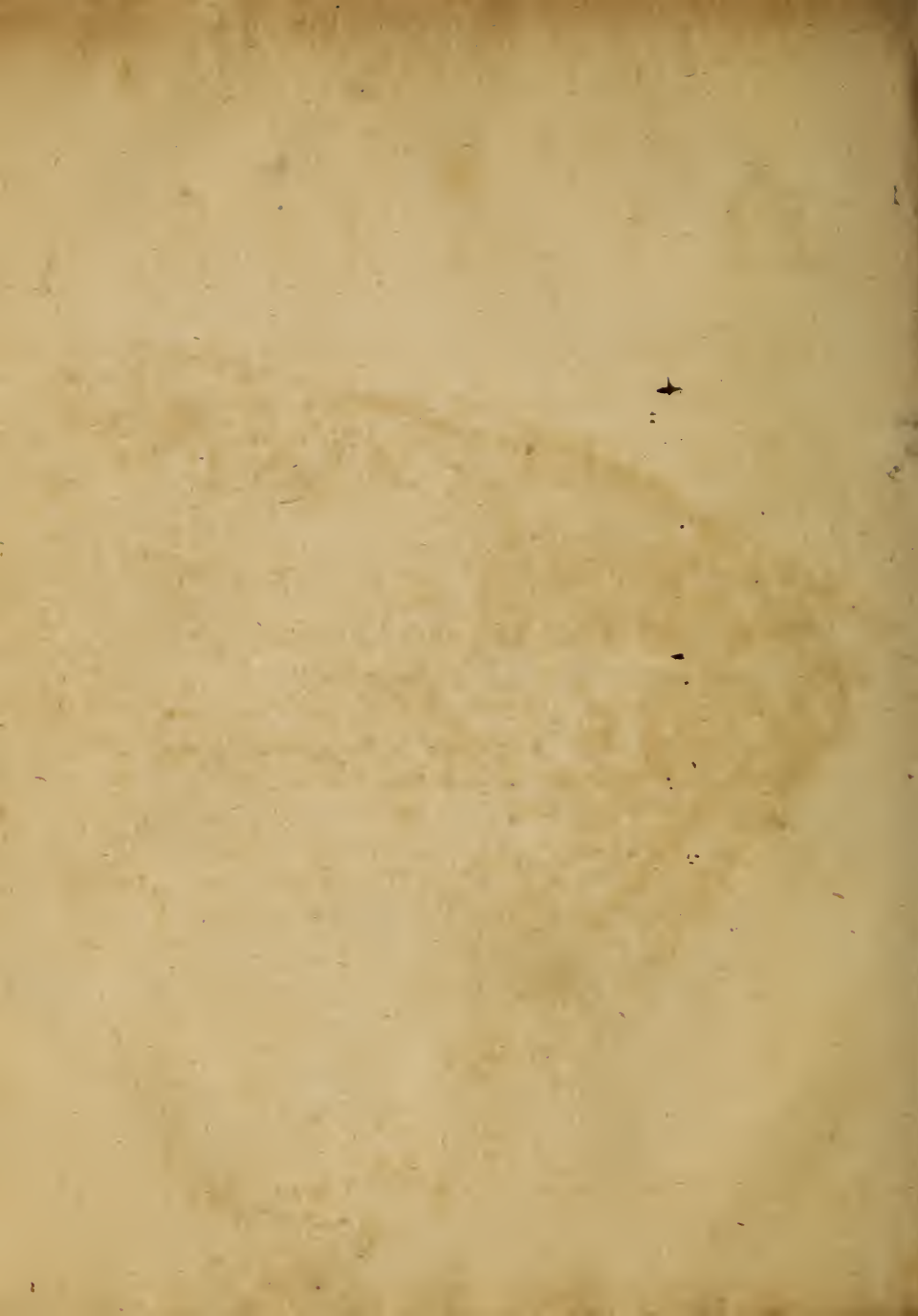
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Humble Advice:  
OR THE  
HEADS  
OF  
Those things which were offered to  
many Honourable Members of  
PARLIAMENT

BY  
M<sup>r</sup> RICHARD BAXTER  
at the end of his SERMON, Decemb. 24.  
at the *Abby in Westminster.*

With some Additions as they were delivered by  
him to a Friend that desired them, who thought  
meet to make them publick:



L O N D O N,

Printed for *Thomas Underbill* and *Francis Tyton*, 1655.

Humble Advice

OR THE

HEADS

The things which were voted to  
many honorable members of

PARLIAMENT

BY  
WILLIAM BENTLEY  
OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE  
ESQ. IN PARLIAMENT

ASSEMBLED  
IN THE YEAR 1689

Printed by J. Sturges, at the  
Sign of the Ship, in St. Dun-  
stons Church-yard, near  
St. Dunstons Church, in  
London.

LONDON, 1689.



Good Works  
earnestly desired from this  
PARLIAMENT  
FOR THE  
CHURCH.

1. **P**erfect that excellent Work resolved on, that All Children be taught to Reade, and that every Family have a Bib'e.
2. Perfect that excellent Work, of enjoying Catechizing: of which more anon.
3. Seeing you have well intended to Enjoyn the Generall use of the Assemblies lesser Catechism

techism, put it into the Act of Ejection, that whosoever shall *de industria* after Admonition, Preach or perswade any against any Doctrine contained in that Catechism, shall be Ejected.

1. This is but reasonable: For if Children must Learn it, Learned men and Teachers should not Preach against it. 2. It is not against the Instrument in the Articles for Liberty of Religion: For it only hinders the *Propagating* of Errours, and not the *holding* or *professing* them, when called thereto. And it only denieth such Propagators the publique Countenance and Maintenance: and not Liberty.

4. Let no man have Liberty to Preach, Teach or Perswade any against the Essentiall, (Fundamentall) Truths of Christian Belief, in private or publique, though he have not your Maintenance: For it is not our own Gain that we look after, but the safety of mens souls. God forbid you should let men defie Christ, or perswade men to Infidelity, or deny and vilifie Gods Word, &c. so they will but do it for nothing: The Pope and Popish persons abroad and at home, will maintain Emissaries enough, to do their work, without your maintenance. Thousands might curse you for ever in hell, if you grant such a Liberty to all men to deceive them, and entice them thither.

If you cannot agree to accept those as Fundamen-

damen-



damentals, which were given in by the Ministers, you have the two Ancient Creeds of the Church: that of the West, commonly called the Apostles: and that of the East, called the Nicene, and as now enlarged, the Constantinopolitane. Take these two conjunctively for a Test.

Or else leave out any point that is lesse momentous in the foresaid Catechism, and let the rest serve to this use. Should I tell you of the *Profession* of the *Worcestershire* Ministers, you might well think it comes from too private hands to be offered you to such a use: but I had rather you used that then none.

5. We beseech you fail not, 1. To secure to us by a Law: 2. And to Recommend the free use of Ministeriall Assemblies and Associations: which whether necessary or not for Regiment, are certainly so necessary for Unity, that we cannot carry on Gods work in Concord well without them. This most confesse. Deny us not what the Church enjoyed under Heathen Princes, and hath used in the Apostles daies, (*Act. 15, &c.*) and ever since to this day. If you doubt whether we will wrong the State, 1. Our Estates and Lives are in your hand to answer it. 2. Let a Magistrate be present with us as oft as you please to see our course. Yet let it be only the Ministers that are Approved by you, and Own the Fundamentall Verities, that have this Freedom.

But

But if you will give it all or none (though I hope better) rather let *all* have it, then *none*.

6. Let these Approved Associated Ministers have Liberty granted to Ordain others to the Ministeriall Office: (Whether any shall be of the *Quorum*, I meddle not.) And *recommend* Ordination to the Churches, to be sought, when they receive a Pastor. And let none be Admitted to a Pastorall Charge, having the Publique Maintenance, that is not Ordained or Approved by Ministers.

7. If any Arminians, Antinomians, Anabaptists, or the like mistaken ones, think it not enough to hold their Opinions, but they will hold Communion with none that are of a contrary minde, nor admit them to the Lords Supper, though Godly and otherwise fit, let such hold no Pastorall Cure (for Lectures I leave to you) that have the Publique Maintenance: Because they will else force all the Godly people that are not of their Opinion, to live without Gods Ordinances and Church-Communion; or at least, to wander for it, to their great discommmodity.

8. Take not the Works of the Ministry out of their hands, which is, To judge who are the fit subjects of their Administrations in Baptism, and the Lords Supper and Church-Censures, as to those personall Qualifications, which according to Gods Word are required.

It is as Essentiall to a Pastor to Rule as to Teach: And as you may not Preach in his stead, so neither may you Ecclesiastically Rule in his stead. Some body must Judge of Church Cases and Persons: and it is fittest for them, whose Office it is. That which you have to do, is to Question and Punish them, for Mal-administration. If under pretence of judging rightly who are the true subjects of Sacramental Administrations, they will deny them to All, or exclude the fit Subjects, Punish them for it, according to the quality of the offence.

9. Let your Commissioners for Approbation and Ejection, have Power to keep the Peace in the Church, as Justices of Peace have in Civils: or else let Justices look to it. That if any turbulent Mutineers, shall bend their endeavours to Rail at and Reproach their Brethren, or make disturbances, they may be restrained.

10. Let the Publique Places, as well as *Maintenance*, be only for the Approved Ministers, and none have leave to Preach in those Places, (called Churches) without the Ministers Consent.

11. Let all that have Tolerated Meetings, enjoy them only in some known allowed place, where the doors shall be as open to any, at Sermon time, as ours are to them, lest they secretly sow the seeds of Rebellion.

12. Let the Ministers and Church have the disposall of the Meeting place in time of Sacraments, and of exercise of publique Discipline, that strangers, or wicked persons may not intrude among them at such times, without their Consent, lest they force us to Celebrate the Lords Supper in private houses.

13. Let some be authorized in every Parish, or near at hand, to dispose of all vacant Seats in Churches, and determine all Controversies thereabout.

14. Seeing our common Version of the Psalmes in Meeter is so faulty, that it is not fit to be continued, when Better may be had (in so high a part of Gods Worship, we should serve him with the best:) And those that lay them by do use some one, some another: when Concord in such a Work, is so desirable among the Churches: We humbly move, that you would Recommend some one of the best unto all Churches in the Land. Might I presume to speak my thoughts, That Version which being first approved of by the late Assembly of Divines, and after very much Corrected and bettered in *Scotland*, and now approved by their Assembly, and used generally by their Churches, is the best that is extant, and fittest in many respects to be Recommended. But if so great a preparation to unanimous reception satisfie not, You may Authorize the Ministers of the Province of *Londen*.

doe to appoint a Committee of skilfull men, to draw one Version out of all, or to try and judge of the best that is already extant. We are scarce like to be unanimous without your interposition.

15. Have a speciall care of the Revenews and Government of the Universities.

16. Lay a penalty on him that Prints or sels any Books against the Fundamentals or Essentials of Christianity; and that slander or reproach Magistracy, Ministry, or Ordinances of Christ. And burn some more of this nature, that you may manifest a disowning them. Specially *Hobbs* his Leviathan.

17. Provide a competent Maintenance for the Ministry: Not for their sakes so much as the Peoples: Begin with Cities and Market-Towns: Allow a Congregation of two thousand or three thousand souls, more Ministers than one of three hundred or four hundred souls. If Tradesmen, Lawyers, and others that pay not Tithes in most places, were equally assessed, it might help to this, and maintain a Catechist, as followeth.

18. Seeing prejudice doth hurry so many souls to perdition, and the common scorning of a Godly life, by the Naturall Enemies to it, is a chief Cause of that prejudice; Might not some Law be made to restrain such scorners in some measure; At least let a Godly life in Generall, and Family-Duties in speciall (in

Prayer, Praises, and Reading Scripture, in Catechizing) be Recommended by you to the Nation; that so poor souls might have the credit of a Parliament, to set against the credit of a scorner, to cure their prejudice?

19. Let those Ministers be ejected as Negligent, that forbear All exercise of Discipline, as well as they that preach not: that is, who admit notorious wicked livers to Communion, without any Admonition, according to Christs Rule, and permit the Obstinate without any Censure. For such unconscionable man-pleasers, taking all wicked people to Sacraments that flie from Discipline out of other Parishes, are exceeding hinderers of our Discipline, and deceivers and destroyers of the peoples souls.

20. Confirm the good Laws that are already afoot for the Lords-day, and Authorize the Officers to whip those that cannot pay: For a custom of sitting in the stocks, doth but make them contemn it, and harden them to greater wickednesse. The like I move for swearers, drunkards, and prohibited Ale-sellers.

More particularly concerning the second Head,  
Of Catechizing.

1. I conceive it would be an excellent work, and is Necessary, to Appoint in every Parish in great Towns, or others very Populous, one Catechist, (or more according to the number of persons) who should performe this work.

2. Let

2. Let him be chosen by the Minister; or if that be denied, let the Minister Nominate him, and the People consent, and Neighbour-Ministers Judge of exceptions against him.

3. Let them be men of competent Ability, of Godliness and upright Conversations.

4. Let his work be, first to teach some Creed containing the Fundamentals, with the Lords-Prayer and ten Commandments; and then the Assemblies shorter Catechisme: or that at first, where people are capable. And so farre as he can to tell them briefly the sense, and enquire how they understand it.

5. Let him be tied to spend two hours every day in this work, taking the Families in course, yet labouring most where he findeth most need.

6. Let all persons, Rich and poor, young and old, submit to be Catechized by him, under some fit penalty every moneth they shall refuse: except they have a Certificate from the Minister, either that *he* is teaching them, or that they understand the matter already, and then let them be no more constrained to attend and learn it.

7. Let him teach no women between the age of twelve and sixty, but in the publick meeting-place of the Church: but the rest where shall

be thought fittest by themselves.

8. If any pretend Conscience against learning the Principles of Religion, they are not to be heard : but if any pretend Conscience against any thing in the Assemblies Catechism, let them before the Minister produce their Reasons : And if they remain unsatisfied, let them have liberty to use Mr *Perkins* Six Principles, or any other which the Neighbour-Ministers shall approve of : If they refuse this, I hope to pay the penal mulct, will not wound their Consciences.

9. This must be no hinderance from Ministers doing what of it they can : and in small Parishes, the Minister alone may do it : but not in great.

10. Let the Catechist be under the Ministers Oversight for Instruction in the work.

11. Let a competent Salary (of about twenty pound, or sixteen pound, or twelve pound *per annum*) be allowed to the Catechist for his work. Which may be imposed on the people to pay.

12. If he be found unworthy, let the Minister have power to remove him, or who else you think fit.

This one work well stablished, will make the name of this Parliament Honourable to all Generations, and may bring many thousand souls to Heaven ; and remove most of the  
great



great scruples about the unfitness of people to be Church-members, or to Communicate, because they are Ignorant. It will exceedingly supply the great defect of more Ministers in great Congregations: which is the ruine of such places: Many Congregations can maintain a Catechist or two that cannot maintain another Minister. And we have the Example of the Ancient times of the Church, when Catechists were employed by teaching the Principles, to fit the Converted to be further admitted. In a word, it will be so blessed a work, as the happy fruits of it cannot be conceived, as Experience will manifest them, if it be faithfully discharged. The Lord encourage them that promote it, and crosse them that crosse it.

*Decemb. 25.*

1654.

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*FINIS.*

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1872  
101

1872





42

RICHARD BAXTER'S  
ACCOUNT  
OF  
His present Thoughts  
CONCERNING  
the Controversies about  
THE  
Perseverance of the SAINTS.

Occasioned by the gross misreports of some passages in his Book, called, *The Right Method for Peace of Conscience, &c*; which are left out in the last Impression to avoid offence, and this here substituted, for the fuller explication of the same Points.

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LUTHERUS, referente Hopffnero Saxon. *Evangel.* p. 110.

*Nibil pestilentius in Ecclesia doceri potest, quam si ea, quae Necessaria non sunt, Necessaria fiant: Hac enim tyrannide conscientiae illaqueantur, & libertas fidei extinguitur; mendacium pro veritate, Idololum pro Deo, abominatio pro sanctitate, colitur.*

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L O N D O N,

Printed for *Tho. Underhill* at the Anchor and Bible in *Pauls Church-yard*, and *F. Tyton* at the three Daggers in *Fleetstreet*. M. D C. L V I I.

1882  
The first of the year  
was a very dry one  
and the crops were  
very poor.

The second of the year  
was a very wet one  
and the crops were  
very good.

The third of the year  
was a very dry one  
and the crops were  
very poor.

The fourth of the year  
was a very wet one  
and the crops were  
very good.

The fifth of the year  
was a very dry one  
and the crops were  
very poor.



OF THE  
 SAINTS  
 PERSEVERANCE.

Having let fall some passages concerning Perseverance, in a Book entitled *The Right Method for Peace of Conscience* in 32. Directions, &c. agreeable to the state and experience of my own soul: no sooner were they published, but many suspicious Brethren gave out, that I had wrote against the certain Perseverance of the Saints. How little reason they had for their report, I manifested in the next Edition by an Apology. But the case is come to that at last, even with pious Brethren, that they know my Belief much better than I know my own: and therefore to tell them my Judgment, is in vain. But because I cannot think that all are so sagacious or censorious, and because I think it meetest to the utmost of my power to avoid offence, and to leave out controversie as much as may be in such practicall Writings, I have, in the last Edition of the Book, left out all those passages that occasioned mens mistake, and withall the additional Apology, (as being then needless:) But lest any

think that hereby I betray any truth of God for the pleasing of men, I have thought meet, in these few Pages, to declare what my Judgment is in that point, more largely and more seasonably than in the aforesaid Writing. And it is not my design to stand upon the maintenance of the Opinion which I own, or the confutation of the contrary: but only, to give to my mistaken, offended, censorious Brethren a true account of my mind.

---

There are many Opinions concerning this Point among the Professors of the Christian faith; which I think meet to set down, that I may the better declare my own thoughts of the whole. And I shall begin at the utmost extreme on one side, and proceed on to that on the other side, taking the middle Opinions in the way.

1. The first Opinion which I shall mention, is that of the Papists, who do not only hold the Doctrine of actual Apostacy of Saints, but also that every mortal sinne, as they call them, doth excus the Spirit of grace, and put a sinner not only under an actual guilt, but also into an unjustified estate, and so into a state of death and damnation: so that a state of grace (according to them) is frequently lost with many, and frequently recovered. If any would see this Point open'd and debated judiciously, let them read *Rob. Baronius* his small *Treatise de Peccato Mortali & Veniali*.

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2. The second Opinion is, that the truly Regenerate and justified (indefinitely) may and do (some of them) fall totally and finally from a state of grace or justification, into a state of death and condemnation; and perish everlastingly. This Opinion excepteth not the Elect themselves considered Antecedently; but only considered consequently: because it is a contradiction to be Elect and yet not to persevere: For the maintainers of it hold, that God doth Elect men only upon foresight of faith and perseverance, and not to perseverance and faith it self; For they deny any Antecedent absolute election to the first differencing grace: and deny any such grace it self, as  
by



by an insuperable operation shall infallibly convert. This Opinion was too common among both Greek and Latine Fathers, that wrote before the daies of *Augustine*, as appeareth both by express passages in many of their Writings, and by their Doctrine of free-will, and predestination upon foresight of the good use thereof, and other Points that inferre it: which *Scultetus* and many other of the reformed Divines do *inter novos Patrum* recite. And though they saw that this would not consist with a certainty of salvation, yet they chose rather to deny that certainty, than to assert the Perseverance of all the Regenerate; and to say, as *Origen*, and after him *Eusebius Preparat. Evangel. lib. 6. pag 289, 290.* [*ἀμα δὲ ἡ μαρτύριον ἐγένετο, τὸν κλητὸν ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἢ ἁλιεὺς πνα τὸ πλὴν πρὸς γινώσκω ἑλθουθίνας,*—  
i. e. *Immo pugnarent ista secum ut idem & probus evaderet, & certo probum se futurum esse prænoffet.*] And *Augustine* himself (as afterward) hath the like or more\*.

\**Bernard* himself Serm. 1. de septuages. (ai. h. Quis potest dicere, Ego de electis sum? Ego de predestinatis sum ad vitam eternam?

*sum filiorum Dei: Quis hæc inquam dicere potest? reclamante nimirum scripturâ: Nescit homo si amore dignus sit, an odio. Certitudinem igitur non habemus; sed spei fiducia consolatur nos, &c.*

Yea, when they saw that this was lyable to be assaulted with the absurd consequence of inserting a change in God, some did not stick upon it: as *Tertull. contr. Marcion. lib 2. cap. 23, 24.* *Per tot si vero etiam circa personas levem vultis intelligi, quum reprobatur aliquando probatos, aut improvidum, quum probatur quandoque reprobandos, quasi judicia sua aut damnet præterita, aut ignoret futura: atqui nihil tam bono & judicii convenit quam pro presentibus meritis & rejicere, & adlegere, &c.*

This Opinion possesseth the farre greatest part of the Christian world at this day, but in *Europe* the chief friends of it are those that are called *Arminians* and *Lutherans*, and abundance of the *Jesuites* and their followers, who also take in the first Opinion.

3. The third Opinion is, That no certainty of Perseverance doth arise from Election, nor can be concluded from our meer justification and adoption and sanctification: for they think that

there is no such thing as Antecedent Election of persons individually, to faith and salvation: and they think that many of the truly justified and Regenerate, do fall away and perish for ever. But yet they say, that there is a certain height of holiness, which is attainable in this life, which whosoever attaineth shall never fall away. If you ask what is that height or state: I answer, They are obscure teachers who hold this, that shun the clear disclosure of their minds, and therefore I cannot fully answer you: only thus much I can say, that I have met with those of them that express themselves these several waies. Some of them say, that there is a state of sinless perfection attainable in this life: and that those that are thus perfect shall not fall away. Some of them make new descriptions of the Covenants, and say, that those that are under the first Covenant may fall away, but not those that are under the second: I confess I do not fully understand their describing and differencing the Covenants. And some affirm, that there is in this life, a state of confirmation, consistent with Peccability and venial sinnes, which whosoever attaineth shall never fall away. They think that the Angels themselves were first made righteous without confirming grace: and then confirmed as a reward for their adhering to God, when the rest fell. And so, that Adam should have been confirmed as a reward, if he had conquered the first temptation and adhered unto God. And so, that Christ doth first set men in an unconfirmed state of Justification and life, and will confirm them and put them beyond the perill of falling away, upon certain termes or conditions, (whose punctum or discernable state, they do not tell us.) The persons holding this third Opinion are the Paracelsians (under whom I comprehend the Weigelians and the rest of the Enthusiasts) and many newly risen in *England*. And it seems by *Hom. 26.* that holy *Macarius* \* inclined that way. And it is the Opinion of some later Papists: Of which more under the fifth.

\* This seems  
 also *Origens*  
 Opinion, as  
 may be seen in  
*Rom. 8.* Fol.  
 ( *edit Aserf.* )  
*I 93. Col. 2.*  
*194. c. 2.*

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4. The fourth Opinion is, That God hath not only decreed that all that will believe and persevere shall be saved; but also that such and such persons by Name, shall by his differencing, free,

free, effectual grace, be infallibly brought to faith and perseverance; and therefore none of the Elect shall ever totally and finally fall away or perish: But yet that some are effectually called, Regenerated, Justified and Sanctified, besides the Elect: and these will all fall away and perish. ] This was the opinion of *Augustine*, who rose up against *Pelagius* and his followers in defence of differencing free grace, and first plainly and fully vindicated that Grace against the exalters of Nature and free will: whom the contrary minded do now unjustly accuse of running too farre, even into a contrary extreme in the heat of his disputations against *Pelagius*. Because some are so immodest as to deny this to be *Augustines* Doctrine, I shall add this much: 1. I askt the reverend Bishop *Usher* in the hearing of Dr *Kendall*, Whether this were not plainly the judgment of *Austin*? who answered, that without doubt it was. And he was as likely to know as any man that I am capable of consulting with. 2. If any be in doubt, these passages following, among many other, may end his doubts.

*August. de bono persever. c. 8, & 9. [ Ex duobus autem piis, cur huic donetur perseverantia usq; in finem, illi autem non donetur; inscrutabilia sunt judicia Dei. Illud tamen fidelibus debet esse certissimum; hunc esse ex predestinatis, illum non esse. Nam si fuissent ex nobis, ait unus ex predestinatorum, qui de pectore domini bibebat hoc secretum, mansissent utiq; nobiscum. Quid est quæso, non erant ex nobis, &c. nonne utriq; vocati fuerant & vocantem secuti? utriq; ex impiis justificati &c? Quenam est tandem ista discretio? Patent libri Dei: non avertamus aspectum. Clamat Scriptura divina: adhibeamus auditum: Non erant ex nobis, quia non erant secundum propositum vocati: Non erant in Christo electi ante constitutionem mundi, &c. Nam si hoc essent, ex illis essent, & cum illis sine dubitatione mansissent.*

*Idem Lib. de corrept. & gratiâ. cap. 8, & 9. [ De his enim differimus, qui perseverantiam bonitatis non habent; sed ex bono in malum deficiente bona voluntate moriuntur. Respondeant si possunt, cur illos Deus cum fideliter & piè viverent, non tunc de vita hujus periculis rapuit ne malitia mutaret intellectum eorum, & ne fictio deciperet animas eorum? Utrum hoc in potestate non habuit? An eorum mala futura nescivit? Nempe nihil horum nisi perverfissimè atq; insanissimè dicitur cur ergo non fecit? &c. Quia, inscrutabilia*

scrutabilia iudicia ejus, &c. ——— 9. Nec vos movent quod filiis suis quibusdam Deus non dat istam perseverantiam. Absit enim ut ita esset, si de illis predestinatis essent, & secundum propositum vocatis, qui verè sunt filii promissionis. Nam isti cum piè vivant, dicuntur filii Dei: sed quoniam victuri sunt impie, & in eadem impietate morituri, non illos dicit filios Dei præscientia Dei. ——— Non quia justitiam simulaverunt, sed quia in ea non permanserunt: Nam si fuissent ex nobis, veram, non fictam justitiam tenuissent utiq; nobiscum, &c.] vid ult.

Idem de corrept. & grat. cap. 8. Hic si a me queratur cur eis Deus perseverantiam non dederit, qui eam qua Christianè vivendum dilectionem dedit? Me ignorare respondeo: Non enim arrogantè, sed agnoscens modulum meum audio dicentem Apostolum, O homo tu quis es, &c.]

Ibid. cap. 12. Quamvis ergo de omnibus regeneratis & piè viventibus loqueretur Apostolus dicens, Tu quis es qui iudicas servum alienum? suo domino stat aut cadit. Continuo tamen respexit ad predestinatos, & ait: stabit autem.]

Idem de dono persever. cap. 22. avoiding the harsher expressions that might offend, he teacheth them to substitute such as these: [ Si qui autem obediunt, sed in regnum ejus & gloriam predestinati non sunt, temporales sunt, nec usq; in finem in eadem obedientia permanent.] The same he hath before and there frequently.

Idem de corrept. & grat. cap. 8. Mirandum est quidem, multumq; mirandum, quod filiis suis Deus quibusdam, quos regeneravit in Christo, quibus fidem, spem, dilectionem dedit, non dat perseverantiam &c.] Ib. cap. 9. [Propter hoc Apostolus, cum dixisset, Scimus quoniam diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum: sciens, nonnullos diligere Deum, & in eo bono usq; in finem non permanere, mox addidit; his qui secundum propositum vocati sunt: hi enim in eo quod diligunt Deum, permanent usq; in finem, &c. — Ibid. cap. 6. - Si autem jam regeneratus & justificatus in malam vitam sua voluntate relabatur, certè is non potest dicere, non accepi; quia acceptam gratiam Dei suo in malum libero amisit arbitrio.]

Ibid. cap. 12. Dicit Johannes Apostolus, Est peccatum ad mortem, non pro illo dico, ut roget quis: de quo peccato quoniam non expressum est, possunt multa & diversa sentiri: Ego autem dico

id esse peccatum, fidem que per dilectionem operatur deserere usq; ad mortem.]

Abundance of such passages makes Austins mind, as plain as his Pen could express it.

Nor did he stick at the utter overthrowing of all certainty of salvation hereby (except conditional.) As appeareth de cor. & grat. c. 13. pag. 539. (Sarif.) *Quis enim ex multitudine fidelium quam diu in hac mortalitate vivitur, in numero predestinatorum se esse presumat? quia id occultari opus est in hoc loco; ubi sic cavenda est elatio, ut etiam per Satana Angelum ne extolleretur tantus colophizaretur Apostolus* — Nam propter hujus utilitatem secreti, ne forte quis extollatur, sed omnes etiam qui bene currunt, timeant, dum occultum est qui perveniant. Propter hujus ergo utilitatem secreti credendum est quosdam de filiis perditionis, non accepto dono perseverandi usq; in finem, in fide qua per dilectionem operatur incipere vivere, ac aliquandiu, fideliter ac juste vivere, & postea cadere, neq; de hac vita priusquam hoc eis contingat, auferri. Quorum si nemini contigisset, tamdiu haberent homines istum saluberrimum timorem, quo vitium elationis opprimitur, donec ad Christi gratiam, qua pie vivitur, pervenirent; deinceps iam securi, nunquam se ab illo esse casuros. *Que presumptio in isto tentationum loco non expedit, ubi tanta est infirmitas, ut superbiam possit generare securitas.*

Idem Epist. 101. ad Vitalem. [Utile est quippe omnibus, vel pene omnibus propter humilitatem saluberrimam, ut quales futuri sint scire non possint.]

Et in Lib. II. de Civitate Dei cap. 12. pag. 670. [Quis enim primos illos homines in Paradiso negare audeat beatos fuisse ante peccatum? quamvis de sua beatitudine quam diuturna, vel utrum eterna esset incertos? esset autem eterna nisi peccassent. Cum hodie non impudenter beatos vocemus, quos videmus juste ac pie cum spe futurae immortalitatis hanc vitam ducere sine crimine vastante conscientiam, facile impetrantes peccatis hujus infirmitatis divinam misericordiam? Qui licet de sua perseverantia premio certi sint, de ipsa tamen perseverantia sua reperiantur incerti? Quis enim hominum se in actione profectuq; justitia perseveraturum usq; in finem se sciunt, nisi aliquis revelatione ab illo fiat certus qui de hac re iusto latentiq; iudicio, non omnes instruit sed neminem fallit.]

Of the same mind with *Austin*, were *Prosper*, *Fulgentius* and the rest of the highest defenders of free grace, that the Church for many ages did enjoy: as appeareth in *Prosperi Respons. ad Gall. Sentent. 2. & Super Sent. 7. & 12. & ad object. Vincent. object. 12. & passim. Ita & Fulgentius*. I forbear to recite the words, as having been too long on that already.

*Pererius* and some few of the Jesuites joyn in the main with the Dominicans. Vid. *Perer. Disp. 28. in 8. Rom & Disp. 6, 7, 8.*

The same doctrine of *Augustine*, *Prosper*, &c. do the Dominicans maintain against the Jesuits; as may be seen in *Alvarez Dissut. 107.* and commonly in others: as also in *Jansenius, Augustine de Grat Christi, lib. 9 c. 7. p. 392, 393. & sequent. & lib. 3. c. 20. p. 163, 164.* who is more exact than most other Dominicans, especially in the point of predestination, and the nature of Grace.] The same opinion also some of the Reformed Protestant Divines maintain: as *Musculus Loc. com. de Remission. § 6. pag. (mibi) 620, 621, 622.* and *D<sup>r</sup> Overall* in the short addition to *Davenants Dissertations* (wrongfully fathered on *Davenant*, as *B<sup>p</sup> Usher* told me.)

5. The fifth Opinion is; That God Electeth all that he will save, to Faith and perseverance, and that some are confirmed in this life in a state of Justification, and so are past the danger of Apostasie: so that either Election or confirming Grace, will necessarily inferre the certainty of perseverance: for neither the Elect nor the confirmed shall finally fall away. And they suppose that many are elect which are not confirmed; and none confirmed but those that are elect. But yet they adde, that there are many truly regenerate, justified, sanctified, adopted, and live in love and obedience to God, who are yet neither elected nor confirmed: and that all these will certainly fall away.

This Opinion is the same with that of *Augustine* last mentioned, but that it addeth, the non-apostatizing of the confirmed, to the non-apostatizing of the Elect. And *Vossius* supposeth that *Augustine* himself was of this mind, and joyned this point with the former. Of which I am not able to determine: For though I am as sure as words can make me, that *Austin*, *Prosper* and *Fulgentius*, are of the last mentioned opinion; yet I cannot say so of this, because the footsteps of it in their writings are so few and dark, that to me they are uncertain.

Most of the Dominicians go this way, and some Jesuites part of it, but then they scarcewell agree about the nature of this confirming Grace. *Viguerius* (a Collector out of *Thomas*) and others say, that it is nothing but the gift of Perseverance it self. Others admit a reall distinction between the grace of confirmation and perseverance, who yet agree not in the nature or effects. For some think that Habitual infused Grace, and speciall assisting Grace, are enough to perseverance, but not to confirmation: some say a third sort is necessary to perseverance also, and that a Reprobate may have the two former. Some Papists think, that confirming Grace doth take away Free-will in obedience, and cause such a determination of the will to good, that they do necessarily obey, and so they are not freely but necessarily saved: These Papists hold this, it seems, because their definition of free-will is so far inconsistent with the Dominicans, that when they yeeld that Confirmation doth so effectually determin the will, they must needs say that it takes away its liberty, as they think Heaven it self doth, viz. by perfecting the will, and raising it to a higher pitch than liberty. But another part of the Papists (of whom it is that *Alvarez* speaks, *lib. 10. Disput. 104. pag. 419. §. 1.*) do hold, that the Grace of Confirmation and Perseverance, are distinguished only accidentally, by a greater or less intension of the same Helps, but not Really. The fuller explication of their opinion and their reasons, you may find in the fore-cited Disputation.

But the Opinion which *Ferrariensis*, *Alvarez*, and others of that Classis do maintain, as the common opinion of the *Thomists*, is, that the Gift of Confirmation and Perseverance is not the same: that all the Elect persevere, but all are not here Confirmed: And for the point of *Impeccability*, they agree with the Jesuites, that the *Confirmati* are *Impeccabiles* as to mortal sin; but not as to venial (to which they annumerate, the remnants of ignorance, inconsiderateness, the *fomes peccati*, &c. *Vid. Alvarez Disput. 104. §. 4.*) This *Impeccability* as to Mortal sin, is the perfection, or fulfilling of all Gods Commandements, which the Papists mean and say, we may attain. But then some of them say, that this *Impeccability* is only to be ascribed to intrinsic Grace: others with *Durandus* (*in 3. d. 3. q. 4.*) do ascribe it only to extrinsic removall of the occasions of sinne: some think

that it is partly from intrinsic Grace, and partly from extrinsic; that is, *ex perfectione Gratia habitualis & virtutum, & ex custodia, protectione & directione Dei* (as Alvarez.) Of these, the Dominicans ascribe it to a Physical Determining Grace (which Physical determination the most of them make necessary to every act of every creature; but *Jansenius* denieth that, and makes it specially necessary to saving good) and the Jesuites as is said, do most of them ascribe to a special sort of moral help leaving the will free: and others to a Necessitating determination. It is ordinarily judged (as Alvarez out of *Thom.* maintaineth) that this Impeccability is not simple, as not being *ab intrinseco totaliter*, but only *secundum quid*, as being *partim ab extrinseco; quod contingit quando alicui datur aliquod munus gratia quo inclinatur in bonum, ita ut ab illo non possit de facili deslekti; non tamen per hoc ita retrahitur a malo, ut omnino peccare non possit, nisi divinâ providentia protegatur & custodiatur.*

And its very observable wherein Alvarez placeth this Confirming Perfection, *ibid* §.4, viz. in a certain participation of *Charitas Patriæ*, which is distinct *secundum modum* a *Charitate violaris non Confirmante*: His words are [ *Resp. non consistere in majori intensione ejusdem gratia Habitualis. Etenim gratia non Confirmans, aliquando est magis intensa, quam gratia in bono Confirmans, quod ex eo patet: nam multi sunt in via non Confirmati in gratia qui habent gratiam & charitatem magis intensam, quam aliqui existentes in patria: (Believe this that can:)* *Dicendum est ergo quod hæc perfectio attenditur secundum quandam participationem gratia & Charitatis Patriæ, quæ secundum modum est alterius rationis a gratia vel charitate non confirmante ut ait S. Thom 22. q.24, art.7. ad 3.*

As I account it more gross, according to the first opinion to say that every sinne which they call mortal destroyeth Justification, than to say only, that it is lost by some; and grosser to say, that All may fall away, than that All, save the Confirmed may fall away (which is the second opinion:) and that yet it is less culpable to say, that all the Elect shall persevere, though not all the Justified (which is the fourth:) so I take this last recited to be less culpable than the fourth; because it alloweth a double ground of certain perseverance, that is, both



both Election and Confirmation, when the former alloweth but one.

6. The sixth Opinion is, That an Adult state of saving grace or Justification is never lost, but a state of Infant Justification may, because it is but a change of his Relation upon the condition of the Parents being a Believer. ] Yet some of them deny not, but Elect Infants may some of them moreover have some secret seed of grace which is never lost.) Of this mind were the British Divines in the Synode of *Dort*; and *Davenant* and *Ward* have particularly wrote for it: and many more at home and abroad are of the same mind: And it should seem, so was the Synode of *Dort* it self, by those words *Artic. 1. Can. 17. pag. 244. Quandoquidem de voluntate Dei ex verbo ipsius nobis est judicandum, quod testatur liberos fidelium esse sanctos, non quidem natura, sed beneficio faderis gratuiti, in quo illi cum parentibus comprehenduntur, pij parentes de Electi-one & salute suorum liberorum quos Deus in infantia ex hac vita evocat, dubitare non debent.* ] Yet they that are of this Opinion think it more fit to call this a cessation of their former Title to salvation, than a falling from grace as in their explications may be seen.

7. The seventh Opinion is, That no one that is truly Justified and Sanctified, doth ever totally fall away or lose the estate of grace; but yet it is possible for them to fall away and lose it, though it shall never come to pass. ] For it is not the Impossibility but the non-futurity that God decreeth. Of this Opinion are many of the Reformed Divines, called Calvinists.

8. The eighth Opinion is, That for a Justified person Infant or Aged to lose that estate, is not only a thing that never shall come to pass, but that it is impossible for them to lose it: This is the Judgment also of very many Reformed Divines.

9. The ninth Opinion is, that because it is impossible to fall away from grace, therefore it is unlawfull for any Believer to fear it, or, to perswade other Belivers to fear it; or to pray against it, or to think that any sin can endanger it; And though a Beliver did fall into Adultery and murder with *David*, or into Incest and Drunkenness with *Lot*, he ought not to fear the loss of his Justification, nor to be humbled with such considerations, nor to rise from the sin with such a Motive. This is the Judgment of the Antinomians commonly maintained in their Writings.

10. Another Opinion is, that, Though some degrees of saving grace may be lost, which by increase were super-added to the first grace which we received; yet no degree of the first habitual grace can be after lost by any sinne.

11. Another Opinion is, That though the Acts of grace may be sinfully omitted, and so grace may act weaklier than it did before, yet the internal root or stock, whether you call it a habit or a power, or a new nature is never diminished, or lost in any degree, either which was at first infused, or is afterward infused by way of Augmentation.

The two last Opinions are only dropt in by some few of the Reformed Divines, who are over-bold in their determinations: The last is by most dis-owned; and the former by few of ours medled with in their Writings; but usually past over in silence.

12. Another Opinion about Perseverance is, That no sinne of a Believer, small or great, doth so much as contract on the person a guilt of death or any punishment; that is, an Obligation to punishment: and that in Gods account we are neither sinners, nor deserve damnation: for God seeth no sin in his people: the guilt falls all on Christ; and the punishment

is all born by him alone; and no such thing as true punishment suffered by any Believer: And therefore that they may not confess the guilt of any sinne to be on themselves, nor pray for the pardon of it, but only when they mean by [pardon] the feeling of pardon, or assurance or knowledge of it, or some new effect of it, in renewed mercies. This also is the known Opinion of the Antinomians, and the most extreme on this hand that is worthy our present Observation.

Having thus shewed you the differing Opinions among Christians about Perseverance, I shall next lay down so much of my own Judgment as I think needfull for the present purpose, in certain *Propositions*, before I speak of the offence which do occasion it.

*Prop. 1.* It is a gross Error to think that every sin which they call *mortal* or we call *gross*, doth excus all Charity, or put a man out of a state of Justification. There are indeed sins that may be called *mortal*, eminently, which will prove a man out of the state of Grace, though they cannot be said to put him out of it, because he was never in it. I mean the sinne unto death, or the dominion of sinne, or any one sinne so aggravated as will prove that dominion, and so is inconsistent with saving grace. But it is not every act of a gross sinne that makes or proves a man to be unjustified. *David* was an adopted Sonne, an Heir of life, a Member of Christ, even a living Member, as soon as he had committed those heinous sinnes: though he contracted such a guilt, as anon we shall describe, yet his former guilt returned not on him (as many Schoolmen themselves maintain) nor was he cut off from Christ, nor his state and Relation to him overthrown.

*Object.* *Adam* by one act did lose his habitual state of grace, and Relation to God, becoming unholy and unjustified: therefore so may we.

*Ans. 1.* I deny the Antecedent: For it was not by one Act, but by many that *Adam* so farre fell: 2. And I deny the consequence: First, Because *Adams* sinne was such, as no regenerate man doth commit (for ought ever I have yet heard proved.) Secondly, At least, the difference of the Laws that he and we were

were under, would make this difference. For according to the Law that *Adam* was under, one sinne, yea any one sinne, did make him lyable to death, and consequently to be forsaken by the grace or Spirit of God, and to be under the curse: But it is not so with a Believer according to the gentler Law of grace: The cause therefore of the difference is principally extrinsick in God and Christ and the Covenant of Grace: Whether there were any Internal, in the nature of the grace that *Adam* had, and that we have, I shall not now enquire.

*Prop. 2.* The Opinion of those Ancients, and of the Jesuites, Arminians and Lutherans, who deny an absolute personal Election of men to faith and Perseverance, and so maintain indefinitely a total and final falling from a state of justification, without excepting such Elect themselves, is an Error of dangerous consequence, against the grace and fidelity of God, if not against his wisdom and his power, and against the peace of the Saints: and therefore is to be carefully avoided and resisted, by those that would not wound their faith: as *Augustine*, and his followers, and since them the Dominicans and Reformed Divines have voluminously evinced.

Yet note, that the Jesuites themselves may confess that the Elect shall none of them finally fall away, but shall all Persevere. But that is, because they hold that Election is upon the foresight of perseverance, and so that these Propositions are inconsistent as to their truth [ This man is Elect ] and [ This man shall not Persevere: ] But they do not make Election, or differencing grace, the Cause of Faith and Perseverance.

*Prop. 3.* The third Opinion hath three Parts: Of which, I take one to be true, and the other two to be false. That which is true is, That the confirmed in grace, shall certainly Persevere. The Parts that I take to be false, are, First, That some of the truly justified, and sanctified are not Elect to salvation (which is common to them with *Augustine*.) Secondly, That Perseverance

Perseverance is no fruit of Election, but only of mans good use of his grace, and of Gods remunerative Justice and Mercy: For they think that there is no Election of Individuals, but upon supposition of foreseen faith and repentance: so that this Opinion differeth not from the second, save only in that it addeth a state of confirmation, which none shall lose: and so maketh some in this life to be certainly past the danger of falling away: Of which more under the fifth Opinion.

*Prop. 4.* The fourth Opinion, viz. of *Austin*, with *Prosper*, *Fulgentius* and the rest of his followers that resisted the *Pelagians*, and of the *Dominicans*, and *Musculus*, &c. who maintain personal absolute Election, and free grace, against the conceit of mans merits, and the certain Perseverance of all the Elect; and yet maintain that many of the *Præciti* or non-elect are truly sanctified, and justified, and fall away from it and perish, doth seem to me to be unsound, and contrary to many Texts of ho'y Scripture, and therefore not to be received.

To produce that Evidence against it, which is so common in mens hands in many Volumes written to this purpose, would here be worse than needless. And methinks *Austins* Exposition is a forcing of the Text. He expoundeth 1 *Job* 2. 19. *They were not of us, &c.* of us the Elect. And *Rom.* 8 30. he expoundeth by prefixing to each linke the foregoing words, viz. the called according to his purpose: *q. d.* [whom he called, viz. according to his purpose, them he justified; and whom he justified, that is, those whom he so called and justified, them he glorified; *q. d.* those before mentioned whom he justified he glorified; or those whom he predestinated, called and justified (conjunctly) them he glorified.] As if the Text did not comprehend all the Justified, nor speak of the Justified as such, but did only extoll Gods Love to the Elect, and consequently speak of them as Elect, and so of the Elect only, connexing every former Proposition in the chain with the later as necessary to make up its sense: as if the meaning were no more but this: [so great is the everlasting Love of God to his chosen, that he fore-knew them, and predesti-

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nated

nated them to be conformed to his Son; and having predestinated them all, he effectually calleth them, and having called them he justifieth them, and having justified them he glorifieth them: ] and so he would not have all others excluded from calling and justifying, but only from predestination and glory. But I see not a sufficient warrant in the Text for such a limiting Exposition: It seems rather to me that [whom he called] is as much as [all whom he called] and [whom he justified] as much as [all whom he justified] And to me it seems unlikely, that ever such a love of God can change, by which he embraceth any man as a Sonne; For if Sonnes, than Heires, &c. That love which made us Sons, and taketh complacency in us as Sons, will surely continnes in a state of Son-ship, and give us the Inheritance. How else can the little Flock be raised from their fears, because of the good pleasure of the Father to give them the Kingdom! For, alas, nothing more certain than that we should lose our grace, and so lose the Kingdom, if the Father had no other good pleasure towards us, but only to give us the Kingdom if we Persevere, and not also to give us perseverance that we may have the Kingdom. I know that *Augustine* distinguisheth of Sonnes; and some he saith may be called Sonnes because they are Regenerate, and justified, and in such a state as they should have been saved if they had died in; who yet are not Sonnes by predestination, but God fore-seeing their falling off, intendeth them not the Inheritance. But where he can find this distinction of Sonnes in Scripture, I know not: though another distinction of Sonnes I confess may be found.

*Prop. 5.* Though I presume to dissent in this point from *Augustine* and the common Judgment of the Teachers of that and many former and later Ages; yet do I find my self obliged by the Reverence of such contradicting Authority, and forced also by the consciousness of my ignorance, to suspect my own understanding, and to dissent with modesty, both honouring the contrary-minded, and being willing to receive any further evidence, and to know the truth if it be on their side. And so I must needs say, that I see not neer such clear evidence against this Opinion, as I do against the former, much less as I do for the Fundamental Articles of the Faith: and

and therefore I am not arrived at that certainty in the Doctrine of the Perseverance of all the Justified, as I am for the Doctrine of the Perseverance of all the Elect; much less as I am about the death and resurrection of Christ, the Life Everlasting, and such other verities.

I know that there is very great variety of evidence of the several Truths revealed in the Scriptures, one Text being more or less plain than another. Though we know that all that God saith, is equally true, yet we have not an equall evidence of every Truth, that it is indeed the Word of God. And therefore our reception of these several Points must needs be as unequall as the evidence is, upon which we do receive them. I dare not say that I have attained a *certainty* in understanding this Point and all the Texts of Scripture that concern it, better than *Augustine*, and the common Judgment of the Church for so many Ages: And therefore I dare not say that I have attained to a *certainty*, that all the justified shall persevere. I dare and I do venture my soul and everlasting hopes upon the truth of the Fundamentals; so that I dare, I must say; [ If these be not true, I will forfeit my hopes; I expect no salvation. ] But I dare not, I do not venture my salvation upon this Opinion; nor dare I say, [ Let me have no salvation if any of the Justified fall from their Justification. ] And therefore if I were put to it in arguing to deny either this or an evident truth, I would sooner reduce this to the more evident, than the more evident to this.

And that it is not so evident as many others, or as that a common agreement in it by the godly can be expected, is apparent enough. 1. From the difficulties that occur, which the Scriptures and the dissenters reasonings may easily acquaint us with. 2. And from their answers to our Arguments. 3. And from the number and quality of the Dissenters. First, Sure that can be no very easie point which all or almost all the Church, for so many Ages err'd in. Secondly, And which not only the most of the Christians of the world, but also so many Nations of Protestants themselves do err in to this day. Thirdly, And which the choicest men for Learning and diligence, and those that were the Leaders in defending the grace of God, as *Austin* and abundance of Protestant Divines, could never

attain the understanding of, but resisted them as errors. Fourthly, Yea when they were and are as holy as we; and so as like to have Divine Illumination. All this being in the case, it seemeth to be high self-conceited arrogancy, for such a one as I to profess such a point to be so evident and easie, and to imagine that all the most holy and judicious Writers for so many Ages, and so many at this day, are so farre below me in the understanding of the Scriptures, and that even in points which they had so much occasion to search into, and so many and great advantages to understand. I do not, I dare not presume of this.

*Prop. 6.* Hence it is most apparent, that this difference about the Perseverance of all the Justified, is not of so great moment, as to encourage or warrant us to withdraw our affection or communion from those that differ from us herein; as if they were Hereticks, or no Members of the Church, or could not be saved, because they erre herein. For confirmation of which consider, 1. By the contrary conclusion we should be excessively *Uncharitable*, in condemning to Hell fire, for ought we can find, all, or next all, the Church of Christ for 1300 or 1400 years at least. 2. And we should be very proud in exalting our selves so high above our Brethren, and the Churches of Christ. 3. And it were high presumption and arrogancy to step into Gods seat and pass so bold a *censure*. 4. And it were great Impiety to make Christ hereby to have no visible Church on earth (nor for ought we can prove, many persons) for so many hundred years: Hereby we should go farre toward the giving up our Cause to the Infidels. For, no Church, no Head of the Church. 5. Hereby we should censure the form of Belief or Profession of all these Churches as insufficient. For the Doctrine of Perseverance now in question, was never (that is proved) in any of their Creeds. Sixthly, Hereby we should foment Divisions in and between the Churches, and make the healing of our Divisions seem desperate. For if we conclude all the Lutherans and Arminians (who yet go further than *Austin* in denying Perseverance) to be incapable of salvation or of our communion, what room is left for any motions of Peace? 7. And also hereby we should very much encourage the Papists; if we make our first Protestants, *Luther*,  
*Melanch.*



*Melanchton* and the rest that subscribed the *Augustane* confession, to be Hereticks and persons whose communion was to be avoided. 8. And Lastly, We should be guilty of so notorious schism, as few sober men in the world have been guilty of; I mean in our principles; while we plainly imply that if we had lived in those former Ages that were of a contrary mind to us in this, we would have avoided the communion of them all. I do but name these things briefly, because I suppose that they will find few dissenters. I hope few among us are guilty of such conclusions as I gain say.

*Prop. 7.* Hence also it is very clear, that the denial of the Doctrine of the Perseverance of all the sanctified, doth not necessarily destroy all Christian consolation. It doth indeed tend to the diminishing of it, as to all that have a certainty of their Justification, while it denyeth them the certainty of Perseverance; and while it denyeth to all men a certainty of salvation by ordinary means. But it doth not wholly destroy the comforts of the Saints: Nay, it is plain from hence, that a life of much Christian comfort may be had, without assurance of salvation. Which I prove, 1. *Adam* might live comfortably without assurance of Perseverance or salvation: (that's past dispute: for *Adam* had no such assurance in his innocency:) therefore a Christian may live comfortably without assurance of Perseverance or Salvation. There is no disparity between *Adams* condition and others in other respects that will weaken the consequence, as long as the case is the same in the point in question.

*Obj.* Being sinless, he had nothing to sadden him, as we have.

*Ans.* True: therefore the uncertainty of Perseverance and of salvation was nothing or not enough to sadden him, or at least, to deprive him of a life of peace. If necessary to our peace, why not to his?

2. It were unreasonable and uncharitable to think that none of the Ancient Churches that differed from us in this, had Christian peace; that none of the Lutherane Protestants, or Arminians now have peace; that such holy men as *Austin* and *Luther* and multitudes more were deprived of this peace, who have manifested so great confidence and joy both in their lives and Writings. When we read so many of the Ancients

and of the Lutherans professing their Peace and joy in believing, we cannot pretend that we knew their hearts better than they knew themselves; seeing we never knew the men: nor have we any certain or probable evidence to prove that they wrote falsely of themselves.

3. If we could not have joy and Peace in believing, except we receive it from the certainty of our own Perseverance, then it would follow that exceeding few even of them that hold the Doctrine of the Perseverance of all the Justified, have joy and peace in believing. For that Doctrine of Perseverance can give assurance of their own Perseverance to none but those that are certain of their sincerity and Justification. If a man be uncertain whether he be sanctified truly himself, he must needs be uncertain whether he shall persevere in that grace which he knoweth not that he hath; yea and in common grace it self. But too sad experience telleth us that there be but few, exceeding few of the godly among us that are certain of their sincerity, Justification, or salvation: I have desired several Ministers that converse much with experienced Christians, and hear them open the state of their souls, to tell me how they find them in this point of assurance? And divers of them of largest acquaintance tell me that they meet not with one that hath it; but that they all profess some doubting and uncertainty, and none that they ask will say, I am sure. Others tell me that they meet with none that will say they are certain, except some passionate persons, especially women that are melancholy, who are carried on by passionate feelings; and they will sometime say they are certain of this Sanctification, Justification, and Salvation; but it is but in a fit which is quickly gone, and then they are usually in greater doubting and trouble than any others. I confess my own observation is the same or neer it. Amongst many hundreds of Professors, I meet not with one that will say they are certain of their sincerity and salvation; except four sorts; First, Such women or melancholy people afore-mentioned, who can give no great solid reason for it, and quickly lose it, and are passionate in their conversation. Secondly, Some persons that are fallen into new Opinions and societies, disowning our Profession and our Churches; who presently are rapt up with a seeming certainty that they are truly

truly holy and justified; when both their doctrines and lives do cause their soberest acquaintance to fear that they are either proud hypocrites, or deluded Christians, worse than before. Thirdly, Some few very earnest Disputers for Assurance, that will say they are sure of their own salvation, in an eager maintaining of their Arguments. Fourthly, Some very few judicious holy men, who say they have no strict certainty, nor are free from all doubting; but yet they have so confident a persuasion as may be called a moral certainty, and freeth them from troublesome fears of damnation. And these last (though exceeding few) are the highest that ever I met with, whom I have cause to believe, as being judicious credible sober persons. and giving probable evidence in their lives of what they said. I never knew the man that attained any more than such a strong persuasion, mixed with some doubtings and fears, yet so far overcoming them as to live a peaceable joyfull life.

Now if Assurance of sincerity and Justification be so rare (and imperfect in the best) then it must needs follow that certainty of their own Perseverance must be as rare. And all these Persons that are uncertain of their Perseverance, can fetch no comfort from that certainty which they have not.

But yet we cannot conclude that all these persons are void of Christian Peace and Joy: For, first we see by experience that hundreds of these Christians that dare not say they are sure of their Justification or salvation, do yet express much Peace and Joy. Secondly, And the Holy Ghost telleth us that the Kingdom of God consisteth in Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghost; and therefore we may not so farre exclude the most of the Saints out of the Kingdom of God.

4. Moreover, the nature of the thing may convince us that a man may live a comfortable life through believing, though he attain not a proper certainty of perseverance or salvation. For a high degree of probability, and a strong persuasion thereupon, may bear down the trouble of most of our doubts and fears. And though it may be objected, that Hell is such a misery, and the loss of Heaven so great a loss, that a man hath no ground of solid grace that is uncertain to escape it, especially considering how little trust is to be put in the slippery will of man: yet (for answer to this) let it be considered. First, That

That Heaven is so great a good, that the least true belief and hope of it, may afford abundance of comfort; and Hell is so great an evil, that the least true hope of escaping it, may be very comfortable. Secondly, Yet such uncertainty indeed to a Saint in Heaven would be more troublesome, because it is a condition worse than he is in already: But such hopes, though with uncertainty to the damned in Hell would be unspeakably comfortable; and so should they be to us on earth; because we were before in a state of death, condemned by the Law, and under the curse, and had been actually damned, if death had cut us off. Thirdly, That the goodness of Gods nature, his common mercy to mankind, the fulness and freeness of grace in Christ, the experiences of Gods Love both in common and special mercies, with abundance of comfortable passages in the Scripture, all these may do much to the support and comfort of the soul, against the fear of Apostacy, though there had been no absolute promise of the perseverance of all the Justified.

5. I argue *a pari*: First, There is no Sonne of the wisest and most constant Father that is certain he shall persevere in the favour of his Parents, and that he shall not fall into their very hatred, and be dis-inherited by them: And yet it doth not follow that therefore all Children should uncomfortably vex themselves with fears, lest their Parents should hate them or dis-inherit them: yea, or that no Son may take comfort in the consideration of his Fathers love.

Secondly, There is no Wife that hath the best and most loving Husband, that is certain, he will not hate her and cast her off: And yet when she sees, no probability of it, but much to the contrary, she need not be disquieted by the fears of it; nor forbear the peace and comfort of her condition.

Thirdly, There is no man of greatest holiness certain that he shall not fall into some odious scandalous sinne; For though there be promises of our perseverance in a state of grace, yet in the judgment of all, there is no promise to the best of us all, that we shall not fall into any such hainous particular sinne. No man is certain but he may be drunk as *Noah* was, or incestuous as *Lot* was, or commit adultery and murder as *David* did, or deny Christ as *Peter* did. And if you were sure you should

should fall thus, and wound your conscience, and dishonour the Lord and your holy Profession, would it not even break your hearts? But what? Must all Christians live in doubts and fears of such a thing? Or may not they live in peace and comfort upon the strong probabilities they have of escaping these, though they have no certainty. Yea more; you are not certain but you may for such Capital crimes, be hanged at a Gallows, and made a publique example to the world: And yet I hope we may live comfortably for all that, and need not trouble our selves with such fears save only by necessary caution to prevent the evil. The same grounds therefore which may give you comfort against the fears of such scandalous finnes, may give them comfort concerning their Salvation, who either believe not the Doctrine of the perseverance of all Saints, or are not certain of their own Sanctification.

*Prop. 8.* It is fit and needfull that as we maintain the truth of the aforesaid Doctrine of perseverance: so we should withall make known that it is not to be numbred with the most necessary or most evident certain truths, which our salvation, or all our peace, or the Churches Communion doth rest upon: and accordingly that we put it not into our Creed, or Confessions of Faith, which are purposed to expresse the Fundamentals only, or only those Points which we expect all should subscribe to, with whom we will hold communion. As we maintain it to be a truth: so we must shew (as is done in the aforesaid Propositions) which rank of truths it belongeth to. For it is a very hurtfull and dangerous thing to the Church, to affirm the less evident controvertible truths to be more evident and past doubt, and to affirm those to be of necessity to our Salvation, Communion, or Comfort, which are not so. This is the wrack that hath torn both the Church and the Consciences of men.

Upon this occasion I may fitly give you an account of the reason of a passage in the Catechism agreed on by the *Worcestershire* Ministers, which I understand some Reverend, godly Divines, have taken exceptions at.

In the Seventh Article of that Catechism it is said that [ the Holy Ghost doth by the Word enlighten mens understandings, and soften and open their hearts, and turn them from

the power of Satan unto God by faith in Christ: that being joyned to Christ the Head and into one Church which is his Body, and freely justified and made the Sonnes of God, they may be a sanctified peculiar people to him, and may overcome the flesh, the world, and the devil, and being zealous of good works, may serve God in holiness and righteousness, and may live in the special love and communion of the Saints, and in hope of Christs coming and of everlasting life.] Here they are offended at the word [*may*:] because we say not, they *shall* or *will* do these things, but only [*that they* [*may*,] which they say importeth but a *Duty* and a *Possibility*, but not the certainty of the event. To this I answer: 1. Our Question was about the first Participation of Christ and life: and our perseverance is not any part of that, and therefore we were not obliged to determine that controversie in answer to that question. 2. The first [*may*] prefixed to our sanctification doth clearly speak of the certainty of the event; for it is impossible the fore-expressed work should be done and yet men be un sanctified, 3. Whereas these Brethren object this in their uncharitable suspition, that we did it to intimate the Apostacy of the sanctified, I must tell them that I am confident there is not one of the subscribers ( to the first impression, and I think not to the last neither ) that doth question the Doctrine of perseverance; and that our own meaning is, that the Holy Ghost doth convert us, that we *may* be a holy people and overcome, &c. that is, that he intendeth this as the event, and useth the former as a meanes to the later; and that God is never frustrate of his intention, and consequently in our sence the Doctrine of perseverance is here expresse. 4. But I must adde, ( as the principal part of my answer ) that we purposely put it in larger termes that all that subscribed might not be necessitated to understand it as we did: and we purposely avoided the determining of the controversie about perseverance, in the place. We had before drawn up our ( prefixed ) Confession of faith, which was to be a test of our peoples capacity of Church-Communion in the point of knowledg and soundness in the faith commonly called Orthodoxnes: ) and so we were to disown all those that owned not all that was here contained: And when we composed our Catechism, it being in part to the same end, and partly

partly to be so brief that all might learn it, we agreed to make up the first Eight Articles of the Catechism from the fore-going Confession: so that we were to put nothing in it but the Fundamentals of Salvation or of Communion; or nothing but what we thought we must exact a confession of from all that we would hold Communion with. Now I confess it is far from my Opinion that a man cannot be saved that denyeth the perseverance of all the sanctified, or that we must reject all from our Communion that are of that mind: And I should rather have abhorred than subscribed a confession, that had contained any such thing, or that had put in the point of perseverance to the ends and on the termes as our confession was subscribed. And this is the true reason of our termes in that Seventh Article; And a hundred other controversall men, may as well find fault with us, for leaving out of our Confession or Catechism the points which they maintain, as these Brethren may find fault with us in this. For we have left out many hundred controversies, whereof very many are as weighty as this. And I despair of pleasing all Disputers.

*Prop. 9.* We cannot deny but that the Doctrine of the certain perseverance of all the sanctified, may Accidentally occasion much more trouble than Consolation, to many doubting souls that are sincere.

I must confess I have had to do with some my self, that have pleaded this Objection so importunately that a wiser man than I might have found work enough to satisfie them. They say, that [if they could have any assurance that they are truly sanctified, the Doctrine of certain Perseverance of all such would be comfortable to them; but they are brought now into such doubts of it, that they fear they shall never attain to such assurance, being rather induced to conclude themselves certainly unsanctified: For (say they) we never reached so high as some that we have known that have fallen away: We have known divers that have been judicious and affectionate, and constant and lively in duty, and of very upright careful lives, and so great contemners of the world that they would not have omitted an opportunity for their souls, for worldly gain, yea, they were persecuted and suffered very much for godliness in evil times, and in the sharpest tryals never shrunk, when

ethers did, and laid out themselves almost altogether in doing good; their Prayers and Conference were very holy and heavenly and affectionate, and their lives agreeable. so that they were incomparably beyond me in all these Qualifications, and yet some of them now do deny the God-head of Christ and the Holy Ghost; some deny the Scripture, and that there is any Church or Ministry; some are turned Quakers, and some Licentious, if not Infidels; and therefore certainly have now no saving grace. Now before we can ever be sure that we are justified, we must be sure that we go further than any of these did, or any other that ever fell away: whereas we find our selves far short of many of them. And we are in a manner certain that some of them did not dissemble: both by our observation of their whole course, being intimately acquainted with them, and by the plainness and openness of some of their hearts, which they manifest even to this day in the way that they are in, being unapt for dissimulation. ] I have found it no easie matter to quiet the minds of some that were troubled with this doubt. If we tell them, that these men were gross dissemblers, they will not believe it, nor can I tell them so of all as being confident of the contrary by my acquaintance with some. If we tell them that at the highest they came short of sincerity, they answer that they have much more reason then, to suspect that they are short of it themselves: and that among an hundred Professors of Religion, there is not ordinarily two that seem to go further than these men did seem to go: and therefore who can have assurance? If we tell them, that yet God saw the unsoundness of their hearts; they answer, so he may see the unsoundness of mine; For these men did more in self-examination, Prayer, and other meanes to know their hearts than ever I did, and had greater knowledg and helps to discern them. Some Learned Divines do answer this Objection thus: That it's true, these difficulties and temptations do stand in our waies, but they are no greater then many other temptations which we must encounter, and that the Members of Christ have that Spirit, that Teaching, and Anointing within them, which will sufficiently relieve them against all such temptations, and do more to comfort them than all the evidences of their uprightnes can do, yea, when we do not see



our uprightnes, nor that we go beyond the persons that have apostatized, in our Qualifications. To this I have known this answer returned; 1. That they know not of any witness of the Spirit to assure us of our justification, but these three; First, The Witness contained in the Scripture, proving the truth of the Promise: Secondly, The Witness of Evidence, contained in the sanctifying Works of the Spirit on the Soul. Thirdly, And the effective Witness of actual illumination and exciting grace, causing us to see our Evidences within, and the truth of the Promise without, and to believe the later, and conclude our justification from both laid together, and to be thankfully and joyfully affected herewith. And many holy Learned Divines and of great experience, profess they have no more, nor know of any more. 2: But if any other immediate revelation and Testimony of the Spirit without evidence be the thing that must satisfie, comfort, and establish us, those that have such a Testimony or Revelation may be comforted by it, but for our parts we must say that we know not what it is, and never had any such, and know not how to obtain it; and therefore must rather conclude the more confidently that we are un sanctified, because we have none of that Witness. And though we have had some sweet delights in Prayer, Meditations and other duties, and some strong perswasions of the Love of God to us, yet we know not whether these were from the Spirit, or whether such delights were not some common work; and those that fell off did seem to us to have more of them, than we could reach.

For my part, the answer that I usually make to this Objection is this. [ Though the falls of others must warn you to take heed, and with a godly jealousie to search your heart more exactly, and to watch over it more diligently, yet God never made the hearts or lives of other men, the Standard for you to try your own by: Nor are you to trouble your Souls by the doubtfull conjectures which you fetch from the former Qualifications of others. God never opened you a window into their hearts: There might be abundance less good and more evil there than ever you suspected in them: *The heart of man is deceitfull above all things: Who (besides God and himself) can know it?* And will you run out of the

light into the dark for help to search after your sincerity and Justification? Why you know that God hath told you expressly in his Word, that *he that repenteth and believeth shall be saved*, and that loving him, and loving one another, and esteeming Christ and eternal life above this world, are the sure markes of Christs Disciples. If you find these in your own souls, what need have you to doubt of them because that others have been deceived? God hath made you more capable of knowing your own hearts than others; and accordingly hath made it your duty to search your own and not theirs: You may know certainly what is in your selves; but you can but uncertainly conjecture at what is in them. And is it fit in your inquiry to try a certain thing by an uncertain? Your own hearts which you know or may know, by other mens which you know not, nor cannot know? This is not the way that God hath appointed you for the tryal of your state: and therefore no wonder if it puzzle and perplex you.]

Some answer the foresaid Objection by telling them that as in actual sinne (like  *Davids*  or  *Solomons* ) the habit of grace was alive under contrary actings: so in the foresaid actual Errors, the habit of sound faith may possibly be alive in many that seem to be fallen quite away. Though I do make use of this answer in some cases where there is hope of such habits remaining, yet I am afraid of using it in most of the fore-mentioned cases. I dare not say that a man that long deliberately and industriously cryeth down the God-head of Christ and the Holy Ghost, and that denyeth the Scripture and Immortality of the Soul, &c. can be at that time in a state of Salvation; The comfort is farre fetcht that is given men on such terms; and how we can make it good to them, I know not.

*Prop. 10.* Moreover, we cannot deny but that carnal security, not only in hypoerites, but in the godly themselves, may possibly and too frequently take advantage for increase, from the Doctrine of perseverance.

For the remnants of corruption in us will dispose us to make an ill use of this and many another truth. Hence we are too ready to argue thus; That which is impossible (or certainly  
not

not future) need not, and ought not, and if known to be such, cannot be the object of rational fear, and care to escape it. But the damnation and the Apostacy of any of the sanctified, is impossible, or not future and known so to be: therefore it need not, and must not be the object of their fear, and care to escape it.

So on the other side from the necessity of this fear, the Dissenters argue against the certainty of perseverance. That which is known impossible, or not future, cannot be the object of rational fear: But the Apostacy and damnation of them that are now Believers, must be the object of rational fear: therefore it is not impossible, &c.

They confess, that yet there may consist with the impossibility of Apostacy, First, An irrational forced fear, which is not a moral act; such as a man would have if he were never so fast on the pinnacle of a Steeple, or the top of a steep Rock; Were he most certain to have no hurt, yet it would affright him to look down: Secondly, A reverence of Gods Judgments as they shall be inflicted upon others: Thirdly, A use of means from the sole force of Love, and Faith, to avoid an evil, which yet we have not the least fear of, as knowing it to be impossible. But the fear and care in the Argument, they say cannot consist with this impossibility. For, say they, It is impossible the Act should be without its proper object. But a personal possible evil, called, a danger, is the proper object of that personal fear; for it is a fear of such an evil: therefore, &c. The Minor, and so the necessity of this fear they prove from many Texts of Scripture: *Luk 12.5. Fear him that is able to destroy both soul and body in hell fire.* *Heb.4 1. Let us therefore fear lest a Promise being left us of entering into rest, any of us should seem to come short of it.* *1 Cor.9.27. I tame or keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest when I have preached to others I my self should be a castaway.* With many the like.

To these Objections, there are divers sorts of answers made according to the various principles of the Answerers; some deny the Major, and say that a known impossible evil may be the object of rational fear. To this it is replied, that this is a denying of natural Principles, and the common experience.

rience of mankind; it being agreed on by Philosophers, and felt by all men, that we fear nothing but an evil apprehended as possible. The Answerers say further, that it's true, that if it were impossible in the nature of the thing, we could not fear it: but that which is only impossible by accident or from an extrinsick cause, such as is the Decree, or Will of God, and his Promises may be the object of rational fear: because God hath not simply decreed our perseverance, but hath decreed that by the means of this rational fear we shall persevere, and accordingly commandeth us to fear as the means of our certain perseverance; To this it is further replied, First, That it still denyeth a most undoubted principle, even the definition of fear, and also the common experience of men. For whence ever the impossibility be, extrinsick or intrinsick, reason tells me there is no cause of fear; and all the fear that ariseth about an evil that is known to be impossible is against reason, or without it. An aversion or displacency there may be, but no proper fear of that evil befalling us. And therefore (say they) you feign God to decree contradictions, and to command them. For to decree to give men perseverance by the means of a fear of Apostacy, is to make the evil impossible, and so to be no object of fear, and yet to decree that we shall fear it: And to command a man to fear a known impossible evil, is as if he should command us to love a known evil as such. The earth could not stand an hour if God upheld it not: therefore the ruine or annihilation of it to morrow is in it self possible: But yet as long as God hath told us that it shall continue till the resurrection, and we see that it never failed any one yet, but hath endured through all Ages, reason teacheth us not to fear the dissolution of this world till the day of Judgment. An impossibility of event from some one cause, doth properly denominate the thing impossible though in regard of an hundred other things it were not impossible.

Some therefore take another course, and say that the Major of the Dissenters Argument is true, but the Minor is false, *viz.* that we ought to fear our not-persevereing, or our damnation. But the Texts are so many and plain that require us to fear coming short of rest, the killing of the soul, &c. and consequently our not-persevering, that this Answer is not satisfactory;

factory ; but indeed dangerous, yeelding the Minor to the presumptuous and lecture.

O hers therefore yeeld the conclusion that our Apostacy and damnation are not impossible, but only *non futura* ; ( Of which more anon. ) But to this it is replied that an evil certainly known to be not future, can no more be the object of rational fear, than that which is impossible. And therefore this hath the same answers as the former.

For my own part, the answer that satisfieth me, is this : That it's true that a known impossibility or non-futurity of evil doth evacuate rational fear : But then he that will be perfectly freed from that fear, must have a perfect knowledg of the impossibility or non-futurity. But Christ and his Apostles knew that those whom they wrote to had no such perfect knowledg : Nay more, it is not ( at least by any ordinary meanes ) to be expected in this life, that this knowledg of our sincerity, Justification and perseverance should be so perfect as to have no degree of doubting, habitual or actual, at that time or any other. If no grace be perfect in this life, then the assurance of our sincerity, Justification and Perseverance are not perfect in this life : But the Antecedent is true : therefore so is the consequent.

*Obj.* But was not *Pauls* assurance perfect who had been in the third Heavens ? Is it possible that he should have any doubt of his salvation ? And yet he saith *I tame my body, &c. lest when I have preached, &c.* *Ans.* 1. Those words do not necessarily express fear, but the use of a meanes to avoid an evil that without such means would not be avoided. 2. *Paul* himself was not yet perfect as he professeth, *Phil. 3. 12.* and knew but in part, *1 Cor 13. 9.* and therefore might have use for fear. Though he had special revelations of his salvation, yet his Faith and continued apprehensions and improvement of these, were yet imperfect. 3. If one man by revelation were perfectly certain, that's nothing to the generality of the Saints. Seeing therefore that we are all imperfect in our certainty of our sincerity and Perseverance, it's meet and requisite that we be called on to a rational working preventing fear, according to the measure of our uncertainty.

*Obj.* But these fears then are sinfull, as being the fruits of sinfull

full doubts or ignorance, and so you make the Holy Ghost to command men to sin. *Ans.* They are not sinfull, in themselves, but necessary duties. It's true, that the uncertainty that goes before them is a sinne; but the fears that follow are a duty. Many things are duties to sinfull man in order to his recovery, that would have been no duties if we had no sinne: To believe for pardon, to repent, to pray for pardon, to confess sin, &c. would have been no duties, but on supposition of sinne. But when we are once sinners, these are become special duties to help us out of it. And so is it of this fear of falling away and of damnation. But when assurance and love are perfect, and that is, when we are perfect in Heaven, then I shall yeeld that fear of these is needless. In this answer to this great Objection, I rest.

Therefore, notwithstanding all the Objections that are against it, and the ill use that will be made of it by many, and the accidental troubles that it may cast some Believers into, yet it seems to me, that the Doctrine of perseverance is grounded on the Scriptures, and therefore is to be maintained, not only as extending to all the Elect against the Lutherans and Arminians, but also as extending to all the truly sanctified, against *Augustine* and the Jansenians, and other Dominicans: though we must ranke it but among truths of its own order, and not lay the Churches Peace or Communion upon it.

*Prop. II.* Though it cannot afford them assurance of salvation, yet may this perswasion of the certain perseverance of all the sanctified, afford much comfort to those that have no certainty of their own sincerity or perseverance.

If I have no perswasion either of my own sincerity, or perseverance, or yet of my perseverance as certain if I were certainly sincere, then I should have two difficulties in the way of my comfort; which is more than one alone, and therefore must put me further from comfort. But if I were sure that all true Believers shall persevere, if I had withall but a strong hope or probability that I am a true Believer, I should freely receive the comfort of that probability, without the impediment of further doubts concerning perseverance. When otherwise I should be thinking, What if I be justified, yet how can I tell but I may lose it by back-sliding? So that this

Doctrine of perseverance firmly retained, doth free me from one of the doubts, though not from both.

*Prop. 12.* As to the fifth Opinion before-mentioned (which makes either Election or Confirmation causally to inferre perseverance) I have said enough on the third and fourth Opinion (which contain this between them) to shew my thoughts of it. Though it be nearer the truth than the rest fore-mentioned, yet I see no ground to believe their supposition, that there is a third sort of truly Justified sanctified Persons, that are neither Elected nor Confirmed, and therefore will fall away. As I know of no such degree of habitual grace in this life, which would preserve men from apostacy without Gods continued tutelary, preserving grace; so I know of no such thing as true Sanctification and Justification, without that Grace which is radicated in the soul, and so may be called a confirmed state; or without the Antecedent and Concomitant Decree of Gods Election, which layeth a certain ground of perseverance. Sure I am that the ground which received the seed upon a Rock and never gave it depth of earth, did from the beginning differ from the good ground, and so did the thorny grounds: and they seem to me to intimate, that the one sort were never hearty resolved Christians, and the other had never extirpated the love of the world, but had taken up a profession in a subordination to the world, and the flesh which had the dominion. So that if these persons had persevered in that unsound estate, they could not have been saved: For Christ hath assured us that he that loveth any thing, even his own life better than him, and he that forsaketh not all for him cannot be his Disciple, *Luk 14. 33.* And the house that falleth when the winds arise and the stormes assault it, was never built upon the Rock, but on the sands, *Mat. 7. 26* So that I think that which some Papists call a state of Confirmation is the state of every true Christian, and that which they call unconfirmed grace, is but some preparatory grace, that is yet short of a state of Justification; and that which others of them (and most) call a state of Confirmation, which is supposed to be a state of impeccability, is not to be attained in this life; Though I must confess they very much

mollifie the matter in their Definitions of sinne and of perfection, while they make him impeccable or perfect from sinne, that is lyable only to venial sinnes; and make some such venial sinnes, that I know many tender-conscienc't men, that would be loth to hold communion with such venial sinners, and loth to keep a servant in their houses that were guilty of such. To make sinne no sine, and then to say we are perfect, and have no sinne, is a near way to perfection; but they that go further about, will sooner come thither.

This is my present Judgment of their Doctrine of Confirming Grace: but yet I am not so obstinate, as to refuse any evidence that may tend to give me better information, if I be mistaken, and therefore shall willingly read what they will say to clear it more. And I marvell to finde so little or nothing in *Bellarmino* and many another of that way, concerning this matter, and that those that do touch it, do it so superficially, rather taking the main Point for granted, then offering us any seeming proof of it. *Aquinas* 22. q. 24. art. 8 on the question, Whether Charity may be perfect in this life, concludeth, that though *ex parte diligibilis* it be not (for so only God himself can perfectly love himself) yet *ex parte diligentium* it may, that is, *cum quantum possibile est ipsis, Deum diligunt*: which saith he, *centingit tripliciter: Uno modo sic, quod totum cor hominis actualiter semper feratur in Deum: Et hac est perfectio charitatis patrie, qua non est possibilis in hac vita. Alio modo, ut homo studium suum deputet ad vacandum Deo, & rebus Divinis pratermissis aliis nisi quantum necessitas presentis vita requirit & ista est perfectio charitatis que est possibilis in via: non tamen est communis omnibus habentibus charitatem. Tertio modo ita quod habitualiter aliquis totum cor suum ponat in Deo, ita scilicet quod nihil cogitet vel velit quod Divina dilectioni sit contrarium. Et hac perfectio est communis omnibus charitatem habentibus ]*

If the Papists will insist upon this conclusion of *Aquinas*, I shall desire them to consider, 1. That *Thomas* himself doth afterwards affirm that *Perfectio via non est perfectio simpliciter, ideo semper habet quo crescat.* ] Therefore it is but *perfectio secundum quid*, and wanting in degree. 2. How will they be ever able to prove that those imperfections of degree are not properly



properly finnes. 3. *Aquinas* in the description of his second sort of perfection, doth but huddle up the matter in the dark. For that *studium deputare ad vacandum Deo* considered simply in it self may argue sincerity, but not perfection of degree. Perfection of degree is either that which is the highest that our nature is capable of: and that is only to be had in *Patriâ*: Or the highest that we are obliged to here, and that our natural powers on earth are capable of, if freed from all vicious dispositions; and this may be called *perfectio viae*; but the doubt is whether any man shall attain it: It is such a perfection as in the way we are capable of, but shall not have. And they that affirm it, must try it by these two things: 1. Hath any man as much Love in Habit and Act as he ought to have, or is obliged to? What man that knowes himself dare say it? Who dare say, I will not be beholden to God, or to the Blood of Christ, for a pardon for my defect of Love to God in act or habit? Yea, were it but for one day, or hour. I must profess for my own part, I am much more sensible of the sinfulness of my soul, for this defect, and of my need of a pardon for it, even in the best day and duty that I pass through (that I can love God no more vigorously and constantly,) than I am as to any of my external finnes. They must pervert the Law, or pharisaically boast of what they have not, before they can say that they do love God with all the heart, and mind and strength, in the sense which it requireth as to the degree, and to uninterrupted exercise of their love.

2. And they must measure it also by their Natural Powers: If they love him in intention and constancy of exercise, as much as our Natural Powers are able, if they were perfectly sanctified, or habituated thereto, and perfectly freed from all sinfull dispositions, then indeed they have that which may be called here perfection of degree: But this no man hath. If the Natural Powers can love God no more then they do (*in sensu composito*) because they are clogged by vicious dispositions, or are not elevated and rightly disposed by due habits, this is its moral impotency, and is farre from proving it innocent or perfect, that it is the very sinne and imperfection it self. If this be perfection, perhaps the damned might

be called perfect. But if any man dare say that his soul is perfectly habituated, and freed from evil dispositions, and doth exercise Divine Love, and all other graces, alwaies, *ad Ultimum posse*, to the highest capacity that the right disposed Natural Powers-*in viâ*, can reach, I am past doubt that that man is a stranger to his own heart, and an unhumbl'd Pharisee. Their making concupiscence in the habit or act to be no sinne (added to their fore-mentioned Doctrine, that venial finnes are but finnes Analogically, and not properly) is but a sorry way to lead men to perfection. We confesse that the ordinate habitual or actual sensitive Appetite is no sinne: But withall we must say, that in sinfull man this Appetite is corrupted, and become inordinate and rebellious, and the phantasie infected with sinfull sensual habits, and no man here perfectly freed from these (besides the remnants of sinfull dispositions in the superiour powers of the soul.) And we dare not say that these are not finnes; and consequently, that man is perfect.

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*Prop. 13.* As to the sixth Opinion (of the Amissibility of a state of Infant Justification, or rather the cessation of it) which is a point of great difficulty, and a controversie (though not much agitated) among the most Learned of the Reformed Divines, I shall for divers Reasons at this time purposely forbear the delivering of my Opinion in it.

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*Prop. 14.* As to the controversie contained in the Seventh and Eighth Opinions, I think it is but verball, and is to be dispatch't by several distinctions of possibility and impossibility. To omit divers others that might conduce to the decision, these few at present may suffice. 1. We must distinguish between an Impossibility *in re*, and *extra rem*; or a *causis intrinsicis*, or a *causis extrinsicis* or else accidental. It is possible that true grace be lost, if you speak of a possibility *a causis intrinsicis & de natura rei*; that is, the habit and subject together. But it is impossible that it should be totally and finally

finally lost, if you also respect the extrinſick cauſes: And that both *per impoſſibilitatem conſequentia*; becauſe it is not poſſible that theſe Propoſitions ſhould be both at once true. [ God willeth abſolutely or fore-knoweth that *Peter* will perſevere ] and [ *Peter* will not perſevere. ] ( And yet this following is reconcileable with the firſt [ It is impoſſible *in natura rei* for *Peter* to fall away. ] And alſo 2. *Per impoſſibilitatem cauſa*; Firſt, Becauſe God hath not only decreed the perſeuerance of the ſanctified, but alſo the Holy Ghoſt hath undertaken it as his ſpecial charge. Secondly, And the faithfullneſs of God, ( as farre as I can yet underſtand it ) is by his Promise engaged for the perſeuerance of all the truly Juſtified and ſanctified Believers; and, I am ſure, for all the Elect that are ſuch: which made the Lord Jeſus himſelf judge it a fit ſpeech to ſay, [ *They ſhould deceive if it were poſſible the very Elect*, Mat. 24. 24. ] intimating that it is not poſſible ſo to deceive them; and that is, becauſe they are Elect; even an extrinſick accidental impoſſibility. It's a dry euaſion of them that expound the Elect, of *praviſi perſeuerantes*; as if Chriſt had ſaid [ It is not poſſible to deceive them that God fore-knowes will not be deceived. ] For there is ſome preſent cauſe here plainly intimated of their perſeuerance or future non-deception; and it is not a meer logical impoſſibility of conſequence that is ſpoken of. And if this cauſe was within them, then it muſt be the nature or degree of their grace: If without them, it muſt be the Election and preſervation of God, which indeed was the cauſe.

For my part, I ſubſcribe to *Aquinas* his explication of this matter in 2. 2. q. 24. art. II. *Utrum charitas ſemel habita poſſit amitti?* as it lieth in theſe words in concluſion which I think worth the reciting though ſomewhat large [ *Quaquam patrie charitas, ubi Deus per eſſentiam videtur amitti nullatenus poſſit; charitas tamen via, in cujus ſtatu Dei eſſentia non videtur amitti peccando poſeſt.* ( But marke the Explication ) *Reſpo. dicendum quod per charitatem ſpiritus ſanctus in nobis habitat. Tripliciter ergo poſſumus conſiderare charitatem. Uno modo ex parte ſpiritus ſancti moventis animum ad diligendum deum: & ex hac parte charitas Impeccabilitatem habet ( I would ſay it is *inextinguibilis* or *inextirpabilis* ) ex virtute ſpiritus ſancti, qui infallibiliter operatur quodcumque voluerit: Unde*

Unde impossibile est hac duo simul esse vera, quod spiritus sanctus velit aliquem movere ad actum charitatis, et quod ipse charitatem amittat peccando. Nam donum perseverantiae computatur inter beneficia Dei quibus certissime liberantur quicumque liberantur ut Aug. Alio modo potest considerari charitas secundum propriam rationem: & sic charitas non potest aliqua, nisi id quod pertinet ad charitatis rationem: Unde charitas nullo modo potest peccare, sicut calor non potest infrigidare, & sicut iniusticia non potest bonum facere, ut August. Tertio modo potest considerari charitas ex parte subjecti quod est vertibile secundum arbitrij libertatem. Potest autem attendi comparatio charitatis ad hoc subjectum, & secundum universalem rationem qua comparatur forma ad materiam; & secundum specialem rationem, qua comparatur habitus ad potentiam. Est autem de ratione formae, quod fit in subjecto amissibiliter, quando non replet totam potentialitatem materia—— sic ergo charitas Patria quia replet totam potentialitatem rationalis mentis (in quantum scilicet omnis actualis motus ejus fertur in Deum) inamissibiliter habetur. Charitas autem via non sic replet potentialitatem sui subjecti, qui non semper actu fertur in Deum. Unde quando actu in Deum non fertur, potest aliquid occurrere per quod charitas amittatur. Habitui vero proprium est, ut inclinet Potentiam ad agendum: quod convenit habitui in quantum facit id videri bonum quod ei convenit, malum autem quod ei repugnat. Sicut enim gustus dijudicat sapes secundum suam dispositionem: ita mens hominis dijudicat de aliquo faciendo secundum suam habitualem dispositionem: Unde Philos. dicit, Quod qualis unusquisque est, talis finis videtur ei. Ibi ergo charitas inamissibiliter habetur, ubi id quod convenit charitati non potest videri nisi bonum, scilicet in Patria, ubi Deus videtur per essentiam, quae est ipsa essentia bonitatis: & ideo charitas patria amitti non potest. Charitas autem via, in cujus statu non videtur ipsa Dei essentia, quae est essentia bonitatis, potest amitti ] (that is, in respect of the subject alone considered) I take this for a plain and sound explication of the point: if the rest were added, viz. in whom the Holy Ghost doth thus preserve Grace.

Vid. Aquin.  
conr. Gentil.  
lib. 3. qu. 155.  
fol. 125.

And here I cannot see but *Aquinas* is against *Alvarez* conceit of a confirming grace in this life, which is a participation *charitatis Patrie*: For *Aquinas* confineth *charitatem Patria ad patriam*, and excludeth it a *viatore*: and he confineth it to the Vision of God *per essentiam*, which both he and the truth do exclude from earth. And *De veritate Mater.* 18. it is his first Qu. and he determineth that it is an Error in them that think that *Adam* in innocency did see God *per essentiam*, though imperfectly, and in a middle sort *inter statum beatorum & peccatorum*.

See also *Capreolus Defens.* li. 2. *Dist.* 23. qu. 1. of this.

Yet of the main point *Aquinas* speaks as *Alvarez* before cited. And most fully *lib de verit. Mater.* 24. qu. 9. fol. 137, 138. where he concludeth that *in viâ* no man can be perfect and confirmed in good *simpliciter*, ita *vix quod in se sufficiens, sua firmitatis principium habeat quod omnino peccare non possit*: but only *per hoc quod datur eis aliquod munus gratia per quod inclinantur in bonum, quod non possunt de facili a bono deflecti: non tamen per hoc ita retrahuntur a malo quod omnino peccare non possint, nisi divinâ providentiâ custodiente.* ] And *ad 4<sup>m</sup>* he thus qualifyeth his perfection [ *Quod ex ratione illa potest haberi, quod non est aliquis in statu viæ omnino confirmatus, sicut nec omnino perfectus.* ( And *ad 5<sup>m</sup>* adds that *posse peccare non facit ad meritum, sed ad meriti manifestacionem*; which the Jesuites may consider of. )

*Prop.* 15. The ninth Opinion being the Libertines, is so gross against nature, and express Scripture, and the very holy nature, and the experience of the Saints, that I think it not necessary here to say any more of it, than to disclaim it, and open the truth in these few Assertions. 1. No mans assurance of his perseverance is perfect in this life: 2. Therefore in that measure as his assurance is imperfect, and he is lyable to the least doubts, in that measure it is his duty to fear: The fear may be a duty, when the doubt that doth occasion it is a sin. 3. A very great cautelousness according to the weight of our work, would be necessary, if our assurance of perseverance were perfect. 4. God hath not only decreed and promised that we shall persevere, but also that we shall by the means of this holy cautelousness, and solicitude and fear, persevere: *Jer.* 32. 40. *I will put my fear in their hearts that they shall not depart*

F

from

from me. 5. The dominion of any one sin is inconsistent with saving grace and justification. 6. Therefore he that is under the dominion of any sin, may be sure that he is unjustified, but he cannot be assured that he hath that holiness or justification which he hath not, or that he shall persevere in it, before he have it. 7. He that hath not more hatred than love to any sin, and that had not rather be rid of it even in the use of Gods means, than keep it, in regard of the habituated state of his will, is under the dominion of sin, and in a state of damnation. 8. He that is thus resolved and affected against a gross sin, or any known sin that is under the power of his will, is not like to live in, or give up himself to it: Nay he cannot commit it without renewed resolutions against it, and a restless importunity of soul to be delivered, which will prevail. 9. It is therefore a great suspicion, if not a certain thing, that the man that can live in such a sin, and quiet his mind in it on this account, that once he had grace, and therefore shall persevere, is yet without true saving grace. 10. Sin doth as naturally breed troubles and fears as the setting of the sun causeth darkness, or as a gross substance in the sunshinē causeth a shadow. And this from the nature of the thing, and by the will of God. 11. A lapsed Christian must be recovered, and fear is one of the means of his recovery. 12. Therefore the Libertine Doctrines, of not fearing, mourning, praying, confessing, in order to pardon, are pernicious Doctrines: as I have more fully manifested in other Writings on that Subject.

*Prop. 16.* As to the tenth Opinion, which affirmeth that no measure of our first stock of grace can be lost, which was infused in our regeneration; I distinguish between two sorts of converts: In some God may put at the first but the smallest degree of saving grace; and perhaps that may be Gods most ordinary way: And then no doubt, that cannot be diminished, but the sincerity or life it self must be lost: For the diminishing of the smallest sparke would be the extinguishing of it. But for ought I know, in others God may give a greater measure of grace in their first conversion, than to most he doth after long use of means. I think he did so to *Paul*. Now in this case, though it is most probable that God never will suffer that grace to be brought to a smaller measure then at first it was infused, yet I know no certainty

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by Promise or any other proof that he will never permit such a diminution. Let them that affirm it, bring us their evidence, and we shall try and judge of it as we find it.

A godly Divine Mr *John Barlow* in his Discourse of Spiritual stedfastness gives this Reason. [ *As we were meer patients at the first reception, so are we no agents in its destruction. Lose we may what addition, by our co-operation with it we have gained: but not the least dram of that which without our co-working, was at our effectual call infused* ] To which I answer. 1. It's but barely said, that we are no agents in it's destruction; and not proved. I deny the consequence: A man may be active in destroying grace, that was but passive in receiving it. 2. We may merit the diminution, and so may be active. 3. It is not yet proved, but that we are as truly passive in receiving each superadded degree, as the first; or that every degree is not infused as the first was: though it be true that there are higher preparatory dispositions in the soul for further degrees than were for the first. 4. This whole Argument is confuted by the instance of *Adam*: For he was as passive as we in receiving his first grace, and yet lost it, and was too active as to the losing it: therefore the reason is insufficient.

*Prop. 17* The Eleventh Opinion, (that no degree of the habit can be diminished, either which was first infused or after added) is less probable than the former; And Mr *Barlow* in the foregoing page doth give four Reasons against it. And yet not only some few of ours, but most of the School-men, are against the diminution of the habit; but very differently, for though *Aquinas* simply say that [ *Quaerquam charitas secundum se ac directe, nullatenus diminui possit, dispositivè tamen & indirecte per venialia peccata & cessando ab operibus virtutum diminutionem admittit* ] Yet *Gr. Ariminenfis*, and abundance other School-men adde that *ex natura sua potest diminui, & si non potest respectu ordinationis divinae*: And their denial of the diminution of it, is from their false Opinions about venial and mortal sin. \* For they feign a thing called venial sinne, which is not against charity, nor, properly sinne, and then they give that as a reason why it cannot directly (that is, *neque effective neque meritorie* as *Aquin.*) diminish charity. And then for mortal sin, they say it doth totally

\* And the Doctrine of the Thomists against the increase of Charity by addition of further degrees, doth lead them to think it cannot be diminished. Against which see *Rada. contr.* 18. and other *Scolists.*

evacuate and corrupt Charity, both *effective & meritorie*: *Aquin 22. qu. 24. art. 10. concl.* But it will be long before they will be able to teach their Scholars to know which are mortal and which venial finnes, according to their own descriptions, (so truly doth *Gerson* and with him others, complain of the difficulty of discerning them:) and longer before they will prove any sins to be venial in their sense: and as long will it be before they will well prove that every sin which they call mortal doth *charitatem totaliter corrumpere* as they affirm; and that *Peter, David, Noah, &c.* were utterly void of Charity when they sinned; and were afterwards new-born a second or third time. I think I need not stand upon their Reasons.

*Prop. 18.* As for the Twelfth Opinion which is the Libertine of that strein that are next the Familists, I have said so much against it in other Writings, and so many others have said more, and it is so gross as before was said of the Ninth which draws near it, that I shall suppose I may be here excused from meddling with it any further, than to bid the weak and unskillfull to beware of it, as being a ready way to carnal security, impiey, licentiousness and perdition.

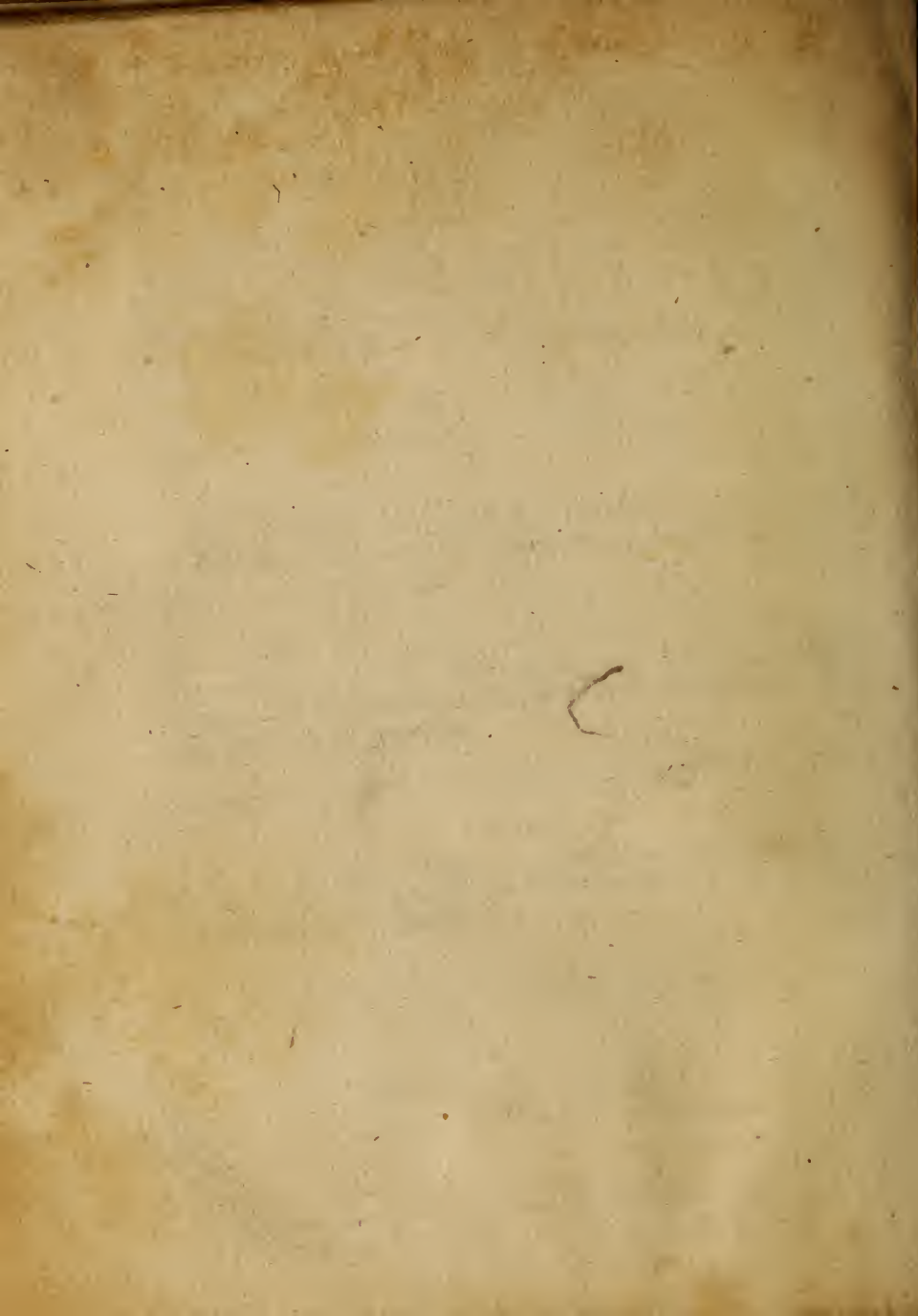
*Errata.*

PAGE 8. l. 12. for [*predestination*] r. [*predetermination*] p. 10. l. 21.  
for [*violaris*] r. [*viatoris*] p. 21. l. 37. for [*grace*] r. [*peace*] p 37.  
l. 6. for [*impossible*] r. [*possible*.]

F I N I S.







O F  
Saving Faith:

That it is not only gradually,  
but specifically distinct from all  
Common FAITH.

The Agreement of *Richard Baxter* with  
that very Learned consenting Adver-  
sary, that hath maintained my Assertion by a  
pretended Confutation in the end of *Serjeant  
Shephards Book of Sincerity and Hypocrisie.*

With the Reasons of my Dissent in  
some passages that came in on the by.

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*Dr. Preston Golden Scepter*, pag. 210. [*Object.* It seems then that  
the Knowledge of a carnal man and a regenerate man differ but  
in Degrees, not in Kind. ] *Ans<sup>w</sup>.* The want of Degrees here  
alters the kind; as in Numbers the Addition of a Degree alters  
the Species.

Read this point practically improved in Mr. *Pinks* excellent Sermons  
of *Sincere Love to Christ*, on *Luke* 14. 26. pag. 1. and pag. 33. &c.

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L O N D O N,

Printed by *R. W.* for *Nevill Simmons* Bookseller in *Keder-  
minster*, and are to be sold by him there; and by  
*Nathaniel Ekins* at the Gun in *Pauls Church-  
Yard.* Anno Dom. 1658.

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*To the Worthy and much Honoured  
Mr. W. S., Serjeant at Law:*

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S I R,



YOU have very much honoured me in the choice of an Opponent : but I perceive by his Conclusion that he hath other business, and I am not altogether without. And therefore I intreat you the next time to choose me an Adversary that differs from me, or to give me leave to live at Peace. Or if he differ not, let him rather reprehend me for agreeing with him, than pretend a difference where there is none. If your learned Friend do think it as well worth his labor to prove us disagreed, as I thought it worth mine to prove us of a mind, if I live I shall be willing to read what he rejoyns; but if it come not of a greater Errand, I'll promise you no more. As to your own pious Labors, they are so honest and savory to me, that they tempted me to differ from you in one thing, and to think that [an Hypocrite cannot write or preach as well as a good Christian can] there being an unexpressible Spirituality that I savour in some men more then others : but

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

I'll not stand to this. You give at least as much to the Hypocrite I think as ever I did; and you confirm it by much Scripture-evidence. But I must confess I think not that all your Notes of sincerity are exact or will hold the Tryal; but yet they be usefull in many Cases. You affirm that Hypocrites have common Grace, even to the height expressed by you: but you say, It is not true Grace. Either its Grace or no Grace: if none, call it not common Grace, (or common Faith, Desire, Hope, Love, Joy; if it be none.) But if it be Grace, and not true Grace, then *Ens & Verum non convertuntur*. I maintain that it is not true saving Grace, but yet true common Grace: You maintain in the general that it is not true Grace, and yet its truly common Grace: There being then no Controversie that I see to be disputed between you and me, but whether *Ens & Verum convertuntur*, I crave pardon for my further silence, resolving rather to give you the best (though not to assent) than to dispute it: I remain

A great Esteemer of your Piety  
and many Labors,

MARCH 31.  
1658.

Richard Baxter.

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Reader, I suppose thee to have the Book at hand which I here deal with; and therefore have recited but the sum and principal Passages, and not every word; which thou maist read in the Book its self.

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fol. 56

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fol. 64

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# The Contents.

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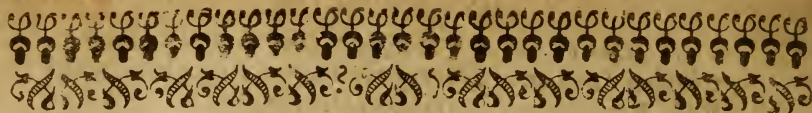
**Se<sup>ct</sup>. 11.** *The Protestants defended for placing Affiance or Trust in the Will. Baronius's two Arguments produced by the Opponent, refelled. Difference how far in the Will. There is aliquid spei & amoris in Affiance or Faith, and yet Faith is not Hope or Love. We trust only for good. Eight Reasons proving Affiance in the Will.* fol. 76

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Reader,

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Reader, I intreat thee first to correct these ERRATA,  
because they are many and marr the sence.

**P**Ag. 4. lin. 36. read *beside*. p. 7. l. 12. blot out *and*. p. 10. l. 14. r. *common Belief & special*.  
l. 20. blot out *it*. l. 34. r. read. p. 11. l. 14. *that here*. p. 12. l. 23. r. *that they have*. p. 13. l.  
22. r. *thee*. p. 15. l. 8. r. *Wills*. p. 20. l. 11. r. *Suarez*. p. 23. l. 4. r. *branches*. p. 24. l. 35. r. *is it*.  
p. 26. l. 15. blot out *ly*. p. 27. l. 13. r. of *spetial*. p. 28. l. 35. r. ob. p. 31. l. 21. r. *in Christ*. p. 32. l. 13.  
r. *denominate*. p. 37. l. 26. r. *ex re presenti* p. 39. l. 5. r. *speciei*. l. ult. r. *us to be*. p. 40. l. 7. r. *Hea-*  
*thens with*. l. 10. r. *they* l. 34. r. *while*. p. 42. l. 18. r. *prompti*. l. 19. r. *carnis*. p. 44. l. 1. r. *pre-*  
*sent*. l. 10. r. *Arts*. p. 46. l. 12. r. *is*. l. 37. r. *that*. p. 47. l. 25. r. *Death*. l. 29. r. *scrue*. p. 49. l.  
15. r. *losing*. p. 50. l. 13. r. *its*. l. 15. r. *say, that, and for therefore* r. *so*. p. 53. l. 10. r. *recited*.  
p. 54. l. 9. r. *by, so that*. p. 55. l. 35. r. *believe*. p. 56. l. 20, 21. r. *Opinion, nor Science*. p. 57. l. 6.  
r. *superficially*. p. 60. l. 25. r. of. p. 64. l. 20. blot out *in*. p. 68. l. ult. blot out *the*. p. 69. l. 31. r.  
*Truth*. p. 73. l. 4. r. *σίστις*. l. 7. r. *in Scripture*. p. 77. l. 12. r. *the opinion*. l. 29. r. of *Affiance in the*  
*Veracity*. p. 78. l. 32. blot out *essential to hope*. p. 79. l. 10. r. *but*. p. 80. l. 4. r. *confine*. l. 15. r. *post-*  
*humons*. p. 81. l. 2. r. *threatnings*. l. 12. r. *as well as of the Intellect*. p. 83. l. 23. r. *want work*.  
l. 25. r. *I have first*. l. 35. r. *fides*. p. 84. l. 25. r. *that every*. p. 86. l. 28. r. *Heshusius*. p. 87. l. 22. r. *me*.  
p. 88. l. 28. r. *lamenting*. p. 89. l. 14. and l. 20. r. *To*. l. 20. r. *Arminius*. p. 94. l. 16. r. *answerable*.

There are many mis-pointings which marr the sence, which the Reader may observe.





## S E C T. I.

**Y** Et more contending work? No: Whatsoever it may seem to those that judge of Books by their Titles; it is an acceptable amicable closure of Contenders, and a Learned Defence of the Truths which I have been long too unlearnedly and unskilfully Defending. And if so many good and Learning men have been so deeply displeas'd with me, for maintaining the specifick Difference between common faith and that which is proper to the Justified; Let them now prepare their patience or their valour, when (under my name) they are encountered by a stronger hand. For my part, whatever mistakes of my writings this Learned Author may be guilty of, it sufficeth me to find him maintaining that Truth, which is deservedly precious to him and me, and which needeth so much clearing in these times, that when we have done all, too many will remain unsatisfied.

In the second Edition of a Book called *The Saints Rest*, I endeavour'd according to my weaknes, to shew the true difference between the common Grace that may be found in the unsanctified, and the special Grace of the Saints which accompanieth

panieth Salvation. After divers explicatory Propositions, I asserted ( in the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth ) Proposition 8. that [ *God hath not in the Covenant promised Justification and Salvation upon any meer Act or Acts, considered without that degree and futableness to their Objects, wherein the sincerity of them as saving doth consist* ] ( the foregoing Propositions explain this ) [ 9. *That there is no one Act considered in its meer nature and kind without its measure and futableness to its Object, which a true Christian may perform, but an unsound Christian may perform it also.* ] ( E.g. An unsanctified man may esteem God as good, and notionally as the chief Good ; but till we esteem him 1. as the chiefest Good ; 2. And that with such an effectual serious prevalent estimation, as may win the heart to the most prevalent or predominant Love, it will not save us. ) [ Prop. 10. *The supremacy of God and the Mediatour in the soul, or the Precedency or prevalency of his Interest in us, above the interest of the flesh, or of inferiour good, is the very point wherein materially the sincerity of our Graces as saving ( i.e. as they are conditions of salvation, and not meer duties ) doth consist, and so is the One mark by which those must judge of their states that would not be deceived.* ] Prop. 11. [ *For herein the sincerity of the Act as saving consisteth, in being suited to its adequate Object, considered in its respects which are essential to it as such an Object. And so to believe in, Accept and Love God as God, and Christ as Christ, is the sincerity of those Acts : But this lyeth in Believing, Accepting and Loving God as the only supreme Authority, &c. Ruler and Good, and Christ as the only Redeemer, and so our soveraign Lord, our Saviour, our Husband, and our Head.* ] ( This I called the moral specification of the Act. ) [ Prop. 12. *Therefore the sincerity of saving Grace as saving, lyeth materially, not in the bare Nature of it, but in the Degree ; not in the degree considered Absolutely in it self, but comparatively as it is prevalent against its contrary.* ] And among much more for explication I added, [ *I must tell you, that you must still distinguish between a Physical or Natural specification, and a moral : and remember, that our Question is only of a Physical difference, which I deny, and not of a moral, which I make no doubt of.* ——— ] And [ *And furthermore observe, that sincerity of Grace as saving, lyeth in the degree,*

not formally, but as it were materially ——— Because the Promise giveth not salvation to the Act considered in its meer Being, and Natural sincerity, but to the Act as suited to the Object in its essential respects: and that suitability of the Act to the form of its Object consisteth only in a certain Degree of the Act, seeing the lowest Degree cannot be so suited? therefore I say that sincerity lyeth materially as it were, only in the Degree of those Acts, and not in the bare Nature and Being of them.]

By this and much more for explication, I thought I had made my Assertion intelligible, while I maintained, 1. That there was a moral specific difference, between the Graces of the Regenerate and others, 2. That only the Acts of saving Grace were suited to the very essence or form of the Object; 3. And that it was only materially and Physically, that I said the difference lay but in Degree: that is, gracious Action, are in order first *quid Physicum*, a natural Being, before it be *quid morale*: Or else our Divines would not so commonly teach *de causâ mali*, that God is the Author of all the entity of the Act, but not of the evil: Now as to the Physical Being of the Act, an un sanctified man may have a Belief of the same truths as the sanctified, and a Love to the same God, and a Belief in the same Christ, and a Love to the same Christians, Sermons, Ordinances. &c. Yea more then so, they may notionally apprehend the same Reasons for Believing, Loving, &c. as the sanctified. But they cannot effectually apprehend these Reasons, and therefore do not esteem God or Love him, with their highest predominant estimation and Love, nor Believe with a faith that is prevalent against their unbelief. And therefore morally, strictly, properly, they are to be said to be *no true Believers, not to love God, &c.* because we are speaking of moral subjects, and of that faith and Love which is the *famosius analogatum*, and most properly so called. And therefore I maintained, that all the un sanctified are called Christians, Believers, &c. but Equivocally, or Analogically: But yet that the faith and Love, &c. which they have is not all feigned, but true, or Real in its own kind. And this was the sum of my Assertions then.

A while after Dr. Kendal wrote a large digression against

Some part of my Assertions: to whom when I had prepared half an Answer, at his own peaceable motion, and the Reverend Bishop *Ushers*, we agreed on a mutual silence, as most sutable to our duties and the good of the Church. But before this Agreement, I had printed one sheet in the end of the fifth Impression of the *Saints Rest*, in which I more fully opened my meaning, and shewed that *Dr. Kendal* himself did seem to consent to what I had asserted. The same sheet I had also put into the press to be affixed to my Confession. Besides in my Apologie I had at large defended against *Mr. Blake*, that all that will be regularly Baptized ( at age ) or admitted to Church-communion and Sacraments must make a credible profession of a saving faith specifically distinct from the faith of the unregenerate. Hereupon *Mr. Blake* in his Reply had manifested much displeasure against this Assertion, professing his abhorrence of it, that I called the unjustified but Equivocally Believers, Christians, Disciples. Hereupon I wrote a Volume of Disputations on this very subject: Proving that it must be the profession of a Faith specifically distinct from that of the un-sanctified, which all must profess that we must admit to the Sacraments; and that the ungodly are but Equivocally called Believers, Christians, &c. In other Treatises also I had insisted on the same. And yet all this did not content me, because I heard that others were still discontented. And some Reverend Learned Ministers of other Countries, told me with admiration, that though I had so expressly maintained a moral specifick difference between common & special grace, yet they never spoke with one offended man about it, that ever observed that, or understood me: but perswaded people confidently that I denied any specifick difference; and had put the question without any such distinction or limitation, whether common and special Grace differ only Gradually, or specifically? It seemed to me an incredible thing that such dealing should be so common as they told me: But if it were possible, I thought I would yet speak plainer, and cause men to understand that were but willing; and therefore before the explicatory sheet that was printed in the end of the fifth and sixth impressions of the *Saints Rest*, and in my *Confession*, and besides both the foresaid Volumes

lumes of Disputations , I did somewhat correct the seventh impression of the *Saints Rest* ; and added yet another explanatory sheet in the end of it. So that I knew not what I could do more, to be understood.

And now after all this, is brought to my hands a Book of a worthy Gentlemans writing, Mr. *W. S.* a Serjeant at Law, with an Aditonal exercitation pretended to be written against my Assertion, by a very Learned man ; who doth not only overlook all the forementioned Treatises and explications, but the very Question it self which I discussed, and my forementioned Assertions : feigning me to maintain this general unlimited Assertion, that [ *Common and special Grace differ only Gradually.* ] At first it struck me into an admiration! But having long known what man is, and considering the quality and employments of the worthy Author, I had store of Apologies presently at hand, sufficient with me to excuse all this, and because I think they should be sufficient with others, that I foresee are like to be Objecting against such kind of dealing : I shall therefore express them, that the Reader may know, that as we are both for one cause, so we are far from any personal distaste, or disaffection, or any uncharitable malicious projects in the management thereof.

If unwritten Tradition may but be taken for a sufficient Reporter of the Authors Name, (which I have no cause to doubt of) I must say, that he is one that I have honoured and very highly esteemed about this twenty years, even ever since I read his six Metaphysical Exercitations, and should have thought it a very great honour and happiness to have been but one of his Pupils : And though I know him not by face, I have reason to be confident that no uncharitable design doth dwell in the breast of a man so Learned , moderate and ingenuous as he is commonly fam'd to be. And therefore as long as we both agree in Loving and defending the Truth of God , the matter is the less if we shew our selves but men towards one another. Nay. I have some reason to call it a happy mistake of my words and meaning in him, which occasioned the communication of this Learned Vindication of the Truth which I more weakly and unskilfully asserted. And I make no doubt but the princi-

pal fault is my own, who by some unfit expressions have hindred such judicious men from understanding me.

*Object.* But were not so many Explications and Disputations sufficient to satisfie any man of your meaning?

*Ans<sup>w</sup>.* What Obligation lay on this learned man to read or take notice of any thing of mine? I doubt not, but he had better work to do.

*Object.* He should have found time to read and understand a mans writings, before he find time to confute them upon a misunderstanding?

*Ans<sup>w</sup>.* He read that which he wrote against: And truly if I had lived in the publique Library at Oxford, I should have been loth my self to have cast away my time in reading any such Disputations or Explications as these of mine. If men are so unskilfull that they cannot in fewer words so speak as to be understood; let them at their own blame be misunderstood.

*Object.* But he should have read the additional Explications in the same Book.

*Ans<sup>w</sup>.* Its like he never saw any of those Impressions that did contain them.

*Object.* At least he should have observed the section which he confuted.

*Ans<sup>w</sup>.* So he did: For *pag. 332.* He confesseth that I assert, [that the Acts of common and special Grace, as they are morally considered do differ specifically, and not only in degree.]

*Object.* Why then doth he contend, if he agree, why doth he seem to differ, and think it worthy his publique labor to seem to differ, where he doth not.

*Ans<sup>w</sup>.* I suppose it is my terms that he intends his Labor against, which he thought might be unfit and seem to intimate somewhat contrary to my own Assertions:

*Object.* But why then did he not tell us that it was words only that he strove about, and tell us of more convenient expressions in their stead? Nay, Why did he overlook the principal terms in your Proposition? and when you say that it is but Materially, and not Formally, that you place the difference in degree; why doth he still leave out Materially? and when you profess to speak only

of



*of such a Material Physicall Gradation? Why doth he make the Reader believe that you speak of the formal difference, and simply denyed a specifick difference?*

*Answ.* One word is easily overlookt, yea many: perhaps he lookt only on the followlug words, where in some impressions the word *Materially* was not repeated, ( as being before exprest in the Proposition. ) But what great matter is it if we mistake one another, as long as we mistake not the Truths of God.

*Object.* *It tendeth but to prejudice common Readers, and cause them to cast away mens labors, that might profit them for Brethren to multiply quarrels, and against them, especially when they confess that there is no real difference to occasion it, the thing is the more without excuse.*

*Answ.* And what harm is it to the Church or any soul to be brought to a suspition or distast of any thing of mine, or to have any of my writings become unprofitable to them: Are there not more enough, more usefull and less offensive in the world. Through the Mercy of God it is an age of plenty, and he that savoureth not one mans writings, may savour and be saved by anothers. I confess some railing rabbius men have done some wrong to our common Hearers, by teaching them to fly from their Teachers as deceivers: but this Reverend Man is an enemy to such waies; and therefore I know not why such a peaceable collation of our different thoughts or expressions should be so offensive as I find it ordinary to be.

*Object.* *But was not this work sufficiently done already? What need such a multitude of stones to be cast at one mans words even at a few sentences, which they close with themselves, when they have done? Is not that which is here said the same that Dr. Kendal had said before? And what need the same be done so oft?*

*Answ.* Many witnesses give the stronger testimony to a Truth; many may read the writings of this learned man, that would not have seen or read Dr. K. and the great reputation of so eminently learned and discret a man; may add much advantage to the promoting of any truth which he shall defend. Or else Mr. Tombes would not have printed the letter

ter against infant-Baptism ( which same faith was written by this learned hand ) in his Epistle before his third part of Antipedo-Baptism ; but that thinking the Truth was on his side, he thought it would be some advantage to it, that so learned a Pen should put a *deleantur* upon the Arguments against it, saying, [ *I have read what my learned and worthy friend Dr. Hammond, Mr. Baxter, and others say in defence of it; and I confess, I wonder not a little that men of such great parts, should say so much to so little purpose; for I have not yet seen any thing like an Argument for it.* ] ( Though in this I must still profess my Dissent from this very learned worthy man ) Yet in the point before us, I rejoyce, that my infirmities have occasioned such an advantage to the truth, as the publication of his Testimony. When I first received his Book, I was busie about satisfying some Reverend Brethren, that were displeas'd with me for going his way ; and therefore received it with some gladness, as that which might ease me of some of my burden, and promote the satisfaction of some of the offended. I have heard somewhat that causeth me to suspect, that a reverend Brother intendeth to write against my second, fourth, and fifth *Disputations of Right to Sacraments*, especially the last, which asserteth that the *unregenerate* are but equivocally or analogically called Believers, Christians, Disciples, Sanctified, &c. If any be upon that work, I intreat them to trie first how they can confute this learned Author; who hath done the same work better ( as against me ) then I could do. For I will not take the cause as gone, till his Reasons are answered as well as mine. ( Perhaps I was beholden to my Appendix to that Disput. for a Testimony from him that never read it. )

This much I have said to let both Papists, and all other Adversaries understand that there is not so much distance among us, for them to reproach us with, as some of our concertations do seem to import. Fencing is not a sign of enmity, though fighting be ; and that there is as little disagreement in our Judgements, I shall further manifest by a perusal of the several parts of this pretended Confutation : yet freely acknowledging as I go ; Those differences which indeed I find.

## SECT. 2.

Page 1. HE tells us, 1. That he believes the difference to be more then gradual, and so said I. [ 2. And that my discourse doth not concludingly evince the contrary; ] nor did it ever pretend it: Thus far we are agreed.

Page 2. (i.e 332.) He saith that [To prove that common and special Grace do differ only gradually, I reason, ] as followeth. But I never asserted such a thing, and therefore never reasoned for it. It was but overlooking the terms [Materially, ] and [Physical specifications; ] and some such like, that caused this mistake.

Here is culled out those words of mine, that were easiēst mistaken, and several considerations added. As to the first, we are agreed that the Question is not of Grace, as it is in God, but in us, or of gracious acts as of us. But my weakness was such, That, 1. I thought, as a presupposed, thing to meet with some that insisted on the name, I might have mentioned exclusively this Grace which this Reverend Brother excludeth, as I did. 2. I thought that *Amor Complacentiæ vel acceptatio divina*, had *denominatiōe extrinseca* been capable of a gradation; and that as truly, as we say. God loveth one man, and hateth another, and that he loveth him converted, whom he (so) loved not unconverted, (*amore complacentiæ, & acceptationis*) as truly might we say, that he loveth (with that love) a holier & more heavenly upright man, above a scandalous weak Believer, that hath the least goodness, and the most sin that is consistent with sincerity. But I am resolved so far to stoop to the learning of this Reverend man, as not to maintain this opinion against him (though I may not be cured of such conceits so soon as he desireth.)

As to his second Confid. pag. 323. We are fully agreed, that Grace is *ἐπιθετικόν*, and that if ever *Titius* and *Sempronius* had Grace, it was not in order of Nature, till after they were men. But I confess I think still, that Grace to *Adam* was not *aliquid natura superadditum*, unless you confine the word *Nature* to his meer faculties, as distinct from those right

Dispositions, which were natural to them, though separable.

In his third Conclusion, he receipts some of my words [*Our Understandings and Wills are physically the same, &c.* and saith that, [*This Assertion as 'tis here expressed, is evidently untrue; for our Understandings and Wills, are so far from being the same in specie, &c.* ] Still we are agreed whether he will or no. But did I write this false Assertion? yes, all saving one word, yea a syllable, which is easily overlookt. And 2. The false meaning which the adjoined words do justify it from; being speaking of the *Matter* of saving and common Grace, I thought it not impertinent to mention it as a common Concession, that all of us agree in; [That common knowledge and special common belief; and specially agree in this general Nature, that both are real knowledge and belief, and that our Understandings and Wills are all Physically the same, and that they agree in the general nature of an Act, yea such as (substantially at least) have the same Object. ] These are the haynous words, or the fruits of my greatest weakness it seems, that it is manifested in that discourse now here. 1. This most learned Author did both. *Pag. 322. and pag 324.* still leave out the word [ *All,* ] (that's but a syllable.) And 2. The more easily feigneth that I speak of the understanding and Will, of the same person, contrary to the drift and plain expressions of the discourse which treats of the difference between the Grace of the regenerate and unregenerate: Because I saw this exact Disputant leave out the word [ *All* ] more then once or twice, I was willing to have found that in some one Impression the Printer had omitted it: but I am frustrated of that conciliatory excuse, finding it in the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh Impressions ( which were all: For that discourse was not in the first. ) But yet I have one excuse: Perhaps the Reverend Confuter never reads the Book, but received these passages transcribed by his *Scholar*, that may be more prone and willing to mistake. And if I had said, that the said faculties are but *formaliter, vel denominatione extrinseca*, distinct from the soul, and from each other, he very well knows what great store of company I had had,

had, and that of the highest foorms in the scools which might have put some honor on a person so inconsiderable as I: and every man of the third form,<sup>1</sup> that calls the difference reall, is not in love with the notion of a specificke difference, though commonly they agree: But this is nothing to our Debate.

Page 315. He saith, That [ *this makes nothing to the present purpose, nor any way proves that common and saving Grace differ not specifically.* ]

*Answ.* Will we are agreed, whether he will or no: Though it make not to the purpose, it may be mentioned exclusively, or as a common concession, presupposed to the purpose as himself here innocently mentioneth it: and if it will not prove that there is *no Difference*, it will shew here that the *Difference is not.*

But he saith, *It is wholly impertinent, &c.*]

*Answ.* 1. See all you that are adversaries to the honor of our Unity, that we are so far from disagreeing in Articles of faith, that we will not suffer so much as an *Impertinency* in one another without a reprehension. 2. I am sorry for an *Impertinency*, but I am glad that it is not false. 3. Its *impertinent* to your *purpose*, but not to *mine*.

Once for all, this was my reason of these passages. 1. I knew by long experience, abundance of people that credibly and confidently professed to have some real undissembled desires to be sober, and yet lived in drunkenness; and to be godly, and yet had little of it in their practise, and to have a Love to the godly, (and truly would do and suffer somewhat for them, but yet loved the world and themselves so much better, that they would be at no great cost or danger for them: such a Love they profest to Christ himself, and a credible profession they made of a true dogmatical belief. And these men were many of them deeply possessed by mistaking our Divines, that the least true (or real) desire after Christ or Grace, was saving Grace it self, and would certainly prove that the person should be saved, so that some of them that lived in ordinary drunkenness for many years, would after they had been drunk cry out of their sin, and be ready to rear

their hair, and profess themselves unworthy to come among Christians; and yet still would profess that they were confident of pardon by the blood of Christ, because they were as certain as that they lived, that they hated their sin as sin, and desired to be godly, and could wish themselves in the state of the best, and did believe all the word of God to be true, because it is God's that cannot lie, and had felt experimentally the sweetness and power of it on their hearts, and did trust on Christ alone for Salvation. I do not feign this, but have found it in old and common Drunkards, and such like, for many & many years together. Now the work that I had to do with these persons was to convince them that such good desires as are habitually, and in ordinary practice conquered by fleshly, worldly desires, will never prove the soul to be sanctified: and such a Belief as is conquered by unbelief or sensuality, will never prove a man to be justified; and such a love to God and the godly, as is conquered by a greater love to carnal self, and the world, may stand with a state of condemnation. *O but say they, we are certain that we dissemble not; These desires, Belief, Love, &c. we have.* Should I say, that they lie, and have none such, they would never believe me, nor should I believe my self, because I believe the Scripture, and the credible Professions of men. I conclude therefore they have that such acts as they affirm, and that they are Analogically good (in moral sense,) and come from the common Grace of Christ: but that besides the Reality of these acts, they must have them in such a predominant degree, as is suited in its Essentials to the Object, and will overcome their contraries in the main bent of heart and life, and prove predominant habits in the soul, before they can hence conclude that they are sanctified: Where note, that the men that I speak of, trie not their acts by a suitability to the object in its relative perfections, nor do they once know, or at least consider of the moral respective formality of these Graces; but look all at the Act as it is exercised on God, Christ, Scripture, Saints, substantially considered, or if considered as Good, True, &c. yet not effectually apprehended as the chief good, most certain necessary Truth, &c. So that it is the substance or matter

ter ( as its commonly called ) of their Belief, Love, Desire, &c. That our question with such men is about: And therefore my business with them was to shew them what it is in the *Matter and Substance* of these Acts that is necessary to prove them *formally, specifically saving*, viz, that besides the right conceptions of the object, the act must be in such a prevalent Degree, as will prove a predominant Habit in the soul; and that such uneffectual Acts as are before described, may stand with a state of condemnation. Hereupon it is, that though Grace is specified and to be denominated from its moral form; yet my business led me to prove that this moral form was inconsistent with any degree of the physical Act, but what was ordinarily thus prevalent or predominant: And therefore to assert that this moral form did lie in a physical degree of the matter, and that a lower subdued degree of the Act, was matter incapable of such a form, though it was capable of the general Nature of ( an Analogical at least ) Vertue, Duty or moral Good, denominated from some answerableness to the Precept, ( at least *secundum quid* ) yet it was not capable of the special form of that Faith, Love, Desire, &c. to which God hath promised Salvation, as the Condition.

Reader. Once more I have as plainly given then my meaning as I can speak: Forgive me these Repetitions and consider the occasion. So that you see, this Learned, Reverend man doth build all his opposition on a meer mistake, supposing me to speak of the *Form*, who spoke only of the *Nature* of the Act, or the *Physical Matter*, ( as before expressed. ) And now I make thee the Judge of my Impertinences.

The same answer serves to his fourth Confid. and his [ *quid hoc ad-Phisici Boves*, ] ( who have been so long in the yoke that they are ready to lie down: ) and to his Question [ *Will it hence follow that all Belief, &c. are specifically the same?* ] *Answ.* No. We are here agreed too: But it is no such new thing to call either our faculties the subject matter of the Acts, or the *Acts* the *Matter* of our *Grace*, but that I might pardonably suppose, that I might meet with some such silly soul as would use such a notion: and if it will but follow, that [ *In this much, there is no physical specifick difference* ] It serveth my ends.

Page 327. Confid. 5. He again receiteth the same passage, that [ *The Understanding and Will are physically the same.* ] And again, The third time leaves out *All*, when I said, *Our Understandings and Will are physically all the same:* which more perswades me that he never read the Book which he confutes, but took his scholars transcript, and see still our happy Agreement. The charge here is but [ *impropriety and incongruity.* ] (And I heard ere now from one of his scholars, that I could scarce *speak congruently.*) but I would I could have spoken *Intelligibly.* But I am glad that I spoke not *falsely.* *The first Incongruity or Impropriety is, that I call all our understandings and wills [like substances] when they are but Accidents.* ] But 1. An Act is but an Accident, and yet what more common phrase, then *substantia Actus*, when we distinguish it from the Moral Form. Read first his own Exercitation, *de malo.* and then judge. 2. I ventured long ago to tell him, my Reconcilableness to the *Scotists Nominals &c.* and that I made it no Article of my faith; that the faculties are Really distinct from the soul, and then they may be substances. For I am of their mind that think the soul is not a meer Accident. And if all the Rabbies of that mind in the Popish schooles have no Authority, I may modestly say with one of our highest Foorm at home [ *Quod Phylosophantur voluntatem & intellectum, esse duas Potentias reipsa distinctas, dogma Philosophicum est, ab omnibus haudreceptum, & Theologicis dogmatibus, firmandis aut infirmandis, fundamentum minimè idoneum.* Davenant Determ. Q 37. pag. 166. ]

My next incongruity is, that I say they are of [ *like substance* ] having said that they are *Physically the same.* *Ans.* Had I said that they are *Numerically the same*, and yet [ *of like natures* ] I had spoke *incongruently.* But O that I were as wise or Learned a man as they that ordinarily call a *specific unity* by the name of [ *a likeness;* ] if the Latine [ *similes* ] fit them not, yet the English [ *Like* ] may. For our [ *Like* ] in English is most ordinarily extended to express [ *a species* ] ( But think not that I am teaching you English, but excusing my incongruities as far as is meet. ) And if all this will not do, I will try to prevent your next work in this kind, by shewing you what a discouraging



rageing task is before you. If you will but write upon all the improprieties of my writings, it may put you to such a voluminous toyl, as may make you repent it before you have done, and make your Reader think me some worthy learned man, whose very improper speeches deserve the observation of so eminent a man.

3. You next grant me that our several Understandings and Will, are not specifically distinct, ) so far still we are Agreed. But you say [*it follows not but their Acts may.*] still we are Agreed. And in N. 5. and 6. you say, that [*they do not only gradually differ,*] still we are Agreed, even in your instances.

Pag. 329. Your sixth Confid. reciteth my opinion as you thought. but indeed not mine, viz. [*that the difference is only gradual, and not specific.*] Again you leave out [*materially*] and the other limiting expressions: And why did I say, [*You thought th s mine*] When pag. 332. You confess the contrary is mine.

Yet here let me tell you once for all, that if my terms of [*a Physical specification*] on the reason given of that Name, be judg'd by you improper (which I yet find you not affirm) I am resolv'd not to defend them against you, but am ready with thankfulness to learn a fitter manner of expression, as verily believing my self to be fitter to be your scholar, then your Antagonist in Philosophy, especially the terms.

### SECT. III.

**Y**OUR first Reason for my Opinion (pretended against it) is long ago agreed to: Nay, see the height of our Agreement: I have over and over expressed my consent to this part of your Reason, in which you know how currantly the schoolmen and our own Divines are against you, viz. [*That the Acts of common Grace in the unregenerate, are not so much as Evangelically good.*] But yet that I seem not to hold what I do not, I must add, that I mean that they have not that *Moral goodness*, which in the first and most proper sense deserves that Denomination; but yet that they are, not only *less evil*, nor only *materially*

*materially good*; but also that they are properly good, *secundum quid*, & *in tantum*, and that they have such an *Analogical goodness*, as Accidents have an entity: which is not Nothing: And though they may all be called sin, yet they have somewhat in them that is better than sin: or else you were to blame for calling them *common Grace*: yea, I doubt not but such Acts as you say are but *splendida peccata*, have had from God a temporal Reward; yea and have been preparatory to the Reception of saving Grace. Some Duties God requireth of the unregenerate, as a means to their Regeneration, which some of them do perform. And though he Accept them not so far as to esteem them either conditions of Justification, or Properties of the justified, yet so far doth he Accept them, as that ordinarily he judgeth and useth them as *fiater* for saving Grace than others. If they could do nothing towards their own sanctification, God and his Ministers would have spared many words that are used to them. And if there were no more likelihood that they should find Grace in Hearing, Reading, consideration, Asking it, &c. then in doing nothing, or plunging themselves in sin, we would say less to them than we do, to put them on such means. I hope you will not differ from me in this.

Page 332. The explication of my mind, you call a Confession, and so confess [that upon evident Reason I confess that the Acts of common and special Grace, as they are morally considered, differ specifically, and not only gradually.] So that if the Reader believe either you or me, we are agreed in the decision of the Question it self. And then I can easily excuse the opposition of a profest Confenter, though I understand not the intent of it.

But you say that [when the Question is put, how common and special Graces differ? the Answer must ever be Affirmative, that they differ specie, non gradu solum.] *Ans.* 1. I thought that Question [How common and special Graces differ?] Had not been capable of an Affirmation or Negation: But if my thoughts were improper, I submit. 2. I am confident that in sense, I shall here also agree with you, whether you will or no.

1. If the Question be put in your terms, I confess my opini-

on was, that the Answer should be applied to the comprehensiveness of the Question, and I should say that [*They differ formally thus, & quasi materially, thus and thus*] and so speak to both. But if 2. the Question had been, [*Whether common and special Grace do differ specifically.*] I should alwaies affirm it (supposing but such a specifick difference, as between substance and Accident, or an Egg and a Bird, or an Embrio and a Beast, remembring that *omne simile est etiam dissimile*, lest I be misinterpreted.) For when we speak of a moral subject, we must suppose the Question simply put, to be morally meant according to the nature of the subject: which are my very words in several published writings. And I think verily that this is all you mean. 3. But this was nothing to my Question, which was [*Whether materially, or by a physical specification, common and special Grace do differ.*] And this I did deny, and thought a gradual difference enough, supposing the Acts in both persons to be such as go commonly under the same name, and have at least substantially the same object (as to believe the Promise, Christ, &c.) Now I apprehended that if you had put the Question to me. [*How man and beast differ quoad Corpus, or quoad animam sensitivam, &c.*] the answer must not be the same as if you had simply askt me, *how man and beast differ.*] Had I been askt, [*Whether the Love of a suiter and of a Husband differ specifically as to the matter?*] I should have said, *No* (nor perhaps gradually;) but yet *formally*, in a civil moral sence, they differ *specifically*, (yet I know heres greater difference in the matter in our case). Had I been askt [*Whether the reverence and heart-subjection, which I have to a Captain and to the General, to a Justice of Peace, Lieutenant, &c. and to the Sovereign, do differ specifically quoad materiam:*] I should have said *No*, but *gradually*. But yet *quoad formam civilem*, they differ *specifically*? Yet I am ready to let go these expressions when you wil; I must profess, a word under your hand would have caused me to disuse them, without this publick work that you are put upon. Do but tell me you dislike the phrases, and you shall never hear (without such Necessity as I expect not) that ever I will publickly use them more. I hate troubling the Church with contending for meer words at least, unless I were better

at wording my conceptions then I am.

But stay, I find my self already under the Obligation : Pag. 333. You plainly say, [ *that if in their moral consideration, they still differ specifically from common Graces, it can never with any congruity be affirmed, that in any other consideration, they differ only gradually ?* ] Strange ! Why so ? [ *For instance, when its said that in their Natural and Physical consideration, they differ only in Degree ; I Reply, that the Acts of the Will and Understanding in that consideration are not saving Graces at all.* ] You have silenced me, when I have done with this account of my Dissent, though you have not convinced me, (having as great advantage as most men living to have done it, in my esteem of your great abilities.) 1. If this Reason be good, then I must speak of *nothing* but the *form* of any *Being* ; nor may I congruously mention any *material* or *Accidental* difference. For they are not denominated from matter or Accidents. May I not say that a Crow and an Ousel are of one colour, because that *quâ colorati* they are not denominated such. May I not say that a *Swan* and a *sheep quoad colorem* do differ only gradually, though *quoad colorem* they are not a *Swan* or *sheep* ? May I not say, that *materially* a *Ship* and a *Barge* do differ but gradually, because *ex materia* they are not a *Ship* or *Barge* ? Or that *materially* a *Dagger* and a *sword* do differ but gradually, because that *ex materia* they are not called a *sword* or *dagger* ? I am not yet convinced of these things ; but for your sake I purpose to say no more of it publickly.

You add, [ *And therefore if it be granted that in that consideration they differ only Gradually, yet it will not thence follow, that common and special Graces differ only in Degree.* ] Answ. Very true : because this is an Assertion of them *simply* considered, and *formally*, and not *limited ad materiam*. But if you will grant that *materially* they differ but in Degree, you grant my Proposition *in terminis* (as to that much.)

I rather suspect that when the business is well opened, the Difference will be between me and most that are offended with me, [ *whether indeed they materially differ so much as in degree ?* And they will say, that a *Lower Degree may consist with the true Form* : And then men will see that it is *their* bringing Grace

Grace *materially* lower than I do, and not their *advancing it formally* higher that is our Difference. Sure that Reverend Doctor that hath already opposed me in this Point, doth harp upon that string. But I could wish they would let this be plainly understood: I think not saving Grace *materially* so Low a *thing* as they: and *formally* I think it as high as they do. But let such understand that it is towards the *same object*, that the *Acts*, must be compared, and not as exercised on *different objects*. A wicked man may have a clearer knowledge of *earthly things* than a true Christian hath of *God and Heaven*; but not so intense, and powerful, effectual a knowledge of *God and Heaven* as a Christian hath: so for Belief, Desire, Love, &c.

You add [*This Argument, common and special Belief as they are Physically considered, differ only, gradually: therefore common and special Graces differ only gradually*] in plain English, is no more than this, [*Things which are no Graces, at all differ only gradually; therefore common and special Graces differ only in Degree.*]

*Ans.* But the conclusion is yours and not mine; or equally renounced by you and me: My Proposition was, that [*materially they differ but in Degree.*] And in plain English, that no such thing as you make it of your own pleasure; but this much [*Those things which in respect to the Precept are called Duties; and in respect to the Promise are called Conditions, do yet materially differ but in Degree.*] Or [*those gracious Acts which have Analogically the form of Duties, and so of Graces, but not the Form of Conditions, that is, saving Graces, do yet materially differ but in Degree from those that have that Form.*] This was the true sense of my Proposition. And whereas I put [*as saving*] into it, it was but to express that it was Grace *as saving*, (respecting the Promise) and not Grace *as meer duty* (respecting the bare Precept) *whose material Difference* I enquired after. Only I think that there is a certain Degree of the Physical Act of Necessity to make it the matter of such a Form. For it will dwell in no other matter. Against this the late Opponents seem to make a lower Degree of matter capable: And those that formerly I was wont to converse with, did think that a higher sort of matter was Necessary, of whom I spoke af-

ter that Proposition : of which more anon about infused Grace.

SECT. IV.

**T**ill the eighth Confid. you do but express your further Consent.

In Confid. 8. pag. 334. 335. You say [ *that common and special Graces consist not so properly and primarily in the Acts and exercise of Faith and Love, &c. as in the Habits and principle from whence they come, so that the graciousness that is in them is not (as snares, &c.) ipsi actibus originaliter intrinseca, &c.* ]

*Ans.* 1. I require some proof before I believe it, that Grace is not as much originally intrinsic in the Acts as Habits? Our Divines that have long taught us that the Act of Faith is it that Justifies; (and also that the Acts of Faith and Repentance, go before the Habit,) thought otherwise. 2. For my part, I have ironed in the fire: I have not engaged my self in this Controversie, and see no reason why I should [ *whether the Habit or Act be first? I long thought as Pemble, that the Habit was first. But second thoughts have made me at least doubtful, and loosened from that opinion; and finding that the stream of Protestant Divines have taken Vocation to be Antecedent to sanctification, and that Vocation containeth (passive sumpta) the Acts of faith and Repentance, and sanctification the Habit; I have resolved that without further Light, I will never more oppose this opinion. Its a probable way (as Camero expresseth it) that the Holy Ghost by the word without a habit, exciteth the first Act by the means of the presented Object: and that eodem instanti by that Act he produceth a Habit, so that only in order of Nature the Act is first, but not of time: The Spirit is as the Hand, the Object and Word as the Seal, the Act of impression on the intellect is first in order of Nature, and so upon the Will the impressed Act and Habit immediately are effected by it.* ] We use to say, that *Habitus infusi se habent ad modum acquisitionum*: though they have a higher power effecting them, its improbable that they are effected

And in another order. 2. This suiteth with the Nature of man-  
 3. And this makes the word the Instrument of that work, where  
 as ( which moves me very much ) according to the contrary  
 opinion, the Word cannot possibly be the Instrument, or means  
 of our Regeneration, as to the Habit, but only a subsequent  
 means to excite or educe the Act, which seems against the  
 stream of Scripture, and Divines of all Ages. But truly my  
 opinion is, that as the *wind bloweth where it listeth, &c. so is*  
*every one that is born of the Spirit*: And that no man can so  
 trace the Spirit of God as to be able certainly to say whether  
 the Act or Habit of Grace be first. But it seems more probable  
 and congruous to Scripture to place the act first in Nature, but  
 in one instance of time. But I will not contend with any man  
 that thinks otherwise.

3. I am past doubt that the Acts of Grace are first discerned:  
 Nay for my part, I know not what it means to discern any Ha-  
 bit in my self but by the Acts. And therefore the Acts in that  
 respect must be first sought after.

4. But I am thus far wholly of your mind, that no act can  
 prove a man truly sanctified, but as it proves a Habit: and that  
 ungodly men may by sickness, convictions, common Grace,  
 &c. be carried far in Acts: and that our principal satisfaction  
 about our sincerity is by finding Predominant Rooted *Habits*,  
 which are as a New Nature to the soul. Thus far we are agreed.

From all this I answer your inference, pag. 336. *That he that*  
*enquires, whether common and special Graces differ specifically, or*  
*only gradually, should (if he will) rationally proceed first, and*  
*principally enquire concerning the Habits, &c.*

*Ans.* But 1. You must not take your Reasons (from the Ha-  
 bits priority, &c. ) for granted, as long as it is a singular  
 opinion among Protestants, and unproved. 2. That must be  
 first enquired after, which is first, ( and only *immediately in se,* )  
 discernable: but such is the act of Grace, and not the habit;  
*Ergo, &c.* 3. However, If you will confute me, you must  
 confute the position that I ( whether rationally or irration-  
 ally ) disputed for, and not make another of your own, and  
 dispute for that, and take it for a confutation. 4. But for  
 my part, I take not the Acts and Habits so much to differ;

but ( as on the by I toucht it at first, so ) I shall consent that you put both hereafter into the question : but yet remember, that I put them not in mine at first.

Page 337. You say, [*We are now come to the hing and foundation of this Controversie, &c.*] which you lay down in this Position, *The habits of special and [saving Grace, are not only gradually, but specifically distinct from the habits and A&Ts of all common Grace whatsoever.]*

*Ans<sup>w</sup>.* 1. I am wholly on your side ; and where you have wrote a leaf for it, I think I have written many : so that if bulk might go for worth and weight, I had over merited you in this Controversie. 2. But I intreat you, if you delight in this kind of work, that hereafter you will make no hinges or foundations of controversies with me without my own consent : either let me agree with you in the stating of the question, or else pretend not that you dispute against me.

Your reasons to page 349, do learnedly militate for the Assertion that I maintain : and though some words on the by lie not so even with my conceptions, yet I tankfully accept your consent in the main.

Your principal position also pag. 352. is the same with mine and I have no mind to quarrel with so fast a friend, yet I am so far off *Becanus* and *Maldonates* mind, as to think that where miraculous and justifying faith are together, they differ no more ( at most ) then the sensitive and rational soul in the same man. But I am not of their mind, that they are not separable. And for historical Faith, if you mean the assent to the truth of Scripture, I take it to differ from justifying faith as much as the Intellect doth from the man, and no more. And for temporary faith, I take it to contain ( oft at least ) more then bare Assent, and to be a superficial common Assent, Consent and Affiance, having materially all the A&Ts of saving faith, but none of them in sincerity, that is with a rooted predominant Habit, and prevalent effectual A&Ts, but is a liveless, dreaming, uneffectual thing. But this on the by.

To your reasons. 1. I consent ( pag. 354. ) that the *heart is fleshy* ; yet ( as *D<sup>r</sup>. Harris* saith, ) hath a natural tenderness ; sometimes, and a superficial tenderness from common Graces.



2. I consent that Temporary faith hath not [*depth of earth*] or [*much earth,*] as Christ saith, *Mat. 13. 5.* which is the same with [*no root :*] for had it not had superficial rooting, it had never come to a blade and ear. What insition the branch is in Christ not bearing fruit had, *1 John 15.* I leave to further enquiry. But some, how they are said to be in Christ.

3. I grant that the Temporary faith brought forth no fruit that is *no special Fruit :* for no doubt, but it may bring forth, much *common fruit ;* most think so far, as that such may give their bodies to be burnt. And Mr. *Shepherd* in your Book doth mention a great deal.

4. I easily grant also that Temporary faith is cowardly, and fails in trial : in all this we are agreed.

Page 359. You begin your *more distinct confirmations :* Though I agree with you in the cause, yet not in every word of your Confirmations. Your first difference is in [*the Nature of the Principles, & causes whence they spring; Common belief being generally an acquired disposition or Habit produced by the ability of our Natural Understanding, assisted with good education and industry : but saving Faith the immediate work of the Spirit : one is Habitus acquisitus, the other infusus.*] *Ans. 1.* Either you mean here the *Extrinsic* [*Principles and Causes*] or the *Intrinsic*. If the *Intrinsic*, then either the *soul*, the *faculties*, or the *Habits :* not the *Habits ;* For its those that are now the subject of your Question; and therefore you call them not [*the Principles and Causes*] of themselves, though you might call them so as to the *Acts*. Not the *faculties*, nor the *soul ;* for you yield before that the *soul* or *faculties* of Regenerate and unregenerate differ not specifically. It is therefore the *extrinsic* [*Principles and Causes*] that you meant. And if so, it is either *God himself*, or some *Action of God* that is a *middle thing* between the *Agent* and the *Effect*, or it is the *Instrumental Cause*. Not the *Instrument :* For 1. You express a Higher cause, 2. and the same word is the instrument of God in causing a common & special Faith: the same seed fell on the good ground and the stony. Nor is it God himself you that mean: for he is not of a *species*, much less of *different species*, as he is the Principle and Cause of different effects: Nor is his *Will* so :  
for

for his Will is his Essence. Yet I would (as aforesaid) confess that *Denominations extrinsecâ*, his Will or Love may have divers *Denominations*, according to the diversity of effects: But yet not denominated *specifically* divers from every distinct *specification* in the effects. Nor can it be your meaning, I think, that *specifically distinct-wills* in God are the causes: For you say pag. 322. 323. [*The favour and Love of God to his people comes not now into consideration, — 1. This is subjective in Deo, — — — 2. Because the Grace of God in this notion as it signifieth his love to us is not capable of any degrees; the Love of God, as all other Acts of the Divine Nature, being like God himself absolutely simple without any composition essential or gradual.*] Not to enquire how that which [*is God himself can be like God himself,*] (for we all speak incongruously sometimes) from hence its plain that it is not the *Love of God as in himself* that you call [*the Principles or Causes.*] It remains then that it must be some *Action or Emanation intermediate*, or as passing from God to the effect. But thats not likely neither: For 1. You seem to be most friendly to the *Thomists* in other points; and you know that they and many more (with many of our own) do maintain that there is no more Execution or Operation necessary *ex parte Dei* but his meer *Velle*; and that his willing the effect to be thus or thus, at this or that time existent doth produce it. 2. Your self said, *ubi sup.* [*The favour and Love of God is subjective in Deo, & terminative only in nobis.*] 3. If there be an operation distinct *ab operante & re operatâ*, it is a *Creature* or the *Creator*: Not the *Creator*, for he is the *Agent*; if a *Creature*, they that will prove a specifick difference in it, must first tell us *what creature* it is? and shew us the *general Nature* of it. 4. Many Philosophers think it inconsistent with Gods immediate *Attingencie* and Operation, *immediatione virtutis & suppositi*. So that I scarce think that in this you place the specifick Difference, or gather them to be *toto cælo distant*, as you say.

But it is not imaginable that you may mean to oppose the *extrinsecick and intrinsecick* Causes in the different persons, as if [*mans own faculties*] were the cause of *Temporary* faith, and [*Gods Will*] the cause of *saving* faith? No, I dare not entertain such

such a conjecture. For 1. I doubt not but you will yield, that temporary faith could *not* be produced without the will of God : At least, they that think man cannot determine his own will to the act of sin, till God doth physically pre-determine it; will I hope yield that man cannot Temporarily Believe without the will of God. 2. And I rest assured that you will yield that that mans soul, or faculties, is the subject of both common and special Grace. 3. And that the faculties are as much efficient in the Production of special Grace as of common. So that if they are not efficient of special Grace, then not of common. Of which more anon. 4. Or if that were denied, yet as long as they have both the same will of God for their Original, you confesse one to have as High a Principle as the other. And though (as is said) *denominacione extrinsecâ*, we may say that it is a *special Love* that is the cause of one, and but a *common love* that is the cause of the other, (because one is the willing a special good, and the other of a common) yet it is *Unity* that is the *Original of multiplicity*. One Will of God causeth both.

One more conjecture : May you not mean that *God immediately* is the cause of *special faith*, and *God by the Word* is the cause of *Temporary faith*, and so oppose the *principal cause alone*, to the *Principal with the Instrument*? No, that cannot be : because 1. As long as God is the Principal cause of both, by the same will, the use of an Instrument in one only will prove no specifick Difference. 2. Because our Divines (and others, except some *Enthusiasts*) are commonly agreed, that the word is the Instrument of working saving faith as well as Temporary (though I confesse I know not how that will consist with their opinion, that say the Habit is before the Act. seeing it is scarce conceivable how the Word should cause a Habit without first causing an Act.) 3. Besides, its commonly affirmed, that God doth effect *immediatione virtutis & suppositi*, as well when there is an Instrument as when there is none.

I am therefore left uncertain of your sense : but which ever it is, I see not how it will hold. It is most likely that you distinguish of Gods *modus operandi*, as to some *Influxe*, or *causing Action* between the Agent and the Subject, because the *In-*

*fusion* and *Acquisition* mentioned, rather intimates that then the other. As if by a meer General assistance or concurrence God caused Temporary faith, and by a special concurrence or assistance or Pre-determination he caused special faith: But besides what is said before to that, if we might imagine such a mediate Being between God and the effect, as is capable of such a difference as you express, yet that here there can be no such thing, will appear by what follows, but I will first consider your own expressions.

You say, that [*common Beliefe is an Acquired faith produced by the Ability of our own understandings, assisted With good education and industry.*] *Ans.* 1. There is oft as much use of our own understandings, industry, and of Education for a special faith as a Temporary; But these alone will not serve turn ly. 2. You seem here and all along this Paragraph, flatly to maintain that Temporary faith is only thus of our selves, or only Acquired, and not wrought by any other help of God, and his Spirit, then what is Generally necessary to all Acts. But that common or temporary Faith is the work of Gods Spirit as well as saving faith, is most express in Scripture: And that it may as truly be called *Infused*, and that it is from a *special assistance* of the Spirit, I shall prove: (*special* I say, as opposed to meer general help or concurrence, though not *special*, as that signifieth what is proper to the saved.) 1. As to your self you confels, pag. 338. [*that there are many common Graces of the soul — sometimes immediatly and extraordinarily infused by God.*] And if *some* common Graces are infused, you are much disabled from proving that the *Temporary* or common Grace of the best of the unregenerate is *not infused*.

2. The word [*Infusion*] being a Metaphor, must be resolved into that proper expression which you will own. If it signifies but a Collation, Donation, or effectual operation of the Holy Ghost then common Graces are *Infused* as well as proper. If it signifie an Operation without means, so neither common nor proper Grace is ordinarily infused (at least into the Adult.) If it signifie that which is Given by more then General Providence, and requireth more then our own industry and Education (which you mention) to attain it, then this common Grace

is infused : ( We call it common, not because all have it , nor because a Help common to all is enough to work it ; but because it is so common to the un sanctified, as not to be proper to the Saints. )

3. I know no Scripture that approprieth the Title of [*Infused*] to the Grace proper to the Saints ! And sure I am that some *means* is appointed to be used for the Acquisition of special Grace : And therefore so far as those means succeed, it may be called *Acquired*, as well as *Infused*. *Prov.* 1. 23. The Promise of *Infusion* and *Effusion*, [ *I will pour out my Spirit to you* ] is either meant of *common mercy*, q. d. *I will pour out the teachings and persuasions of my Spirit to you, in my Word, and the teaching of my Ministers.* ] Or else, if it speak of *Infusion* *special Grace*, it requireth [ *Turning at Gods Reproof* ] as a meanes antecedent ; that of *Isa.* 44. 3, 4, 5. & *Joel.* 2. 28, 29. are commonly expounded of common as well as special Grace : and one of them is so expounded by the Holy Ghost, *Acts* 2. 17, 18. *Zech.* 12. 10. seems to speak only of special Grace ; but some extend it further.

4. Certain I am that both the Gifts of Propheſie, Tongues, Healing. &c. are *Given*, yea *Infused* by the Spirit ; and that Temporary faith is the Gift of the Spirit, and not meerly *Acquired* as you describe. This therefore is the main thing that yet I find my ſelf to differ from you in : I conceive that thoſe that were *enlightened, and taſted of the Heavenly Gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have taſted of the good Word of God, and the powers of the World to come* [ had more then meer aquired Acts or Habits. How elſe are they ſaid to be *made partakers of the Holy Ghost* ? And how are they ſaid [ *to be ſanctified by the blood of the Covenant, and after to do deſpight to the ſpirit of Grace*, if they had none of the ſpirit of Grace ? *Heb.* 10. 29. & 6. 4, 5. I ſpeak on ſuppoſition that the common Expoſition be found, that takes theſe Texts as ſpeaking of common Grace. I confeſs I have not ſuch high thoughts of mans ſufficiency as of himſelf in eſtate of unregeneracie, as to think (as you here ſeem to do) that he can acquire ſuch things by his own underſtanding, induſtry, and by Education, without the work of the Spirit of Chriſt, (yea the immediate work (though

not without means) as Scripture tells us the unregenerate have possessed. I think their Grace is *cœli soboles* too; and that Nature and industry will not reach so high of themselves, or by general concurrence, as to [*wash these swine, and cause them to escape the pollutions of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, 2 Pet. 2. 20 21. To receive the Word with joy, Luke 8. 13. and believe for a while: John 2. 23.* 24. To spare citations; see but all those great things that Mr. *Shepherd* in your Book ascribeth to Hypocrites, & judge whether they are not beyond our corrupt nature to reach by way of meer Acquisition? When *Paul* hath [*given us to understand, that no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost, 1 Cor. 12. 3.* And though its like he hath respect to those times of persecution, when confessing Christ was the way to suffering, yet how far many un sanctified ones have gone in confessing him, and suffering for him, I need not tell you. [*There are diversities of Gifts, but the same Spirit. To one is given the word of wisdom by the Spirit, to another the word of Knowledge by the same Spirit: to another faith by the same Spirit——By one Spirit we are all Baptized into one Body—— 1 Cor. 12. 7, 8, 9, 12, 29.* I find, *One Spirit, and one way of Giving Gifts*, without your distinction: but no mention of any such gifts without the *Spirit* by our own Acquisition. See *Gal. 3. 1, 2, 3, 5. Eph. 5 9. 1 John 4. 2, 3.*

I would give in many more of my Reasons, but they lie together in *Gregor. Ariminens. in 2. sent. Dist. 26, 27, & 28. Q. 1. fol 84. &c.* Who against some *semipelagian* Moderns maintaineth [*1. Quod homo secundum presentem statum, stante influentiâ Dei, generali non potest per liberum arbitrium & naturalia ejus, ab <sup>3</sup> speciali Dei auxilio agere aliquem actum moraliter bonum. 2. Ostendit aliam partem, fuisse de Articulis damnatis Pelagij: aut si in aliquo discordat, magis deviare à Catholica veritate quam di<sup>um</sup> Pelagij* (and yet some think verily they are running from *Pelagianism*, while they run into this opinion) & *ab hoc ipsam non esse ab aliquo Catholico sustinendam.* 3. He solveth the arguments brought for the affirmative. And though in defining an act morally good, he speaks as you and I do, yet he fully lets you know that he speaks of the acts of the Reprobate

bate themselves, and such as antecede Justification, or true conversion ; and therefore infers hence, *fol. 85. quod nemo potest mereri primam gratiam de Condigno, nec etiam de congruo, contra aliquorum sententiam modernorum :* adding [*nomine autem gratia, non solum significo gratiam gratum facientem, sed etiam gratis datam, & universaliter quocumq̄, Dei speciale adjutorium ad bene operandum, &c.*] Whereas according to your way of meer Acquisition of a Temporary faith ; men may do that which the Papists call *meritum de congruo* the first Grace. Not that he denieth simply that which they call *meritum de congruo*, but that any have it without the *adjutorium speciale* as he calls it, in opposition to the *influentia generalis*. (And his Argument is considerable : *Nemo potest habere ante primam gratiam, actum aliquem liberi arbitrij non culpabilem : igitur nemo de condigno vel de congruo potest mereri primam gratiam : Patet consequentia : quia nullus meretur nisi per actus liberi arbitrij ? & certum est quod non per aliquem culpabilem meretur gratiam, sed potius cœnam.*) And *fol. 85. col. 4.* He shews that he speaks even of the acts of *Catechumens* and such as are in mortal sin. So that it is not only the Acts that are proper to the Elect that he speaks of. His Arguments are many and weighty, which I shall not recite seeing they lie before you : And he confirms it largely from the consent of the Ancients, *Cyprian, Ambrose, Hierome, Augustine, Damascen, Prosper, Gregory, Isidore, &c.* And confuteth the contrary Reasons with much strength, which *Scotus*, and his friend *Ockam, Adam* and others bring for the contrary, which twelve Reasons contain. I conjecture the chief strength of what can be said for that cause. Many more you know have copiously done the same work : but I refer you to one, for brevity, as speaking most that sticks in my mind against your doctrine of Natural acquisition of the Temporary faith ; which *Ariminensis* thought is *Pelagianism* or worse, though I intend not so to charge you.

Lastly, I may add, that if you are of the now prevailing opinion, that no Agent natural or free can act without the Pre-determination of God as the first immediate Physical Cause. I cannot see how you can possibly specific common and special Grace from the manner of Divine production, nor why all

our acts good and bad are not equally by *Infusion*. For though you may change the name, yet that which you call *Infusion* of special Grace, can do no more then *physically, immediately, in superably as the causa prima simpliciter necessaria, determine the will*; and so much is said to be done in every act of temporary Faith, yea in every natural, yea in every wicked act. (Though I must profess my self in this point of the Judgement of *Jansenius*, which the foresaid *Greg. Ar.* following *Augustine*) before him thus expresseth, that [*Deus juvat nos ipsum actum immediatè efficiendo, & non solum juvat Deus ad bonum partialiter co-efficiendo, quod est modus Communis quo concurrat ad cujuslibet creati agentis quemlibet sed — Ad productionem actus mali solum primo modo (per influentiam generalem) Deus concurrat; quia non facit voluntatem agere actum malum, sicut facit eam agere actum bonum.*] But *ad hominem*: this exception is valid againk any that go on the Pre-determinate grounds.

Let the Jesuits then call all Temporaries, Graces [*Habitus acquisitos & ordinis naturalis,*] Let them call this faith but [*fidem humanam*] as produced by the power of humane Causes] as you say; For my part I will not Pelagianize with the Jesuits; nor can I believe what you further repeat, that [*common Belief is not Divine in respect of the Principles from whence it flowes, but generally of an humane descent and pedigree.*] I do not think that we are sufficient of our selves; but that all our sufficiency is of God, who worketh in us both to will and to do; from whom cometh every good gift, even such as the Temporaries. Yet do I not charge [*you or Suarez, or the many others*] whoever they be, to be mistaken in your *Metaphysics*: Far be it from me to compare with you there. Only I cannot be of every mans mind that excelleth me in the *Metaphysics*.



[Second. **Y**our second Reason is drawn from the nature and proper Acts of both qualities, ( page 362. ) *saving Belief is the first spiritual life, but common Belief no part of it.* ] Answer. This Reason seems to be further fetcht then I dare allow of, if you mean by [ *The nature of the quality and Acts* ] the matter it self. For if the term [ *Life* ], be Metaphorical here, or it be a Civil or Moral Life that is meant, then I shall allow you, that only special Grace is this special moral Life : but if you should mean a natural *Life*, or a common moral *Life*, I should not grant that all but the Saints are destitute of these. 1. You cannot prove that the term *Life* may not be given to common faith ( as goodness is ; and as Entity is to Accidents ) though that most eminent *species* of Faith, called *saving*, be also eminently called our *Life*, for I find in *Jud. 12*. That the Hereticks or Apostates there mentioned, are said to be *twice dead*, and *plucked up by the roots*, which implyeth, that some kind of life they lost which once they had, and the *seed* that sprung up *by the stony ground and among thorns had a blade* that had some kind of life ; and the *branches of Christ* that are *fruitless* yet *wither not*, till they abide *no more in him*, *John 15. 26*. The receiving of the Jews into a Church-state again *will be [life from the dead]* *Rom. 11. 15* *Ezek. 16. 6*. And its called a *Life*, that the backsliding fall from, *Ezek. 18. and 33. 11*. But suppose the name of *Life* be improper to give to the Temporary ( who wants no doubt the special *Life*. ) This proves not a physical specifike difference. And to the Question, [ *Why common belief is not this spiritual Life in a less degree ?* ]

I answ. Because it is a matter incapable of that moral form which is denominated *Life*, your instance of *Calor*, being of meer physical consideration, is alien and impertinent : your instance of *Vertues* is more pertinent. And to that I answer, That though *fortitudo moralis in minori gradu denominat subiectum suum forte* ; Yet are there some degrees of the matter, which are incapable of the form and name of fortitude ;  
though

(though in our case, the lower degree is capable of the name of Faith, yet not of the same specifike form, as the higher degree.) Yea some degree of fortitude, overcome by a far greater degree of Cowardize, may not denominate the subject simply *forte*, but only *secundum quid*: nay if the question be simply put, whether that man be *valiant* that alwaies runs away, &c. it is simply to be denied, though he may have some small conquered measure of fortitude, because the man is to be denominated from his predominant dispositions, and therefore to be called *Pusillanimous*, and not *valiant*. Temperance, Justice, &c. consist in a certain mediocrity of matter, and neither of the extreame are capable of the form: And where somewhat of the form is, it will not serve to dedominate the man against a contrary predominant vice. One man may be so far temperate as to abstain from excess of meat, and not from excess of drink, recreation, &c. And another may have so much universal Temperance as shall restrain him for a few daies, and against small Temptations, but yet once or twice a week, a stronger Temptation leadeth him into fornication, gluttony, drunkenness, &c. If you ask me whether this be a temperate man, I should say no, but an intemperate: But if you ask me whether there be any degree of Temperance in him, and whether *in tantum*, or *secundum quid*, he be temperate, I should say yea.

The least degree of *Subjection* or *Obedience* may *in tantum* vel *secundum quid*, denominate the subject accordingly; but yet such subjection and obedience as is due to a Judge or *Justice of Peace*, denominateth not the person *loyal* or *subject*, and *Obedient* as is necessary to the *Sovereign Power*. As all *Power of Government* denominateth the Subject *Potent* or a *Governor*. But there is none but a certain degree (even the highest) that will denominate a man a *Sovereign* or *Majestick* simply. So I have still acknowledged that the very specifick form and name of saving Faith is not agreeable to that degree which Temporaries have, though a sort of Faith it is, and is called so in Scripture.

The sum of all my discourses on this Subject is but this. To the Essence of saving Faith, *Love*, *Subjection*, &c. It is necessary

cessary. 1. That the Object be apprehended in all its essential Respects. 2. That the Act be so intense and serious, and suitable to this Object ( and so the habit ) as that it may be steadily predominant in the man against its contrary. Two sorts of Faith therefore fall short of being formally this saving faith.

1. The one is theirs that do seriously believe in the same Christ personally considered, and in the generall or in most parts of his office, as we do: but they leave out somewhat of the Object, that is essential to him as the Saviour. e. g. They believe in him as God and man, as one that hath undertaken the office of a Redeemer and Mediator, and hath died for sinners, & in general is the Priest, Prophet and King of the Church, and a Justifier and Sanctifier, giving Repentance and Remission of sin; but withall, when it comes to the applicatory consenting part, they believe not in him as their King, and their Sanctifier by his Word and Spirit, nor as one that shall save them from their reigning sin. Now this is not really the Christian faith, or saving faith, because it wanteth an essential part, it being essentially to Christ, as the Saviour offered, and the Object of saving faith to be applicatorily [*My Saviour in particular for the pardoning and destroying of my sins.*] Not that we have assurance, that he will eventually be so to me: but that we our selves do consent that he be so to us. As a Physician is not believed in by me ( a sick Patient ) as a Physician, unless I consent that he is my *Physician*, and that he cure my *Disease*, though yet I may possibly have doubts of his willingness, or of the success. As the Act is specified by the Object, so these Believers have a faith in the same Christ as we, but *secundum quid*, and not *entirely*, and therefore simply; They are not Believers in the Christian saving sense, or if they believe in Christ as God and man that will pardon and sanctifie, but not as a Sacrifice for sin; This is not simply and fully ( taking in all the Essentials of his office ) the same Christ that we believe in, and so not the same Faith. So if they love God as good, but not as the only surpassing superlative Good, this is not to love him as God and so not to love the same God as we do.

2. The other sort of the unsound are such as do apprehend Christ under all the same considerations as sound Believers do,

and do apprehend God as the chief superlative good, and have some answerable motions of the Will and Affections ; but it is but by a notional superficial, uneffectual apprehension ; and hath but an *answerable consent*, and is overtopped and mastered by a contrary *Habit* and *Action* of the soul ; either as the unbelief is more then the *Belief*, and therefore rules the heart and Life, or as the regard to the Creature, is more then the regard to Christ ( for want of so effectual and operative an apprehension of his Truth and Goodness as we have of the Creature, ) and consequently the Heart is carried out more to the creature then to Christ or to the Father. This is not the Christian faith, because it is not an intense & serious act or habit, such as is fit to denominate the man. He doth not believe or love God heartily *at all* : A Belief and Love indeed he hath, but morally and reputatively it is as *none*, for God will take it as *none*, as to any *saving benefit*: for he that hath more *Unbelief* then *Belief*, is not simply a *Believer*, but an *Unbeliever* : He that hath more *averseness* then *Love* is simply no *Lover* : He that hath more *disloyalty* and *Disobedience* then *loyalty* and *obedience*, is not simply to be called *Loyal* and *obedient* at all. He that considering all things, sees reason to hate his sin, and hath some mind and Will against it, and yet hath in other respects more mind to it, and more will to keep it then to leave it, is *simply impenitent*, and hath no *Repentance*. And yet a real subdued motion of Belief, Desire, Love, Repentance there may be in all these persons, and such as sometimes in Act will seem prevalent, though *Habitually*, and in the course of *Action* they are not so. As sin in Act seemed prevalent for a time in *David*, when in Habit and the bent of life it was not so.

Suppose a Souldier take such a man for his general, and obey him ordinarily as a General, and yet being corrupted by the General of the enemies, hath a prevalent Will or Purpose to desert him, betray him, and do him a mischief when time serves. This man is in a sort a Souldier and obedient but deserveth hanging rather then Reward. So much more for explication, and to shew you why a common faith is not called by the name of our spiritual life ( the person that hath it, being still under condemnation, and in a state of death : ) yea  
why

why it is not to be called the Christian faith, nor the person a Christian, but Analogically,

S E C T. VI.

Page 364. **T**O your third Reason I answer, 1. That I am not of your mind, nor do you prove it, that common Belief is made up but of two principal Ingredients, *Notitia & Assensus*: It hath as many Acts as saving Faith. An Affiance or resting on Christ, and on the Promise with some kind of consent of the Will, may be in this common Faith. [ *They stay themselves upon the God of Israel, the Lord of Hosts, &c. Isa. 48 2.* ]

2. I grant that a certain strength may be found in common Faith; but the strongest, greatest firmest, is even in degree below the weakest of a sound Believer. For, 1. As the difference (for ought I yet have heard) is not immediately discernable in the Acts of the Intellect themselves, but in those of the Will, and so of the intellectual Acts by the Will; so the weakest Belief of the sanctified prevaileth with the Will, and overpowereth all resisting Arguments, when the strongest faith of others cannot do it. 2. And though the Grace infused into the Will it self, be a cause of this, yet doubtless the Intellectual Assent is also a cause; And therefore that Assent that *cano more* is surely the stronger. There is a difference even in strength and vigor; where there is so great a difference in the efficacy. What *species* soever it be of, that Light which will shew all visible things, (*suppositis supponenda*,) is a greater Light than that which either shews but greater things, or shews them but dimly. And that heat is greatest which will heat most, (*ceteris paribus*.) The un sanctified would not be so often called the *Children of darkness*, and said to be *blind*, and *in darkness*, and the sound Believers called the *Children of light*, and said to be *in and of the Light*, if we had not a greater light than they.

3. Nor do I believe that the Temporaries [ Assent, is proportionable to the mediums that produce it, ] (or that in

*some such*, at least produce it. ) I think such Believers may have infallible *media*, and the very same as produce the saving faith of others ( not including all causes as *media*, but the *objective motives* of our first faith. )

4. I grant what you say, pag. 365. That the lowest degree of saving faith is really our spiritual Life, justifies. &c. which the highest degree of common faith doth not. ] Because the highest degree of common faith either leaves out some essential part of the object, or is lower and weaker then the lowest degree of saving faith is. And you must not take it for granted that it is the Intellectual Acts or Habits only where the difference lies which you express, or the chief part of that difference. It is the Wills Act, ( for such there is in faith ) that doth most or much to this Acceptance, Justification, Sanctification, which you mention; which proceeds not only from the difference of Assent, but from the Grace which the Will it self also hath received.

5. A common knowledge I easily grant there is in the un-sanctified, stronger in its kind then the knowledge of the Saints. That is, Gramatically and Logically they may have a far clearer understanding of the sense of words, and of terms of Art, and complex Objects, which are appointed to be the means of knowing the incomplex, and things themselves ( as God, the Redeemer, Heaven, &c. ) and may be able better to defend any sacred verity, and express their minds. And this you may call *Acquired knowledge* if you please, & in some sort say it remaineth a distinct thing from the other knowledge even in the sanctified: not but that it self also is in them sanctified & embodied with the rest of the new Man, but that the knowledge of words and Propositions, which is but an Instrumental, mediate, subservient part of knowledge, is not the same with the knowledge of the things themselves, even God, Christ, &c. But then I still maintain. That Temporary Believers may have more then this meer Disciplinary knowledge, even a certain illumination of the Spirit Revealing to them Christ himself, and the powers of the world to come, in some Degree, *Heb. 6. 4. 2 Pet. 2 20, &c.* some inward *taste* of the matter, as well as a Grammatical, and Logical knowledge of the words, and sense. 2. That as the *Disciplinary* knowledge of the sense of Propositions, in the sanctified

ed and unſanctified do not *quoad materiam* differ by any Physical ſpecification, ſo neither hath the *common and ſpecial* illumination or knowledge and taſte of the ſubject matter, or in-complex object.

6. You ſay much in general here, ſounding as if you thought (beyond what your Theſis requireth you to prove) that there were a Physical ſpecifick Difference in the matter. Be-  
 cauſe you do not plainly aſſert it, I will ſuppoſe it not to be your meaning: But if really it be ſo, and God ſhall direct you to any more of this work, I earneſtly intreat you above all the reſt of your undertaking to tell us plainly *what the Physical Forms are that ſpecific and denominate theſe ſeveral ſorts of Knowledge, Faith, Love, Deſire, &c.* That there is a *moral* ſpecifick Difference we are agreed: If you aſſert a *Physical*, plainly deſcribe and denominate each Form, (for I doubt not but we are agreed that a Form there muſt be thus to ſpecific and denominate.) I find *Amefius* (*Aſſertion Theolog. de lum. Nat. & Grat.*) Diſclaiming a difference as to the Object, ſubject, or *lumen deſtrens & de lucens objectum*, &c. as he calls the *medium*; limiting the Controverſie to the [*Lumen diſponens & elevans ſubjectum: ut recipiat*] which he maintaineth muſt be ſupernatural, and ſo do I: but withall I maintain that ſomewhat of the ſupernatural Light is given to many of the unſanctified. And whereas he ſaith that one ſort of knowledge is Diſciplinary ſuch as a blind man (born) hath of Light, and the other is *Intuitive; ex reſpreſenti & ſenſim percepta*: 1. I am not convinced that any man in this life, doth intuitively or ſenſibly know God, or the Lord Jeſus Chriſt God and man, or the inviſible Glory, or Relative Benefits, ſuch as pardon, Juſtification, Adoption, &c. And I am confident I have your conſent. 2. And for the Hiſtory or any Enunciation of the Scripture, which muſt be underſtood by a Grammatical and Logical knowledge, we are agreed. 3. It is nothing therefore in all the world, that I remember, that can fall into Controverſie about this *Intuitive knowledge*, but the inward paſſions or actions of our own ſouls. That the ſoul doth know its own knowledge and Volition intuitively, is the opinion of ſome Schoolmen, and oppoſed by others. Upon which account perhaps thoſe of the firſt ſort, may alſo

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ſay,

say, that a sanctified person may *Intuitively* see the sincerity or holy nature of his own knowledge. But 1. if that were so and a common thing, me thinks doubting of sincerity should not be so common with such. 2. Our affections and Wills are thought by many to be more properly said to be *felt*, then *intuitively* known. 3. It is certain that the first act of saving faith can be no such thing as this: for a man must, at least in order of Nature, first *have* a saving faith, before he can *intuitively* see it in himself. 4. And this is nothing to our business: for it is not our own faith or love, or other inherent Graces, that is the Object of our saving Faith; but it is God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and the Promise, &c. which are not known by us *intuitively* or *sensibly*. (Though the Letter of the Promise is, yet the sense is not; much less the Truth.) Yet I make no doubt but a true Believer being once justified by faith, hath sometimes after such Peace with God, & shedding abroad of his Love in the heart, as gives him (not an *intuitive* or *sensible* knowledge of God himself immediatly, but) a lively Relish and feeling of those precious fruits and tokens of his Love, which may be called an experimental knowledge that God is, and that he is gracious, faithful, &c. Seeing him more clearly in this Glas of his Image on our own souls, then in our first faith we saw him in the meer extrinseck Glas of the Gospel, Works, &c. though in both the Spirit causeth the apprehension. 5. And if this were any thing to us, yet some inward taste the un sanctified do attain. So that I cannot yet reach to understand, that between the Knowledge, Assent, &c. of the sanctified, and the highest Temporaries, there is Physically any specifick Difference, but only morally: but a very great gradual difference also Physically.

Your Similitude of the Light of the Sun and Moon, proves not that the matter of common and proper faith are *specifically-physically* different, and then (whatever you intend it for) its not against me. It is the same Spirit that illuminateth both sorts; but the Sun and Moon are not the same Illuminating luminaries: Nor is it a thing fully agreed on, whether the Light of the Sun and Moon are specifically distinct; nor of the Heat of the Sun and of fire. Saith *Ockam*, *Quod. 1. b. 3. q. 21.*



fol. 48. [ *Effectus diversi ejusdem speciei, possunt esse à Causis diversarum specierum, licet non idem effectus: patet de calore, qui potest esse ab igne & à sole.* ] His Application somewhat concerneth our Cause, [ *Ita est in proposito: Primus actus potest causari ab objecto sine habitu; & alius actus ejusdem speciei, non potest causari nisi ab habitu,* ] ( Therefore you cannot thence prove a specifick Difference of the Acts, that one is from a gracious Habit, and the other not. )

Page 367 You add, that [ *Common faith is not any disposition, moral or Evangelical, whereby the subject that hath it, is or can be disposed (in the way we now speak of) for the introduction of the Habit of saving Faith.* ]

Ans<sup>r</sup>. [ *The way you now speak of* ] Are words that refer to so many or uncertain passages, that thence I will conclude, that you mean some way which we disown as well as you, though I fully know not what you mean. But that common Grace is preparatory to special, is so commonly held by Protestants, ( especially practical Divines ) and so plain in Scripture and Reason, that I shall not trouble you with many words about it. 1. He that useth Gods appointed means as well as he can, is more disposed for the blessing of those means, then the wilfull despiser or neglecter of them. 2. He that is *neerer Christ* is more disposed to come to him by faith, then he that is at a further distance. 3. He that doth not so much resist the Spirit, but with some seriousness beggeth for the Spirit and for saving Grace is better disposed for it, then such as obstinately resist or scorn it.

Your first Argument is, from our *Death in sin: the dead are undisposed*: I answer, *As dead* they are so: But 1. It is such a *Death* as hath a *Natural Life*, and Reasonable soul, and moral Vertues and common Graces conjoined: and by these the dead may be Disposed, though not by death, nor as dead: Allow your *simile* its *dissimilitudes*. 2. A condemned Traytor thats dead in Law, may by humble supplication do somewhat to dispose himself for pardon, and Life: though I know our case requireth much more. As I said, God would not have appointed any means for an unregenerate man to use in order to his Conversion, if the use of them did no whit dispose us be converted.

verted. I say the more of this, because I am greatly troubled with two sorts of people in my own Parish that are harping on this string, [*We cannot give Grace to our selves, nor be saved without it; nor can we have it till God give it us: which if he will do, we shall be saved: if he will not, all that we can do will not help it.*] This is the main objection that Satan hath furnished 1. some Apostate Heathens, that speak it in design. 2. And many of the ignorant and prophane that thus are settled in a neglect and contempt of the means of Grace: Its as good say we lie dead in our pleasures till God will give us Life, as lie dead in Prayers and Hearing Sermons, and forbearing our Delights; for we can do nothing to the quickening of our selves.

Your second Reason is, [*That our new birth is a new Creation, which is ex materia indisposita.*] Answ. It is a new creation ordinarily *in materia disposita*: Adams soul was created in a Disposed or prepared Body. The Rational soul is created in the *Embrio* in the womb, in a disposed body, yea many Philosophers would perswade us, not only in a body that hath first a vegetative, but a sensitive soul. Sure I am God can appoint men a course of means in which they shall wait for his New Creation, and ordinarily bless his own means and make a lesser blessing a Disposition to a greater, though all this be little to our first Controversie. For when I call the common faith [*a Disposition*] I talk not of Dispositions preparatory to further Grace.

To your third Reason I answer, 1. Some common Grace is as solely and wholly a gracious and supernatural work, as saving Grace: yet men may have a Disposition to that, therefore to this. 2. The highest Grace of the unregenerate is very ill supposed by you to be but a [*natural or artificial product of our understandings.*] A lower supernatural Grace may be a Disposition towards a higher supernatural Grace. Mans corrupted heart seems too much exalted by you, wile you call him *Dead*, and yet think he can Acquire the highest Graces of Temporary Believers, without supernatural Grace. Why then do you call it common [*Grace.*] You know who ought men to call nature by the name of Grace.

In your fourth Reason, you run again on the same supposition, that [*our own understandings helped by education, learning and industry, can acquire common faith.*] Even the highest of the Temporary (which you must mean, or you say nothing,) Against which I again refer you to the foresaid Disputation of *Arminians*, who thinks he proves this *Pelagianism*, or worse. It is not only saving Grace that is infused. 2. Infused supernatural common Grace is no more of our selves, then infused supernatural special Grace. 3. To say that Gods common Grace disposeth us for special Grace, is no more to say that [*it is of our selves*] then it is, if we say that a less Degree of special Grace disposeth us to a greater Degree (Though in other respects the cases differ.) Do you as fully agree with *Paul*, 2 *Cor.* 3. 5. that [*we are not sufficient of our selves to think any thing as of our selves, but our sufficiency is of God, and Phil.* 2. 13. *That it is God that worketh in us both to will and to do*] with the rest before cited, and then we shall not differ in this. For I easily believe that faith and saving Grace is not of our selves, but the gift of God.

To your fifth I say, I am of your mind, that [*Faith is not promised us on any precedent condition, &c.*] The *Arminians* think otherwise. Your Consequent taken of moral specification, I still grant: but taken of Physical, seems to go into the contrary extrem. There are certainly Dispositions, where there are no Covenant-Conditions. See what of this I have said out of *Chemnitius* in answer to *Mr. Tombes Animadversions*, in the Disputation of *Justification*, if you see cause.

To your sixth I say, 1. That no carnal man, or temporary, so pleaseth God, as that the person is accepted into Son-ship or Reconciliation; or the action be *ex pacto, rewardable*, (at least with any eternal Reward) Though some think that [*Giving a cup of cold water to a Disciple in the name of a Disciple*, may be done by a Temporary that would not suffer much for Christ; yet I cannot say that the Text is not to be expounded of such a giving, as comes from saving Love to Christ.) But yet *secundum quid* or *in tantum*: A man unregenerate may do that which is so far pleasing to God, as that he will oft times and ordinarily deal the better with him in outward Respects, and

deal the better with him for his soul. If God bid him Read, Hear, Pray, Consider, or enquire of Ministers, as he bid *Cornelius* send for *Peter*, or bid them search the Scripture daily, &c. he is better pleased that men do thus use his means, then that they despise or neglect them; and in this way he usually gives his Grace. And those that have the best common Disposition, he usually takes as most prepared for saving Grace. Our *Hooker*, *John Rogers*, and other Preachers ordinarily thought so, when they preachd so much for preparatory works to Conversion: naming Humiliation, Desire, some Hope, &c. I leave you to expound that, *Acts* 17.11,12. [ *These (Berean Jews) were more NOBLE then those in Thessalonica, in that they received the Word with all readines of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily whether those things were so: THEREFORE many of them Believed.* ] Though *Calvin* thinks that it was not the searchers but others because of them, that are said [ *therefore to Believe* ] (which seems not the most likely sence.) Yet he thinks that [ *hic primus est ad fidem ingressus, ut prorupti simus ad sequendum, & abdicato proprio carni sensu dociles nos Christo & morigeros praebeamus.* ] And how many Volumes had been written against me if I had said but as *Calvin* (*ibid*, in *Act* 17.12. [ *Non spernenda est hac virtus sedulitas; ad quam intentos fuisse praedicat Lucas fideles in fidei suae confirmationem; multi enim qui principio ebulliunt, statim se ignavia dedentes, dum nulla profectus cura tanguntur, quaecumq; fidei semen perdunt.* ] So that *Calvin* thought common Grace was such a Preparation or Disposition, as might be called [ *a Seed of Faith.* ] But it were an endless task to cite all Protestants that write for this Preparatory Grace.

2. I further answer, that carnal men may have much in them that is not carnal even the common graces of the Spirit, and these are not enmity to God, though the carnal mind be; nor is God an enemy to them.

To your seventh I answer. 1. That though not Hypocrites as such, or Devils be prepared for Grace, yet such as [ *begin in the Spirit* ] and have the highest graces that the un sanctified may have, are so far disposed for more, as that they do much more ordinarily receive saving Grace, then others do.

But you say, [ *If the Gospel is true, Its evidently otherwise, and generally those have been converted to Christianity which had not such measures of Knowledge and common Graces: When those have not which had, as the Pharisees, &c.* Answer, That the Gospel is true, I hope we are agreed: though we are too much unacquainted our selves with the nature of our own faith by which we do believe it. And yet I am confidently perswaded that my Assertion here is truer then yours, unless (as its like) by this common Grace, you still mean another thing then I do. I do not think that *Aristotle* or *Galen*, or the *Scribes* or *Pharisees* had much of the common Grace that I speak of, much less the highest measure. That is not the highest and most dispositive common Grace, which consisteth in Arts or disciplinary knowledge, in being acquainted with the Letters and Words, and Propositions of the Law; much less where it is joined with proud self-conceitedness, and presumption and self-delusion, being settled (by the mistaking of their parts and formalities for true godliness,) in a conceit that they are already sanctified, and so become the most negligent of all others in making out to Christ for Sanctification: The men that I speak of that have a dispositive common Grace are other kind of folks then you seem to talk of. They are such as are as far abased in the feeling of their sin and misery, and humbled by Attrition, (as the Papists call it) and cry out of their sin and folly, and day and night do beg for Grace and Mercy; As common Grace will carry them to do. And far it will carry them. And they are such as like the word and waies of God, and think his servants the best and happiest men, and have many a wish that they were such themselves, and that avoid as much of gross and wilfull sinning, and continue as much in hearing, reading the word, enquiring consideration, as common Grace may bring them to do, and they are such as have as much belief of the Gospel, and as much desire after Christ and holiness, and heaven, and as much love to God and the Redeemer, and the Saints, as common grace can lead them to. And will, that have either a knowledge that yet they are short of true Christianity, or at least, are much afraid of it, (which no doubt but common Grace may bring

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them to. ) And therefore are under a prudent Impatience till saving Grace come in, and the Spirit have sealed them up to the day of Redemption, and are crying out, *What shall we do to be saved?* These are they that I speak of, and not proud *Pharisees* or unsanctified Philosophers, or learned self-esteeming men, that make themselves believe, that they have infused special Grace, because they can talk of it: And that are further from Christ in the capital sins of heart rebellion, Pride, vain-glory, Hypocrisie, Worldliness, if not sensuality, then most other men. Its none of these men for all their Acts, Sciences, Languages, &c. That I suppose to have the highest common Grace. Your Instances therefore are not to the purpose and your conclusion, p. 373. is either impertinent or very unsound.

I know that the conceit that common Grace is saving, may make the condition of such persons more dangerous, then of some scandalous sinners that are easilier convinced. But, 1. Those persons that are so conceited, are far from the height of common Grace, as *Pharisees* are commonly inwardly more wicked then many of the scandalous. 2. And it is not the common Grace, but the mis-conceit for want of more that is the cause of the danger of such men. Even special Grace it self may be abused: For though *Austin* and the Schoolmen put it in their definition, that it is such [*quâ nemo maiè usitur,*] yet that must be meant *efficiently* and not *objectively*: For I think a man may be proud of his Grace, and so objectively misuse it: much more may common Grace be misused; and yet it proves it not to be no Disposition to special Grace.

The *Canon. 6. Concilii Arausiacani*, which you cite, is at least as fully consented to by me as by you, *viz.* [ *That those that think that Mercy is given to men that without the Grace of God do believe, Will, desire and knock; & confesseth not that it is given us from God by the infusion and inspiration of the holy Ghost in us, to believe, Will, and be able to do all these things as we ought, &c. resist the Apostle.* ] But I will desire you to consider what the same council saith of the opinion, which you seem to propugn before you go on in it. The next *Can. 7.* saith, [ *Si quis per natura vigore bonum aliquod quod ad salutem pertinet visa eterna, &c. Heretico fallitur spiritu, non intelligens vocem*

vocem Dei in Evangelio dicentis, sine me nihil potestis facere : & illud Apostoli, Non quod idonei sumus cogitare aliquid a nobis, &c. ] And Canon. 22. Nemo habet de suo nisi mendacium & peccatum. Siquis autem homo habet veritatem atq; justitiam, ab illo fonte est, quem debemus sistere, &c. ] And Canon. 16. Nemo ex eo quod videtur habere gloriatur, tanquam non acceperit, aut ideo se putet accepisse, quia litera extrinsecus velut legitur, apparuit, &c. ] Canon. 3. Siquis per invocationem humanam gratia Dei dicit posse conferri, non autem ipsam gratiam facere ut invocetur a nobis, contradicit Apostolo, &c. ] If therefore the common Grace in question, be *bonum aliquod quod ad salutem pertinet*, or if it be but *aliquid cogitare*, or if it may be called invocation for Grace, or be better then *mendacium & peccatum*. This Council thought it Pelagianism to ascribe it to our meer Naturals without Grace. This you observe, pag 375. But so that you would limit dispositive or preparing Grace, to that which the Schoolmen call *preventing Grace*, even saving faith with love : but ( as sometime they call all that preventing Grace that goes before Justification and merit of congruity, as they call it so. ) *Arminensis ubi supra*, hath fully proved that they with the Fathers ascribe much of that Grace that is found in the unjustified to the special Grace of God, ( as special is distinct from general influence. ) And therefore take heed lest while pag. 376. you would bring the opinion which you argue against, under the suspicion of Pelagianism, &c. You run not into the same : ( Which yet I intend not to charge you with. ) *Caranza* thinks, the *Council Arans.* speaks only of special saving Grace, as out of mans power ; but he confesseth that many Moderns think otherwise.

For my part, though all this new Controversie of dispositive Grace do little concern that which I asserted, which you undertook to oppose, yet the Reasons which I gave here in the beginning of this Question, with the concurrent Judgment of Protestant Divines, and above all, the plain and frequent passages of Scripture do satisfy me, that common Grace is truly preparative and dispositive to saving Grace ; not as one degree of the same *species in morality* disposeth to another degree,

degree, (for this we are agreed against.) But, 1. As it is a less unpreparedness and undisposedness then a worse estate. 2. As it removeth many and great Impediments. 3. As it is a use of the means appointed by God for obtaining his saving Grace. 4. As it is *in tantum* or *secundum quid* a thing pleasing to God, and loved by him, & as he loveth such as have it more then those that are without it, with the love of Complacencie and Acceptation, so as it is a state much nearer Christ then other mens of obstinate wickedness are in; in these five respects I think it prepareth & disposeth to saving grace. Though I think not that this same common Grace is the very thing that is turned by any Improvement of ours, or elevation of the Spirit into saving Grace. But this much I am satisfied of. (between the Arminian & the contrary extrem) 1. That God hath not entered into Covenant or Promise with any unregenerate man to give him saving Grace upon any condition to be performed without it. 2. But yet that he hath commanded him to use certain means to obtain it, and to avoid the resistance and hindrances. 3. And that a very Command to use such means as means, is a strongly encouraging intimation, that God will not deny men the end and blessing, that use the means as well as they can. For it is certain, that he appointeth no means in vain. 4. That un sanctified men may do less evil and more good then they do, and particularly in the use of those means. 5. And that they have so much encouragement, (though no Promise) to the use of those means, that they are left unexcusable (not only as originally disabled, but) as wilfully graceless, and even at the Bar of Grace (or the Redeemer,) if they neglect them. 6. And that no man can stand out, and say, I did the best that ever I could to obtain saving Grace, and yet went without it because God would not give it me. This much I am satisfied of, as to preparatory Grace.

And yet my Controversies with the late Reverend Servant of Christ, Mr. *Blake* and others, do tell me to my trouble, that some Protestants that are no *Arminians*, go so much further in this then I; then they would have it a principal use of Baptism, the Lords Supper, &c. to receive these men of com-



mon grace (though they seem not to have more, or say some, profess no more) and advance them to Saving Grace. And that it is the first visible Church-state according to Divine institution, by which men must pass into the invisible Church of the sanctified. But I see I shall have your vote against this way.

But yet really I should think (if I were of your opinion about Baptism, if Mr. *Tombes* Letter be yours,) that men should ordinarily be a while *Catechumens* before they are Baptized: And according to the Opinion I am of (for Infant Baptism) if I were (as the Ancient Churches were) among Heathens, where a principal part of the Baptized must be adult, (though I would not needlessly delay a through Convert, yet) I should think that commonly the state of *Catechumens* must be a Preparatory state; and that the *Catechumens* were to be supposed in a more disposed state, then most that stood at greater distance.

I do verily think that a man of the Highest knowledge and Belief of sin and misery, Christ and Mercy, God and Glory, that common grace can reach to, with the highest Love, Desires, Humiliation, Fear, Confession, Petition, Obedience, that common grace can reach to, is in all the five Respects fore-mentioned, more Disposed for Saving Grace, and Prepared, then one that is an Apostate, or under the sin against the Holy Ghost, or unto Duty or one that heareth and hateth the Minister and the Word, or that so hateth that he will not hear: and that persecuteth godliness out of hatred to it, and liveth in wilfull Drunkenness, Murder, Whoredom, &c. I know not what men may seem out of their own Principles, and some misinterpreted Texts, but sure I am I find in experience such an exceeding difference between the success of my Labours on the more humble considerate, teachable sort of people, that are not drown'd in wilful wickedness and sensuality with the worst: and the old self-conceited, ignorant persons, and the proud and haughty Spirits, and old drunkards, and such like rooted sensualists, that there is no comparison to be made: and I am fully satisfied to perswade Thieves, Adulterers, Drunkards, Scorners at godliness, Neglecters and despisers of means,  
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and professed Infidels, rather to come out of these sins, and use the means, and believe the Scripture to be true, though but with a Dogmatical Faith, then to continue as they are. And I shall take such Believers, and Reformers, to be more prepared and Disposed for Saving Grace, then they were before. And I hope this is no Herefie.

Sure I am that *Agrippa* that was almost persuaded to be a Christian, was neerer it and better disposed then the haters of Christianity. And I am sure that Christ was well able to resolve our Controversie, and that he told the *Scribe*, *Mark* 12. 34. *Thou art not far from the Kingdom of God:* ] acquainting us that there is a state thats neer and next to the state of Grace, when other men are further off. And as sure I am that he that said, [*All this I have observed from my youth*] was Loved by Christ, and told that he yet lacked one thing, *Mark*. 10. 21. and that this is a better disposition to Grace, then they that are not so much loved, are in, and that lack more things: Though yet even such may go away sorrowful, through the powerful temptation of Riches, *Luke* 1. 17. It was the work of *Jhn* to make ready a people prepared for the Lord. ] And if such were not more undisposed to receive true Grace, we should not so oft have heard that threatning, *Mark*. 4. 12. *Acts* 28. 27. [*The heart of this people are waxed gross, and their ears are dull of bearing, and their eyes have they closed, lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and should be converted, and I should heal them.*] This was not the state of all the unconverted. *Tyre* and *Sidon* were not so undisposed for Grace, as *Capernaum* was. But enough of this, unless I were sure that there were any real difference between us. I speak but to your words, as they may be interpreted by any Readers, to oppose the Truths which I assert, imagining that your self intend it not, however you might mistake me.

To your fourth Reason pag. 376. I answer, 1. We are Agreed still of the Conclusion.

2. But I still think you are very much out, in taking the highest common Grace to be but such as the knowledge of Tongues, &c. which you there mention, and to be but [*the*  
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product of our natural understandings, advanced by education and Industry, now since Miracles are ceased.] For though Education and industry be a means to common and special ( race, yet without the help and Gift of the Spirit, men can have neither special Grace, nor that common grace which I speak of. I much fear lest many Learned, Civil, Orthodox men, do take common grace to be special, and so delude their own souls, in the trial of themselves. Mr. *Shepherd* hath told you from many Scriptures ( in your Book ) of higher things than these you mention, that Hypocrites or Temporaries may attain. And all that they had from the Spirit in the Primitive times, was not only the power of Miracles, as is shewed : therefore they may have more from the Spirit now.

3. I do not think your Consequence good, that the loosening of one, and not loosening, or not loosableness, of the other, will prove a specifick difference. For 1. There are many common gifts in man that are no more loseable than saving Grace. 2. And on the other side, it is not from the meer Nature of inherent Grace that it cannot be lost ; but from the Divine Decree, Love and engagement (of which I have spoken in a Discourse of Perseverance, ) For *Adam* had saving Grace, even the Image of God, and yet lost it : yet I believe the Apostle, that it is because the seed of God remaineth in us ; but I think it is not a good Argument, that because it is the seed, or such a Seed, therefore it will remain : but it Remaineth in us, because the Love of God in Christ, and the operation of the Spirit causeth it to Remain. For *Adam* had a Seed of the same Nature, and yet it did not Remain in him.

Page 380. **T**O your fifth Reason, 1. I grant both your Conclusion still, and that *Habits* are distinguished specifically when the formal Objects are so distinct. 2. And I am of the same mind with *Rob. Baronius*, as you cite him; that no man but the Regenerate is truly a Divine or Christian, and hath properly Theologie, but only Analogically: Though perhaps I may have censures enough for coming so neer to you in this, for all you think me to differ so much from you. It is but the same thing that *Disput. 5. of Right to Sacraments* I maintained. 3. But I am not yet satisfied that saving faith believes many things or any thing materially, which a common faith doth not believe in his manner, of which more anon.

4. That which is the formal Object of the Act of Faith, is it you say, specifically the Habit: and therefore you afterward describe it as respecting the Act. But it is not all the *Motives and Media* that are the formal objects of the act of Faith; but it is the *Veracity of the Revealer*, or Speaker, or Testifier. He that believeth the same material Truths because of the Veracity of God the Revealer, hath a true Divine faith; though in regard of the Motives or Media by which men discern or are perswaded, that the Revelation is indeed Divine, there may be differences between several true Believers, and some of them may make use of insufficient or mistaken mediums or motives. If you deny this, you will leave but few Christians among Christians, and perhaps not any of the ignorant sort; nay perhaps not one at all in the world, as to their first Act of Faith, if your following grounds be annexed. For my part, if I see a poor Christian that believeth all the Articles of the faith, because God hath Revealed them, who he is fully perswaded cannot lie, to be yet at a loss as to the *Media* or *Motives* that should perswade him to take the Scripture to be a Divine Revelation; or if he Receive this but on insufficient grounds or Receive the Articles of Faith by Tradition without Scripture and yet give up himself hereupon to the Obedience of the Doctrine which he receiveth, I shall take him to be a Believer or Christian indeed.

deed. Many thousands believe the Doctrine of Scripture upon Gods credit, and therefore with a Divine Faith, that are not able to give you such proofs of the Revelation being Divine, as the cause requires or deserves.

5. The Divine Veracity is so far known by men, as they know indeed that there is a God: For a lying god is not God, but an Idol. And so far as common grace may lead men from Atheism, so far it may lead them to believe upon the credit of God, or to acknowledge Gods Veracity, and so to Believe the Gospel *sic Divinâ*, when they once take the Gospel to be the Word of God. So that the faith of Temporaries may have the same *objectum formale*, as the faith of Saints: that is, the Veracity of God: And the *Media* to prove the Revelation Divine, are not the formal object of faith; though the Revelation be of necessity, as a *Condition sine qua non*, to the act of Faith, as *Promulgation of a Law* is to the *Act of Obedience*. Of this I have spoken more largely in the *Preface to part. 2. of the Saints Rest*.

6. Where you say pag. 381. [*That saving Faith is built on better Principles, as proceeding from the Spirit of Christ and being built upon his immediate Revelation and Testimony, &c.*] I *Answer*, I doubt I differ from you more in this, then in the Conclusion. I have in the first and second part of my *Treat. against Infidelity*, specially, pag. 82. part. 2. § 2. and through that part purposely shewed how much I ascribe to the Spirits Testimony in our Belief. As also in the *Saints Rest*, part. 2. pag. 197. (Impression 7.) c. 2. § 1. and in the *Preface* to that part: and its fully and Judiciously handled by the *Amyrald* in *Thef. Salm. Vol. 1. pag. 122. Thef. de Testimon. Spirit.* And by *Rob. Baronius* in *Apodix. ad Turnbull. pag. 733.* I readily yield that the illumination of the Spirit is necessary, and that when once men have Received the impress of the Word, and the Image of God by the Spirit on their hearts, they have then in themselves a *Medium* whence they may conclude that Scripture is the Word of God. But your plain Doctrine is [*that common Belief hath only an uncertain fallible Medium, and all saving faith hath a certain infallible Medium, and that is the Testimony (immediate) of the Spirit within us.* Now 1. Here

I may well take it for granted that by this Testimony, you mean not the Spirit as a meer efficient cause, giving us the Rectified power of Believing, or the Habit, or exciting and educating the Act, as a Pre-determining, or other efficient cause: For as we all confesse this Medicinal Grace and efficient illumination as well as you; So this is none of the Controversie, nor the thing that you express. Its one thing to give us eyes and Sight and to cure their diseases, and set open the windows, and another thing to propose an Object, or to see in our stead. We confesse that the Holy Ghost gives us the moral power or Habit, and educeth the Act, and so efficiently causeth us to see, and that sufficient Objects and Reasons for Believing are laid before all men that have but a sufficient internal Sight. But your Testimony which is made the *Medium*, must needs be supposed to be an *objective Medium or Evidence*, or an *internal Affirmation or Enunciation*, as by another within us as saying [*This is the Word of God, or this is true*] by way of full Testimony, not only opening the eyes to see the evidence already extant in the Word, &c. but also being it self the evidence, as a full inartificial Argument, and as an inward witness that is to be believed himself, and not only causeth us to believe a former word. Now that besides all the efficient illumination that causeth us to believe the Divine Testimony or Enunciations already extant in the Word, there is no such inward word of the Spirit objectively necessary as the *Medium* of our Belief to the Being of Saving Faith, and to prove its Specifick difference; besides what is said; I briefly add, these few Reasons,

1. This Doctrine is Papall or worse, making the Word of God insufficient *in suo genere*, to the use it is ordained for. I know that in other kind of Causality, it is no disparagement to the Scripture, to say that it is not sufficient: but it is sufficient in its own kind; which is to contain the matter of our Faith, and objective Testimony of God thereto. And though we yield that the Transcript or effect of this word on the heart is objectively useful, as well as efficiently, to confirm us in the Faith as a secondary Testimony, yet it is not the prime Testimony, nor Necessary to supply any defect in it: nor is Scripture in that kind insufficient without it, to afford us a valid *Medium* for Belief:

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many Papists, ( of whom *Baronius* against *Turnbullus* treats at large ) do indeed suppose such an inspiration or immediate Testimony necessary in the Pope or Church to ascertain us that the Scripture is the word of God : but we are not of that mind.

2. If the *objective medium* be uttered by a voice as it were, or any thing answerable within us, either it is *aliunde*, fetcht and receited from without, that is, from Scripture, or it is primarily from the inward Testifier, If the first, then the *scripture Medium* is sufficient, for it is the same receited within ; and so the common and saving faith have the same *Medium*. If the later, then it is meer *Inspiration propheticall*, and so,

1. None should be Christians or saved but Prophets, which is *Euthusiasm*, and more.
2. And the ordinary way of mens Conversion should be without the word, or the word be unnecessary to it. For what need another tell me that by a fallible way ; which the Spirit within doth primarily utter by an infallible Testimony.

3. The holy Scripture is the *medium* of the common Believer, ( as Gods veracity is his formal object. ) But the holy Scripture is no uncertain, humane, fallible *Medium*, as you say the Temporaries is.

4. Your Doctrine, (as your words import,) doth excuse all Infidels before God as guiltless : For if there be not propounded to them in Scripture, nor any other way, a certain Divine, infallible objective *Medium* of Belief ; then cannot they be obliged to believe. For to believe without a necessary Object is naturally impossible. And though moral Impotency, which is but their viciousness, do not excuse, yet natural Impotency at least, not caused by sin, doth excuse. That their understandings are so blind, as to have need of the Illumination of the Spirit, to enlighten them to see a sufficient Object or *Medium* of Belief, this is there own fault, But that they cannot see or believe without a certain *Medium* or object, this is no more their fault, then it is that they see not non-existents, or that which is a thousand miles off, or that they cannot see it in the dark.

5. According to your Doctrine, most of the Christians in the

world, and all that I know ( as far as I can learn ) must be unchristened, and, cast into a state of Condemnation. For though I know many that have such a Testimony of the Spirit as I have described in my Treat. against Infidelity, *Part 2.* Yet I never knew one that had any other, that is, that had an immediate word uttered by the Spirit within him, distinct from Scripture, which his first faith was resolved into, as the *Medium* that must specify it. At best, it is a terrible Doctrine, to put poor Christians on the rack, so by that, few will ever know that they have faith, if they must prove it specified by a Prophetick Revelation. And if you make any difference between this, and the Revelation of the Prophets, let us know wherein the difference lie:h.

6. The undoubted fruit of this Doctrine received, would be the inflation of audacious, fiery, fantastick spirited men, that are ready to think that all strong impulses within them are of the Spirit of God, as poor humble Christians that feel no such thing, must fall into despair, for as they feel it not, so they know not how to come to the feeling of it.

7. If this inward Testimony be the certain *Medium* of knowing the Scripture to be the word of God, then either all the Scripture or but part: If but part, which part, and why one part rather than another? If all, whence is it that never any of the millions of Christians have from this inward Testimony taught us which Books be canonical, and which not: but all go for that to other Testimonies or *Media*.

8. If we have *infallible certain Media*, to prove the Scripture to be the true word of God without any internal *Medium* as necessary, ( supposing the efficient Illumination of our minds by the Spirit to see the *Media* already extant ) then the supposed *Medium* of the Spirits *immediate Testimony*, is not of necessity to saving Faith. But that the Antecedent is true, is manifest thus: we can without that inward word or *Medium*, shew sufficient proof. 1. That all that God saith is true. 2. And that the Scripture is his word. And 3. Consequently that all in Scripture is true. *Ergo. &c.* 1. That God is *verax*, and cannot lie, is as easie to prove, as that he is God. 2. That the Scripture is his word, is proved by certain Arguments, by

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*Eusebins, Augustine, and many other Fathers, by Ficinus, Vives, Duplessis, Grotius, Davenport, Garbut, Camero, Polanus, and an hundred more.* Yet still we maintain. 1. That a natural Light is necessary to such a belief of this, as the meer natural man may reach. 2. A common Illumination is necessary to the higher apprehensions, and faith of the temporary. 3. And a special Illumination is necessary to saving Belief.

9. If we are in doubt of an inward word of Testimony, whether it be from the Spirit of God or not, how shall we know but by trying the Spirits, and how shall we trie them, but by the Word? The word therefore is a sufficient *Medium*, ( though not sufficient to enlighten us to discern it. )

10. The *medium* that is an inward objective Testimony, must be some word, or some work of the Spirit on the soul, A word distinct from a work : the common experience of Believers doth deny, or not know, such a work, that is the objective motive, must be in order before the Faith that is caused by it: But before the first Act of saving Faith, there is no such experience or objective motive or *Medium* in the soul : therefore the first act of saving Faith is not thus specified : and therefore it is not necessary to the specification. Yea, and thus there should no man ever be bound to believe, because he must have that inward experiment, Word, *Medium*, or Motive extant in him, before he first believe ( if this were necessary as is said ) and yet its certain that no man hath that experiment, *Medium*, &c. till he do believe : for Infidels have it not.

I confess that a sanctified man hath an inward Principle and Habit, which others have not, and that for confirmation after his first belief, the experience of that may be a subservient *Medium*. But I know not of any one Article of Faith, or any *Medium* objective for the discerning of that Truth, which is necessary to a saving Faith, which Temporaries have not some knowledge of. They know all the same Articles of faith, and believed them by the same *Mediis*, though not by the same illuminated, sanctified minds, and not with a faith of the same species *saith* Pemble truly, ( vindict. Grat. pag. 215 )  
*But it must be diligently observed what kind of Revelation and testi-*

testimony of the Spirit it is, whereby we may be said to be assured of the Scriptures divine Truth. It is not any inward suggestion and inspiration different from those Revelations that are in the Scriptures themselves, as if the Spirit did by a second, private particular Revelation assure me of the Truth of those former revelations made in the Scriptures: We have no Warrant for any such private Revelation now, nor is there any need of them. How then doth the holy Ghost reveal to us the Truth of Scriptures? I answer, by removing those impediments that hinder, and by bestowing those Graces that makes us capable of this Knowledge. There's a twofold Impediment. 1. Ignorance. — 2. Corruption. — This holy Spirit cureth the. 1. By Illumination restoring our decayed understanding. — The second by Sanctification, infusing into our Desires and Affections some Degrees of their primitive Holiness. — pag. 216. Other inward and secret Revelations of the Spirit we acknowledge not in this Business. ]

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S E C T. VIII.

**A**S to your passages, pag. 382, 383. about opinion and science. 1. Faith is commonly said to be neither opinion nor Sciences: (Though for my own part, I have given my reasons for its evidence against *Baronius* and *Rada*, *Apol. Part 1*, pag. 134. &c. and against *Hurtado* in *Treat. against Infidel. Determ. pag. 68. Franc. Mayco*, and many others maintain it to be evident and demonstrable. *Arminensis*, and many more with him deny it, saying, ( *ut Arminenf. contra Marcon* ) that it hath *evidentiam credibilitatis, non autem certitudinis*: which satisfieth not me: but if it hold, it may shew the impertinency or invalidity of your arguing. 2. If Faith must have a *scientific medium*, or if a credible *medium* be enough and distinct, yet still this *Medium* is extant to the un-sanctified in the word of God, without an inward prophetic Inspiration. And though they see it not savingly, yet they see it superficially, and with a common faith. It was the same Reasons that prevailed with many of the sanctified and the Temporaries to believe, but not apprehended by the same

same faith. *Amesius* (*ubi supra*) tells us that we are past question: that in the *Lumen deferens objectum* as he calls it there is no difference. It was the same Seed that fell and grew among the thorns, and in the stony ground, as in the good ground, though it had not the same ground and entertainment, being received but superficially into the one, and being over-topped and choaken with predominant enemies in the other. If an un sanctified Divine may study, preach and defend every *Medium* necessary to Saving Faith, then may they have some apprehension and use of every such *Medium*, but the former is true: *Ergo* —

Where therefore you say, pag. 283. that [*Hypocrites and impious persons have no Premises to infer* (the Articles of Faith) *but such as are Humane and dubious and probable.*] I exceedingly Dissent in this particular. They may have all the same *Premises* as you may have at your first Believing. You had Help and Light to cause you to see the premises which they had not, but you had no *Premises* more then they may have. They have the same Word as you. He that Believes because of Gods Veracity, and his Scripture Revelation, believes upon *Premises*, that are better then humane dubious, and probable: but thus may Temporaries believe: *Ergo* —

But you ask, [*What Mediums and Motives have they to believe that to be Gods Word. For their Assent to the Divine Truth of Gods Word can be no firmer and certain then the Premises which infer that Assent: Now Hypocrites neither have nor can have any Premises or Motives to Believe the Divinity of that Word, but such as I named:*] *Answ.* Far am I from the Belief of this Doctrine. 1. All the Arguments to prove the Scripture to be Gods Word, which all the forenamed Writers use, and Temporaries Read, and study and preach, (besides the inward Testimony which you plead for,) are more then Humane, Probable and dubious. But all these may a Temporary use in his way: *Ergo* —

2 All the *Premises* that you had for your first Belief that Scripture was Gods Word, a Temporary may have: For you had a work or word of the Spirit to be made use of as a *Premise* to infer Belief from, before you believed. But your first

Premises (to your Saving Belief) were not such as you Describe *Ergo* —

3. Take heed of dashing out the Christian faith at a blow, and giving up the cause to the Infidels. For, if the inward Testimony of the Spirit which you mention and pretend to, be no surer a *Medium* or *Premise*, to infer Scripture to be Gods Word from, then some of the other that you affirm to be but dubious, humane or probable then according to you, there is no Argument for Scripture, that is better then so : But the Antecedent is certain. For all those Arguments mentioned by the forecited Writers, from that *Intrinsic Light*, by which the Scripture, as the Sun is seen, and from *Prophecies fulfilled, uncontroled Miracles* Sealing it, &c. are as sure, as any a man before his first believing or in the Act, (yea or after) can fetch from within him : (Though still he must have a Light within him from the Spirit to see them : which is none of his *Premises*.) Yea, if inward Holiness or the Spirits Testimony be the only Evidence, yet that Holiness and Spirit in all the sanctified, (which is more then in one man) is one of the *Premises* or a *Medium* which an un sanctified man may use : And though he have not the experimental knowledge of it, and so not the same manner of apprehension, yet the *Medium* is the same.

And what a Task do you set the Preachers of the Gospel here and what a case do you leave their Hearers in? If there be no *Premises* but this of an inward Testimony, better then humane, dubious, &c. then no man breathing can produce any better to unbelievers to perswade them to believe. But they must say, [*We have no infallible, certain Medium to prove Scripture to be true, or Christianity to be true : but only humane, dubious Premises.*] For his own inward Testimony his Hearers have not, nor can know it but by Believing him, which is a far more uncertain way then that you call uncertain. And how then shall we expect that men believe us? This is it that *Knot* and other *Papists* falsely charge on our Religion that we have no infallible certainty of it.

5. The Apostles and Evangelists did produce infallible *Premises* for faith, besides the inward Testimony of the Spirit in the Hearers : therefore there is other infallible *Premises* to be produced.

6. Few

6. Few good Christians do believe upon the *Premise* or *Medium* of the Testimony you mention ( though by the Spirits work efficiently they do ? ) Therefore it is not of necessity to the specifying of Saving Faith.

Lastly, I again enter my Dissent also from your great Supposition of the Necessity of infallible *Premises* to a Saving Belief of Scripture being Gods Word. The word of Revelation, is it self but the Means of our Faith: the Essentials of our faith are the matter and Form (as we may call them: ) the essential material Object is the particular Articles of Faith Essential to Christianity: the formal Object is Divine Veracity; that Scripture is the Word of God, is neither the formal Object, nor any essential part of the material Object; but (as I said) it is necessary as a *Condition sine qua non*, or a *Medium*, that the Matter be Revealed as from God by Scripture, or (as before the writing) by some other way, as Promulgation of a Law is necessary to obedience. Now as a man must hear the Law promulgate, and believe that it is really the Sovereigns Act and will before he can obey it; So we must hear or Read the Word, and be perswaded that it is the Word of God before we can *fide Divinâ* believe it. But yet as a man may by meer Report, or by the Badge on his Coat, on some meer probable Reason, think this to be the Herald authorized to Proclaim this Law, and yet as long as he takes it to be the Kings Law, and reverenceth and obeyeth it as his, he performeth the Loyal Obedience of a true Subject, and perhaps better then some Lawyers that were at the making of it: So he that heareth the Gospel; and is perswaded that it is Gods Word, though but on weak or probable grounds, and yet doth therefore believe it because of his confidence in Gods Veracity whom he takes to be the Revealer, hath a true Divine Faith. For there is both the material and formal Object: the true Articles of faith are believed, and therefore believed because God that cannot lie is the Author of them: And that he is the Author, is first an object of Knowledge, and but secondarily of Belief. For the two Principles of faith [*That God is True, and that this is his Word,*] are in order first to be known, and then the Act of faith is built on them: Though secondarily they are both the object

of Belief it self.) And if you must of Necessity to the essence of your Faith, have demonstrations, or scientificall, or infallible *Premises* apprehended to prove that the *Medium* the Scripture is of God; then must you have still as good and certain *Premises*, for the proof of every one of *those Premises*; which is not necessary. I confess the better Evidence we have of the truth of Scripture, the stronger our faith is like to be. But the millions of Christians that take it to be the Word of God upon the common vote of the Church and their Teachers, with probable intrinsick Arguments; and yet therefore firmly believe it because of Gods Veracity may have a saving faith. If I deny this, I must unchurch and unchristian almost all, or the far greatest part of the Churches and Christians in the world.

I must here expect that it be objected to me, that *Faith is Argumentative* (what need you else talk of *Premises*) and the conclusion cannot excel in certainty, the weaker of the *Premises*, nor be more Divine. *Answ.* This calls for a whole Digression that it may be satisfactorily answered: But because all this is besides our main Question, I will content my self with this short touch.

It is a very great Controversie among Divines, whether Faith be by Argumentation, and the Reception of a Conclusion as resulting from the *Premises*; or a simple Act; and whether it have a certainty and Evidence or not. In a word, as Faith hath its material and formal Object, so hath it its material and formal parts to constitute it. And as the material objects are the Essential Articles of the Christian faith (considering now but the Assenting part of Faith) so the Belief of these Articles is the essential matter of Faith: And as the formal Object is Gods Veracity, so the form of this Faith, is a crediting or Believing God as God: And as the Revelation is the *Copula* or bond of both these Objects, so the Reception of the Revelation is the conjunction of the Matter and form of Faith. In the ends and uses of Faith there is considerable 1. The Acceptableness of it to God. 2. The satisfactoriness, and operative force with our selves, Accordingly is its nature mixt and suitable, having somewhat of the *will*,  
and

and somewhat of the *Intellect*, The will hath 1. an *affiance on the Veracity of God the Author*, 2. And an *acceptance of the Good* that is offered in the material Object: the former belongs to faith *in genere*: the latter also to the Christian Faith, or the Belief of any Promise, *in specie*. The Veracity of God, which is the formal Object, is the Result of his three grand Attributes, his infinite Power, Wisdom and Goodness. These are Essential to God as God. Because he is *Omnipotent*, he will not break his word through any *impotency* to fulfill it: Because he is *most wise*, he will not break it through *ignorance*. Because he is *infinitely Good*, he will not break it by *unfaithfulness, fraud injustice, &c.* The last of these Attributes is most eminent in *Veracity*. Accordingly, the *formal act* of Faith, which is the *Giving credit to God* containeth in it, or supposeth both a persuasion or assent to the Truth of this in God, (even that he is God) and a *pious Affection of the will* by which we have a *Complacencie* and closure with, and an *Affiance in this Veracity of God*: All may be comprehended in *Affiance*. I am not speaking of *Affiance* in the *Redeemer* to do the works of his Office for us: that belongs to Faith *in specie*: but of *Affiance* in the *Power, Wisdom, Goodness*, and so in the *Veracity or Fidelity* of God-Revealing or Promising: which belongs to Divine Faith in General (when good is in the matter, and when it is a grace.) This voluntary Affiance in Gods Veracity, being the formal Act of Faith, (together with the Acceptance of the good in the special Object,) is it wherein the Acceptableness of Faith, to God consisteth) so that hence you see, that faith formally as faith, is not the Assent to the conclusion of this Argument [*What ever God saith is true: but this God saith, therefore this is true:*] but it is this *Affiance in Gods Veracity*. But Faith as comprehending matter and form, is both. Also that faith is *Acceptable* to God, as it is such an *Affiance* in his Veracity. And thus it needeth no formal Argumentation: or no more then to conclude that God cannot lie, because he is most powerful, wise and good. But now as to the satisfactory and operative use of faith about the material object, there it proceedeth Argumentatively; and is called an Assent to the conclusion, and it hath alway before us (objectively offered) such evi-

dence of certainty, that where it is rightly apprehended, it is of the nature of Science; ( but advanced by the formal Act of Affiance, by which it is informed to be more *Acceptable* then any bare Science. ) But multitudes, and most by far discern not this evidence so clearly, as may make it scientificall to them. Nay many may discern but part of it ( to prove that Scripture or these Articles are the word of God ) or some few of the weaker evidences of these Revelations, or if they have the most demonstrative or certain evidences, yet they apprehend them not as such, but so weakly, that perhaps their assurance or belief of the Truth of the word, may not exceed a strong probability. The stronger any mans Assent to the matter is, the more satisfaction he hath in his mind, ( and *ceteris paribus* ) the more operative and effectual his faith is like to be, and so to procure further Acceptance. But yet be it never so weak, if it be sincere, it receives an acceptableness from the formal Act of holy Affiance in Gods veracity that informs it, that we may discern the material part to be sincere. It is not necessary that we find out, that it was by a certain infallible Divine *Medium*, that we took the Scripture to be the word of God ( and indeed many a one that sees it by such evidence, may yet see so little of the nature and force of that evidence, that his mis-apprehension or dark and weak apprehension may make it as unsatisfactory and uneffectual to him, as great probabilities clearly apprehended may be to another ) But as a humane Belief of our Teachers is an ordinary preparative or concomitant ( if not some part. ) So where the formal Act is firm and true ( which makes it acceptable ) and the material object entirely apprehended in all its essentials, the degree of apprehension is next most regardable to discern the sincerity; and because the use of this material Act is so far to satisfie us, as to lead up the Will to the acceptance of Christ offered, and to close with the felicity promised, and to be operative in us; therefore the best way to judge of the sincerity of the Assent, is, If it prevail habitually, and in the course of our lives actually, with our Wills to accept Christ as Christ, and Love God and Heaven as such, and so to prefer them before all things in the world. As Dr. Jackson. (of saving faith )  
faith,



faith; what ever doubtings there may be, or weakness of belief, even concerning the Truth of Scripture, and the promised Glory: yet he that is so far perswaded of it, as that he is resolved to venture all upon it, and rather to let go sin and pleasure, profit and honor, life and all, then venture the loss of what is promised, and the suffering of what is threatned: This is a saving Acceptable faith, for all the weakness in the evidence or apprehension. This Anatomy of faith I give to make my sense as intelligible to the Reader as is possible. To which add the Preface to the second part of the Saints Rest, the Preface to my Treat. against Infidelity, and you will see most that I have to say concerning this particular Subject.

As to what you add to this till pag. 394: to prove that Believers have the Spirit, its easily granted: but the Question is not so general, nor of the word [ *Testimony* ] in general, but of such a Testimony as shall be the *Medium*. or *Premise*, from which objectively the first Act of saving faith must necessarily be specified, which I deny. In a whole Treatise ( against Infidelity ) I have pleaded for the witness of the Spirit to the Truth of Christianity.

Page 394. Your sixth Reason is, that [ *else the unregenerate were as truly gracious and Believers as the Saints.* ]

*Answ.* Your Reason is good in my opinion: though those that dispute against me must disclaim it, who say that the unregenerate are called in Scripture Saints, Believers, justified Sons, &c. and that not equivocally. Taking faith for that which is truly Christian and saving, you might easily have known if you had desired it, that I consent to your conclusion, that the unregenerate do not believe. But yet with another sort of faith, they do believe; and in this I suppose we are agreed, because we believe Christ. And this other sort is differenced but as aforesaid. And that its true in its kind, I hope will be no controversy between you and me, though I know not whether Mr. *Shepherd* and I are so far agreed but I dare venture to say that you and I are, that *ens & verum convertuntur*. And therefore doubtless you that call it so often [ *common Grace and Faith* ] do take it to be [ *true common Grace and Faith.* ] To gratifie

gratifie you with additions to your double Testimony, p 398. from *Calvin* and *Baronius*, I have heretofore produced 33. for the same Conclusion, ( *Disput. 5. of Sacram.* ) and sixty more for another of the same Importance. Yet do I not intend by this to blame you, for bringing your two witnesses forth as against me, who had openly produced so many score against the same Doctrine that you charge me with; for you might have Reasons for it that I know not of, or at least be excusable by your mis-information.

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S E C T. IX.

Page 398. **Y**OU let fall a point of great moment wherein I have long differed from you, viz. [ *That Regenerate men by saving faith believe that Christ hath already satisfied for their sins, so as the debt is paid, and they freed, that he hath reconciled his Father to them, that their sins are pardoned; or they justified, that they are Sons of God here, or shall be Heirs of Heaven hereafter.* ] And all these you say. [ *The common Believers, neither do, nor upon any just ground can believe.* ] And so at last we have Many Articles of faith, in which the regenerate believe and others cannot: and if so, the difference is more material then I thought it: but I am pretty well satisfied long ago; that this Doctrine is much contrary to the Gospel, and the nature of saving faith.

Had you spoken only of that Conditional pardon and Justification, &c. That is given in the Gospel to all that hear it, that may be believed by the unregenerate, as your foregoing expressions testify [ *They may really believe the whole history of the Scripture to be true,* ] But you mean not this, but plainly speak of actual freedom, Reconciliation, Pardon, Justification, Adoption, and futurity of Glorification. And of these I am fully satisfied that they are no Articles of divine faith at all. But yet it is none of my purpose to enter the lists with you about it, though it be a point of exceeding weight. I have in my *Apol. to Mr. Blake, my Directions for Peace of Conscience*, and in the *Saints Rest*, and many other writings given

given some of my Reasons already against this opinion : and therefore may be here the more excused. And as long as the testimony of our great Divines at *Dort* stands on Record against you, and the stream of our present Divines is against you, in point of Authority I have the advantage of you, though *Chamier*, *Calvin*, and some more transmarine Divines be on your side, or seem to be so. *Mr. Down* long since effectually confuted one of my name that held your opinion : And I must confess I the more incline to think that saving faith is no such thing as you describe, because such a multitude of holy men (that doubtless have saving faith) do deny that it is any such thing : But yet to cast in a breviate of my Reasons, (that saving faith is not the divine Belief, that we are actually freed, pardoned, justified, Adopted and Heirs of Heaven) may breed no quarel.

*Reason 1.* The Gospel containeth all the necessary material Objects of saving faith : The Gospel containeth none of these propositions forementioned (that you or I, or *A. B. &c.* is actually justified, Adopted, &c. ) therefore none of these propositions are the objects of saving faith.

The Gospel sufficiency in this is believed by all Protestants that I know, and by many Papists as to necessary Articles of faith. If any deny the Minor, let him shew me the Text that faith he is justified or adopted expressly, or by necessary consequence ; If any say that it is a Consequence from the Premises, whereof one is in Scripture, and the other in us ; I have answered this to *Mr. Blake*, that this makes it not purely *de fide*, nor at all to be denominated *de fide*, unless the word of the Gospel were the *debilius premissorum*.

*Rea. 2.* If this which you mention were the difference between a saving and a temporary faith, then the difference should be, that one believeth only the written word, or the Gospel, & the other the (saving faith) believes also an unwritten word, and that which is not in the Gospel. But this is not the difference, *Ergo &c.*

*Rea. 3.* The material object of saving faith is propounded by God to all men that hear the Gospel, and all commanded

manded to believe it. But this; ( that they are actually justified, &c. ) is not so, nor all commanded to believe it, *Ergo, &c.*

If it were all mens duty, some must believe a fashood. If you say that it would be a Truth consequently, if they could believe it: I answer. It must be a truth antecedently, or else the first act of faith is false. If you say, that men are first commanded to repent and then believe, I answer; No repenting without faith will prove them justified: therefore upon no such repenting may they believe they are justified. If you say some other Act of faith goes first, and justifieth us, I answer; Then it is that other Act that is justifying faith.

*Rea. 4.* The unbelief that condemneth men is not the not believing that they are already justified, Adopted, &c. Therefore the faith that saveth men is not the believing that they are justified, Adopted, &c. for they are contraries.

*Rea. 5.* The material Object of divine faith ( of assent ) is some word of God, at least written or unwritten. But the Articles mentioned by you, are ( as to the Church ordinarily ) no word of God, written nor unwritten: therefore they are not the Object of divine faith. If they be in the written word, let it be produced; which cannot be done. If it be an unwritten word ( in the heart ) they that affirm it must produce or prove it, which they cannot do. And the common experience of Believers is, ( as far as I can learn from themselves ) that there is no such thing; for though they know of a Spirit effecting faith in them, that is, causing them to believe an Object already revealed, yet they know of none, propounding a new word or Object of faith to be believed as the Gospel is. The effects of the Spirit indeed ( Faith, Love, &c. ) are the Objects of a reflex knowledge ( as its called ) but not of Faith: though they consequentially confirm us in the Faith, having therefore no ordinary divine word in us, we can have no divine faith.

*Rea. 6.* If our own inward Graces be the object of saving Faith, then are we saved by believing in our selves, or somewhat of our selves, ( viz, That we are justified, adopted, &c.

☞. ) But the Consequent is untrue , therefore so is the Antecedent. Saving faith is a believing in Christ.

Rea. 7. That which no man hath before his first believing cannot be the material Object of his first saving faith ( and therefore specifieth it not, nor is essential to it. ) But no man hath before his first believing either a actual Justification, Adoption, ☞. Therefore neither of these can be the object of our first saving faith. The Major is plain, because the object is before the Act. The Minor is proved, in that Unbelievers are not justified, Adopted, ☞.

Rea. 8. The Doctrine that makes Justification , Adoption, ☞. to go before faith, and be the portion of Infidels, is unsound : but such is yours. For men must have these before they can truly believe that they have them, and so before your saving faith.

Rea. 9 If that I be bound to believe ( to Salvation ) that I am actually justified, then either that I am justified by faith or without faith : not without, for that's against the Gospel; not by faith for I yet have it not at first, and after either I am bound to believe that I do believe or not, if not still the conclusion will not be *de fide*, because my believing ( which is not by a word of God affirmed ) is the *pars debilior* of the Premises. If I am bound to believe that I do believe, then also must I be bound to believe, that I believe, that I do believe, and so on : for why should I be bound to believe one Belief, and not to believe another, even that Belief also. It was never known that faith was its owne specifying Object.

Rea. 10. If my own inward qualifications or receivings from the Spirit are the Object of saving Faith, and the Gospel the Object of common faith; Then common Faith hath a perfect Object, and saving faith ( where it differs from it ) hath an imperfect Object : ( for such is both our sanctification, and our Justification at leſt, as revealed to us, or the Revelation of our Justification. ) But the Consequent is un-

found, therefore so is the Antecedent. I dare not compare my inward evidences with the Gospel.

*Rea. 11.* If the Spirits inwards Testimony that I am justified, Adopted, &c. be the object of saving faith, then one true Christian hath more to believe, and another less and there are as great variety of Objects as of Christians; and some are bound to believe much seldomer, as well as less, then others: ( For he that hath not the Object is not bound to believe it: but some Christians ( at most ) have it but seldom, and but little; ) But the Consequent is untrue, therefore so is the Antecedent. Though Christians have several degrees and seasons of exercising faith, yet they are bound to exercise it more and oftner then they do. And it is not made impossible for want of a word to be the Object.

*Rea. 12.* Also it would follow that the same man is one day bound to believe ( if there be such a Testimony ) and another day not: and perhaps another month or year: yea perhaps some should never be bound to believe: for none have that Testimony constant, and many Christians never have that at all, which is unfitly called an inward word or Revelation; that we are adopted by immediate Testimony. But &c.

*Rea. 13.* ( Though the Spirit work faith, yet ) the testifying sealing Spirit is given to Believers and after faith, therefore saving faith goeth before it, and is without it.

*Rea. 14.* If our own Adoption, Justification, &c. be the Objects of our saving Faith, and it be an Article of Faith that you are justified, &c. then to doubt of your Justification, Adoption, &c. is to doubt of the word of God: and to deny your own Justification, is to deny the word of God, and so all that you thus speak against your selves in your doubtings, you speak against the Truth of the word of God: But the Consequent is unsound, Ergo. &c.

*Rea. 15.* Our inward real Graces are the Objects of our knowledge by the reflexion ( or as some say, by intuition. ) There-

Therefore they are not the Objects of saving faith. For though the same thing as extrinsically revealed may be the Object of both, because of different Revelations, yet I suppose such different intrinsick Revelations, will not here be pretended: nor is it necessary that when the Spirit hath first given us Grace, and then by an inward light and efficiency, caused us to perceive it, and know that we have it, he should after give us an immediate word to tell us of that which he had before caused us to know ( as he causeth us to discern extrinsick Objects. )

*Rea. 16.* The Articles of saving faith may be expressed in the Churches Creed, but so cannot these new Articles that you mention: For there must be the names of so many, and such individual persons, as cannot be known; nor will it be certain. For you will not be content with the general, that *he that believeth shall be saved*; but there must be in your Creed, [ *I am justified, Adopted, &c.* ] which who can know but they that have it? And so their Creed is utterly uncertain to the Church, yea and every man hath a distinct Creed of his own: There being one Article in it ( *that he is justified* ) that no man else is bound to believe: and so there must be as many Creeds as Believers.

*Rea. 17.* The Articles and Object of saving faith may be preached to some ( at least ) that are uncalled, and they required to believe: But your Object and Articles can be preached to no man, therefore they are not the Articles and Objects of saving faith. No one unconverted man in the world can be called on to believe that he is justified, unless he be called to believe an untruth, or according to the Antinomian Doctrine of Justification before Faith, he can have no knowledge or discovery first that it is the true.

*Rea. 18.* Were your Articles necessary Objects of a saving Faith, then all presumptuous ungodly persons are justified for not believing ( yea and all others. ) For, 1. Its as natural Impossibility ( as is aforesaid ) to believe without an Object, as

to see without Sun or Light. The holiest man could not do it,  
 2. And presumptuous persons have the Act; and its not long  
 of them that there is no object for it: They are confident that  
 they are justified, Adopted, &c. But you say [*They do not or  
 cannot believe it.*] But why is that? Because they believe not,  
 even when they do believe it. I mean, (having no word of Re-  
 velation,) the name of Belief is not due to the Act: but thats  
 not long of them. They are confident that God hath Justifi-  
 ed them and will save them, as well as you. Though you say  
 you have a word for it within you, which they have not.

*Reason 19.* The Scripture telleth us an hundred times over of  
 another Faith as certainly saving, without your Articles: there-  
 fore these Articles are not necessary to saving Faith, to cite  
 but a few Texts, Rom. 10. 8, 9, 10, 11. [*That is the word of faith  
 which we preach, that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the  
 Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thy heart that God raised him  
 from the dead, thou shalt be saved: for with the heart man be-  
 lieveth unto Righteousness, &c.*] Here note 1. that this is the  
 Word that is said to be in the heart, *vers.* 8. And 2. yet it is  
 the same that the Apostles preached. Now the Apostles did  
 not preach to men such Articles as yours, *viz.* [*You are alrea-  
 dy actually justified, Adopted, &c.*] by name: but only this con-  
 ditional Justification here mentioned. It is a *Believing to Right-  
 eousness*, and not a *Believing that we are Righteous* which they  
 preach and require: It is a *Believing Christs Resurrection, &c.*  
 and not our own honesty or felicity or pardon, &c. So that this  
 same word which is preacht by the Apostles, is it that is in the  
 heart, and not another Gospel or Word of God; *viz.* [*Thou  
 A. B. art justified.*] So John 1. 12. *As many as received him,  
 to them gave he power to become the Sons of God, even to them  
 that believe in his name.*] They must believe that they may be-  
 come Sons; which is not a believing that they are sons, Rom.  
 4. 24. Faith [*shall be imputed to us for Righteousness, if we be-  
 lieve on him that raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead.*] This  
 is the saving Faith, which is imputed to us for Righteousness;  
 and therefore is not a Believing that we are righteous. *Acts*  
 13. 38. 39. *Forgiveness of sin is preached through Christ, and by  
 him*



*him all that believe are Justified from all things, &c.* [They believe before they are justified, and therefore not that they are justified. But I have said enough of this heretofore in my Confession.

*Reason 20.* All the Articles of the true saving Christian faith, have been still owned by the Catholick Church; These Articles that you mention have not been still owned by the Catholick Church, therefore they are not Articles of true saving Faith. They are not to be found in the Creeds of the Church, nor Writings of the Fathers of the Church, therefore they are not owned by the Church. All in the Creed that is pretended is, the [I Believe] with [the Remission of sins,] which is not [I believe that my sins are already remitted: For the Catechumens were to profess this faith, and all were bound to believe it. Other Reasons I have given elsewhere.

I cast in all these Reasons hastily, not improved as I should do, if I were to make a Defence of the Truth; but to give you an account of the cause of my Dissent, because I find this the principal point of all our Difference.

Yet that we seem not to differ more then we do, I must again refer you to my *Treatise of the Spirits Witness within us to the Truth of Christianity*, § 2. &c. to know my Concessions. To which I also add, that all that believe in Christ, do believe in him for Remission of their own sins, and do by consent *Accept him and pardon offered by and with him*: and when they profess to be Believers, they profess those *Premises* from whence they may conclude that they are pardoned: And so far as they know that they sincerely believe, they may and ought to conclude that they are pardoned. Yet its not a Word of God, much less an Article of saving Faith.

## SECT. X.

Page 399. **Y**OU next instance in *Acceptance and Love to Christ*. And I grant you still the conclusion, that these are not in the unregenerate in the same *species* as in the Saints. But that there is a Love and Acceptance true in its kind, and how it materially differs from that in true Believers, I have oft shewed, and shall do here further in my Additional Explication.

I said in my Aphorisms, that [*the Acceptance of an offered Christ is the essential Form of Justifying Faith.*] (not of Faith in genere,) and you say that I said so of [*Love.*] I know there is *Love in Acceptance*, or *Consent*, or *Choyce*: but if I might have chosen, I had rather you had charged me with what I indeed wrote, then with what you imagine may be implied in it.

Page 403. Your eighth Reason for the Cause that I maintain, is found and undeniable.

Hence you pass page 404. to another Controversie, answering this Objection [*Love may be Essential to faith, because its agreed that Fiducia is an Act of Faith, and that in the Will, and not only Mr. Baxter, but Bellarmine and many reformed Divines say so.*] *Ans.* 1. I lookt in *Bellarmino*, and find him with the common vote of Schoolmen, and Divines placing *Fiducia* in the will, but so far is he from making it an Act of Faith, that the Position that he is there proving is, that [*fides non est fiducia,*] against the Protestants, and concludes as you, that that *fiducia ex fide oritur, non potest esse idem cum fide*. Sure you did not indeed mean to prove hence that *Bellarmino* is of the Protestant opinion which he writes against. I suppose your intent was to limit his consent to the last clause of the Subject of Affiance.

2. You might well say many Reformed Divines are for the point which you assault; for it is so common, that with Papists and our selves, it goes commonly as the Protestant cause.

As to your first Reason (and your whole cause) you utterly mistake and mis-report the cause. It is not a *αληθεσφωρία* that Protestants

Protestants commonly mean by Affiance ; no nor a *πιστις* neither as that word most usually signifieth the confidence or persuasion of the intellect in a high Degree. But it is the very *πίσις* or Faith it self, which we commonly express in English by [ *Crediting, or giving credit to a man ; Trusting him, or having affiance in him.* ] And therefore our Divines do commonly maintain against the Papists that *πιστεύειν εἰς in scriptum* signifieth *fiduciam ponere* ; and *fidem habere* ; which is our *Affiance*. And our Translators thought sure that to *Trust in God*, and to *hope in him* was all one, ( and so to *Trust or Hope in Christ* ) when they so ordinarily translate *ἐλπίζω* by *Trusting*, as in *Luke 24, 21.* *Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἠελπίζομεν ὅτι αὐτοῦς &c.* The sense also shews it is not *Hope* as commonly defined that is here meant. So *Matth. 12, 21.* & *Rom. 15. 12.* *Καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτῶ ἔθνη ἐλπῆσθ* *And in his Name shall the Gentiles trust.* And the first Believers of the *Ephesians* Paul calleth *τοὺς ἀποληπτικούς ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ,* *those that first trusted in Christ*, which is all one in *Pauls* sense with believing in him ; for in the next verse [ *ἐν ᾧ πιστεύσαντες* ] is used as Synonimal, to signifie the same thing. And so in *1 Tim. 4. 10.* & *6. 17.* *Phil. 2. 19* and other places, our Translators call this [ *Trusting in God,* ] which is our *Affiance* ; and undoubtedly an act of the Will. And when other words (as frequently) are used, it is the same thing that is intended in many places of Scripture, which our Translators call [ *Trusting in God.* ] Now besides your *Plerophory* or *Perswasion*, there is in the nature of saving faith not only another *Affiance*, but a double *Affiance* essential to it in some degree : as I shall take the liberty according to my apprehension to open it.

Belief is either *voluntary* and a *Duty*, or *involuntary*, and no *moral good*. The latter is the faith of the Devils, and all that believe the Truths of God as things that are against them, and would not have them to be true, and perhaps had rather not believe them (for the understanding is not free in it self.) This kind of belief is meerly of the Intellect : The voluntary vertuous Belief of God, is either of some things that we apprehend as *meerly True*, and having no other good in them as to us but the Truth (nor perhaps to others) There are no such Revelations ; but yet our apprehensions may be such of them.

Here Truth it self is a certain sort of Good. And thus the Intellect receiveth these Truths, but not alone : For the Will hath a double concurrence. 1. Looking with Complacency on the good of verity Revealed, 2. Looking with a Complacential Affiance or Trust to the Veracity of God the Author or Revealer. Thus it is that we believe some Histories. II. Or this voluntary Belief is of things *hurtful* to us, in our apprehension, as in case of our belief of Threatnings. Here the Will hath an *Aversness* to the *material Object* ; but still hath a complacency joined with it both in the *General Good of Verity*, even as in a Threatning, and a Complacency in, and voluntary approbation of the Veracity of God in his Threatnings. Thus it ought to be : And this compliance of the Will with Gods Veracity in a Threatning, is not commonly called Affiance ; but a consenting or Complacential Approbation. III. This Belief hath sometime a Revelation apparently good to us, (or to the Church, or our Brethren and Gods honour) for its Object. Thus all merciful Narratives, Offers and Promises, are believed ? And here are these Acts. 1. The Intellect apprehendeth the Veracity of God Revealing. 2. The Will hath a Complacential Approbation of this Veracity of God as good in it self and a Divine perfection. 3. The Intellect Apprehendeth the Letter and sense of the Revelation. 4. And the Truth of it as proceeding from Divine Verity it self. 5. And the Goodness of it as its Truth in General. 6. And the special Goodness of it from the Matter in special. 7. And the Will concurrereth in these Apprehensions by *Commanding* the Intellect according to that Degree as the acts are *Imperate*. 8. And the Will hath a special *Affiance* or *Trust* ( together with the Intellect acquiescing herein ) in the *Veracity of the Revealer* as it respecteth this special Object. For as 9. The same Will hath a *Complacency*, or *Consent* or *Acceptance*, as to the *Good Revealed, Promised, Offered* ; so it hath an answerable respect to the Power, Wisdom and special goodness of God that promiseth ; and so looking at his Veracity (the result of these three) as the Foundation and formal Object of his faith, he must needs look at it with a special Volition. which we commonly call Affiance or Trust ; and this last is the very Act that is called

led by the name of *fides*, or *fiducia*, or *Affiance*, comprehending the rest, but so as that they are all denominated usually from this as the perfective Act. And this is the Affiance, that we say is essential to Faith in general as it hath a Promise, for its material Object, and which is directly signified by *πιστεύειν εἰς ἐμὴν τὸν Θεόν*, To trust a mans word, or to credit him, or take his word, or trust his credit, and to believe him, and have Affiance in him, are all one. IV. The special faith of the Gospel called faith in Christ, containeth all these nine Acts aforesaid, and a tenth superadded which is a special Affiance in Jesus Christ as the Saviour to do the works of his undertaken Office, in our Salvation. So that all these ten Acts are in saving faith, as they are distinguished by the several objects; which yet are all but one faith in a moral sense and all these but the several parts of the Object. He that denieth this, must in equity except against those particular Acts that he thinks may be left out.

By this much I have told you what acts of the Intellect, and what of the Will are in faith, and what Affiance is in it: *Two acts of Affiance* are in saving faith. The first is an *Affiance, or Trust in, or crediting of God as the Promiser, because of his Veracity*: This is in the *Genus*. The second is, *An Affiance in the Redeemer as such*, by which we Trust in him for the effects and Ends of his Office. And this is essential to the *Christian faith in specie*. All these are comprized in these three General acts.

1. *Assent*. 2. *Consent or Acceptance*. 3. *Affiance*. This last *Affiance in the Mediator*, is not the same with the *General Affiance in God as Promiser*, before mentioned. This is the act that was commanded the *aylor*, (comprizing the rest) *Act. 16. 31.* *πιστεύου ἐμὴν τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ὑποθήσω ἔτι.* To these is Adoption given, *John 1. 12.* *τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ,* ]So *Rom. 4. 5.* and *10. 14.* & *passim*:

Now the *Plerophorie* that you call *Affiance*, is either an *Affurance or Confident persuasion* of our own particular state of Grace; or of our particular Acceptance with God in our addresses, or else some high Degree only of the forementioned Affiance or Assent. Now it is none of these that we call *Affiance*, when we make it essential to saving faith. *Amesius* shews somewhat of the difference in *Nedul. Theolog. l 1. c. 3. & l. 2.*

cap. 5. Where also he largely proveth faith to be in the Will ; and yet your forementioned special Articles are none of its object : *Assensus verò specialis quo statuimus Deum esse nostrum Deum in Christo , non est actus primus fidei , sed actus ex fide emanans . Nulla enim est major in te quam alio certitudo hujus veritatis , nec verior ejus apprehensio , antequam te ad Deum fide singulariter applicaveris*, saith Pemble, *Vindic. Grat. pag. 260.* [that kind of *Fiducia* which we call Assurance, and full perswasion of the pardon of our sins, is a fruit of the other *Fiducia*, or Trusting unto the Promise it self, wherein stands the proper Act of Justifying Faith. And it follows it not alwayes presently, but after some long time, after much pains taken in the exercise of Faith and other Graces.] But that the other *Fiducia* is essential to faith he proves by several Arguments; pag. 258. (In which our more voluminous Disputants against Popery are much more copious.) And pag. 170. 171. Where in the Margin he saith, [It is an erroneous curiosity to make *Fiducia* a Consequent of *Fides*, and to say therefore I trust a man because I believe the truth of his promise, that he will do what he sayes; there can be no good construction of such a saying: for it is as much as this; I trust him because I trust him.&c.]

And thus your first Censure is answered: Affiance is essential to true faith.

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 S E C T . X I .

Page 406. **Y**our second answer of the Objection you chose is, by alleading from *Rob. Baronius* two Reasons to prove that *Fiducia* is not in the Will. The first is [Because *Diffidence* is not in the Will.] *Answ.* *Fiducia* is an act both of the Understanding and Will, and *Diffidence* is seated in both: *Diffidence* in the Will is mostly a Privation of the Trust and Affiance aforementioned. Your Argument from *Baronius* to prove it only in the Understanding is, [because men may distrust themselves, which signifieth not a hatred.&c.] *Answ.* 1. Though it signifies no hatred or averfation, it may signifie a Privation of the Trust and boldness, and expectation of the will and understanding both. If *uti* and *frui* be acts of the will, then so may

may Affiance. Do you think *Hope* is in the will or not? I do not think you will be so singular as to deny it. And then I would ask whether *Despair* be in the Will? If *Despair* be, so may *Diffidence*. And here I may put you to answer your own Argument. A man *Despair*eth of himself and his own affairs, without Hatred or Aversion: therefore *Despair* is not in the Will. If you say there is a certain Aversion of the will from the evil of his affairs, in *Despair* I shall say, it may be as truly said of that *Diffidence* which is a full contrary to *Trust*, If you say that *Despair* is in the will, as a Privation of *Hope*, I shall say then so is this *Diffidence* as a Privation of *Trust*.

Page 407. You confirm the inopinion of *Baronius* from the [ *the use of mediums to breed Confidence* ] But, 1. That proves *Affiance*, as its taken for strength of Assent to be in the Intellect, but not as taken for the *fiducial acquiescence* or *expectation* of the Will. 2. It proveth *Affiance* in the Scripture-sense ( as taken for faith ) to be in the understanding but not to be in the understanding alone: For *affiance* as *hope* is a complicate Act of the Intellect and Will, not physically one, but morally one, and Physically so admirably complicate, that its very hard to distinguish them.

Page 408. You give us *Baronius* his second Argument [ *formaliter esset actus voluntatis, nil aliud esset quam desiderium, seu amor objecti: & multi amant & desiderant objectum, qui non habent fiduciam: &c.* ]

*Ans.* The Consequence is without all appearance of Truth (in my eyes) for it is the material object; whose love he and you do plainly speak of: but the love of the material object as the end is presupposed to the Act of the *Affiance* in veracity and word of the Promiser as the means: and it is from this formal object, that *Affiance* is denominated I do not trust the pardon of sin, justification, Adoption, though I love and desire them: but I trust Gods Promise, because of his veracity for the pardon of sin: But if the Promise it self be the object which you mean; yet I answer. 1. My love to the Promise is because of the good promised, & therefore primarily to the benefit, and but secondarily to the Promise: but my Trust is primarily in Gods veracity, and next in the Promise as the product of that veracity, and not at all in the benefit, but for the benefit promised: I love the

Benefit or good promised formally, and I love the Promise for the benefits sake finally, and as mediately participating of the goodness loved. But I trust in the Divine veracity formally, and in the Promise secondarily, as partaking of it as the matter in which it is exprest: But the good of the benefit is only finally pertinent to Affiance, and the good of the Promise as the means to that end.

2. I further answer to this ( and at once to the confirmation of the Minor ) that there is *aliquid desiderii & amoris in affiance*, and essential to it, as there is *aliquid boni* essential in the object. But being a compound act, it follows, not that it must be denominated Love or Desire, or that it is *nil aliud*. Even the divine veracity is the formal object of affiance, not simply, but as the Author and Informer of a Promise of good things: For it is not called the object of affiance; if it produce only an assertion that maketh to our hurt. And the Promise is the object of affiance as a relative thing that hath respect at once both to the veracity of the Promiser and the good that is promised. Hope hath somewhat of Love and somewhat of Desire in it essentially, And yet it is not to be called Love or Desire no more then a man is to be called [ *Reason* or *Intellect*, or *Will*, or a *Body*, or a *Soul*: so faith hath somewhat of Hope and of Love in it, and yet is not to be called Love or Hope: of which more anon.

To the confirming Reason I answer; Its true that many love and desire that which they have no affiance or trust to obtain: and that proves that Love and Desire are not terms convertible with *Affiance* or Faith: but it proves not that *affiance* or faith hath no participation of Love or Desire. There is Love essential to all Desire: & yet a man may love that which he desireth not (if he have it already,) though he cannot desire that which he loveth not There is Love & desire essentially in hope, and yet essential to hope, a man may love & desire that which he hopeth not for. There is expectation essential to Hope, and yet I may expect that (as a hurt or injury,) which I hope not for. And yet you will tell me that which I know not, if you tell me of any thing essential to Hope besides this desire (comprehending love) & expectation: I take it to be a compound of Desire and expectation/ or at most with some acquiescence and



and pleasure of the mind conjunct. ) Yet neither of them alone is Hope.

Page 409. You add a third Reason to prove that Affiance is not in the Will, from [ *the use of the words in all good Authors :* ] But what words ? πληροφορία and πεποίθσις ; but 1. *Amesius* (*Medul. li. I. ubi sup.*) tells you that even these words in several Texts of Scripture signifie saving faith 2. But what's this to our Question, you should have limited it to one sort of Affiance, and not have spoke thus of all Affiance in general, nor of that which Protestants plead for in special. Prove it if you can that πιστεύειν εἰς τὸν Θεόν, or the english Trusting or Affiance, or the Latine *fiducia* or *fides*, are not acts of the Will. And of this, we call not for proof from prophane Authors, but sacred, as knowing that πίσ and πιστεύειν is not the same thing with them and with the Scriptures : See Mr. *Gatakers Cinnus*, pag. 383, 384 385. And against *Pfochenius de novi instrumenti stylo*, pag. 88, 89. where he citeth abundance of Scripture Texts, where πίσ and πιστεύειν εἰς are used for Faith and Affiance, or Trust to his Word that promiseth us some good, which is not the use of the words with prophane Writers. And of your own sense of *fiducia*, see *Chamier de fide*, li. 12. chap. 11. in *Parst.* And *Amesii Bellarmini. Enervat. Tom. li. 5. 2, and 3.* proving that faith is Affiance, and cap. 1. citing *Card. Contarenus, Alexand. Ales, Bonavent, Durandus, Cajetan*, affirming it to be in the Will as well as the Intellect. To conclude therefore your *Plerohorie* is not (alwaies at least) in the Will, but *fides vel fiducia, Trust, Affiance, Faith* are in the Intellect and Will.

You conclude that [ *He that after all this, shall still say that fiducia is in the Will, I will not say he is impudent, but sure a little thing will not make him blush.* ]

*Ans.* For my part I was naturally sufficiently bashfull, but my Brethren have notably assisted me in the cure of it : But I must confess that I see nothing yet in your Arguments, nor in the badness of my cause or company to make me blush. Much more hath been said by *Bellarmino* and many more, since this controversie begun among us ; then you have here said ; and yet almost all Protestant Divines that ever I read

or heard of, ( excepting very few noted for singularity ) do without blushing hold to the old cause in this point, asserting Faith to be essentially *fiducia*, and in the Will: And the few that confirm it to the Intellect, do most of them make that Intellectual Assent to contain an Intellectual Affiance.

And for *Baronius*, whose reasons, you urge, he was young and raw when he wrote those exercitations, and since that did change his mind in many particulars; as you may for instance see in your point of the Spirits Testimony, which in his *Disput. against Turnbullus*, he otherwise handleth then here. I ever lookt ( since I had any acquaintance with them and those matters ) on his exercitations, as the unripe fruits of an excellent wit: and valued them more for what they promised and attempted, ( then in many points ) for what they performed: but his after-labors, even the post-humours have so much more Maturity and solidity of conceptions, that I must say it is pitty they had not been more perfected, and God had not longer spared us that man, whose Judgement I value as highly as almost any mans since the primitive times of the Church. But what reason gives he why *fiducia* in his second sense is not an Act but effect of faith? *viz.* [ *ut accipitur pro interna acquiescentia in divina benevolentia & gratia, per quam toti ab illa pendemus, &c.* ] page 233. Or rather as it is an Acquiescence in the veracity of the Promiser. You know also that he is put to defend his singularity by answering these Objections. [ *Si fiducia est in intellectu non differt ab assensu, ut hoc repugnat Doctrina omnium Orthodoxorum,* ] page. 241, *Et nullus unquam Orthodoxus Theologus dixit fiduciam esse assensum aut iudicium mentis.* ] page. 242. I confess I have long taken those passages of *Baronius* which you alledge, for some of his chifelt oversights: and I yet see no cause to think other wise.

Among others ( commonly given by our Divines ) these following reasons move me to think that Affiance as signified by *πιστεύω εἰς τὸν Θεόν, &c.* in Scripture, and by our english word *Trust*, is in the Will as well as in the Intellect.

*Reason*

*Rea.* 1. If Affiance or Trust be only in the Intellect, then may we be said to put our Trust or Affiance in threatening, whose Object is some mischief to us : but this is *in auditum*, and so the Consequent is false, therefore so is the Antecedent.

*Rea.* 2. The Gospel or Promise, as the Object of our faith or Trust, are essentially good as well as true : therefore faith must be essentially in the Will as well as the Intellect.

*Rea.* 3. Christ himself as he is the Object of our faith or Trust, is good as well as true : therefore that faith must be the act of the Will as well Intellect.

*Rea.* 4. Justification, Adoption, Glorification, and the other benefits, which by faith are to be received, are offered as good, therefore the receiving of them belongs to the Will.

*Rea.* 5. Hope and Despare are not only in the Intellect, therefore Affiance is not only in the Intellect, for they differ very narrowly. Our Divines, *Charnier*, *Amesius*, and other ordinarily make all hope to be *fiducia*, though not all *fiducia* to be *hope*, making this the difference, that the *fiducia fidei* is about the object as present, and the *fiducia spei* about the object as future.

*Rea.* 6. *Fruis* and *Uti* are Acts of the Will : But one or both these are in Affiance, therefore *Affiance* is an Act of the Will. For the Minor, as God is the perfect Fountain of all Verity, and his Veracity is his Divine perfection ; so the soul in Affiance doth *frui*, in some initial sort which *Viators* are capable of, enjoy God in this his perfection. For Affiance is a certain *Acquiescence and Complacencie* of the soul in Gods veracity. 2. And as his Promise is the means of the benefit to be received, so the Will doth by affiance use this Promise to its end.

*Rea.* 7. Veracity which is the formal object of Faith, is as much the Result of Gods infinite goodness, as of his Wisdom and Power : Therefore it is by faith or trust as necessarily rested on by the Will as the understanding.

*Object.* Then the *Belief of a threatening is Affiance.*

*Ans.* No : There goes more then meer veracity and revelation, to the Object of Affiance. It is faith in general, if there

( 32 )  
be but these, and when we believe a threatning : But all faith is not Affiance: It is not Trust or Affiance unless it be some desirable thing that is revealed, and then in relation to that our *Credence* or *Belief* in the Divine veracity is thus named; even when both these objects do concur. 2. Yet I add that a christian Belief, even of the threatnings of God, must be voluntary and contain a Complacency of the Will in the Will and veracity of God, though not in the evil threatned, and though so it be not called Trust. And they that believe any Truth voluntarily upon the credit of Gods veracity, taking no degree of complacency in his veracity or Will, have not true faith *in genere*, save analogically or *secundum quid*.

*Rea.* 8. Scripture being a Doctrine of morality, and not of meer Physicks, is morally to be understood: and therefore according to the common use of these words in morality, Trust, Faith, Affiance are not to be limited to any one physical Act, nor any one faculty of the soul, nor to be shut out of the Will. If this Town were all infected with the Plague, and only one Physician able to cure them; if he offer them to do it freely, and some slander him as a Deceiver, and he tell them again, If you will trust me I will cure you: All the world will understand here that by trusting him, he means both the trust of the understanding and the Will, arising from some satisfaction both of his ability and honesty, and so taking him for our Physitian, and putting our lives into his hand: and so in other cases.

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S E C T. XII.

YOU conclude, page 410. with these censures. [ 1. That this Assertion [ *common and special Grace are essentially the same.* ] Is not only erroneous, but far more dangerous than many, nay most men think. ] Answer. The more dangerous you take it to be, the loather you should have been, after so many explications and Disputations for your own opinion written by me ) to have openly suggested that I maintain the very same thing that I deny and write against.

2. You

2. You say, pag. 411. [ *That the other proposition, that Charity is essential to justifying faith, is a worse mistake than the former, in respect of the many ill Consequences, &c.* ] Answer ; As you purpose [ *To manifest this, When there is necessity or any just opportunity to do it.* ] as you after say, and thereby put us in hopes of more of your labors ; so I think you are the Judge of necessity and opportunity, and seeing either will serve, I hope you will not want the later, if you do the former. But I would desire you that if God shall call you to this work, and satisfie you that it is the best improvement of your precious time to spend in the confutation of any errors of mine, that you would do me that great favour as to understand me ( if I speak intelligibly ) before you confute me, and to charge me with no opinions but my own, and that as delivered in my own words, and that taken together as they make up the full sense, or at least that you will not confute any opinion as mine, which I have written purposely against: and also that you fix not on my Aphorisms, till a corrected edition come forth ; the substance of the same Doctrine being more plainly expressed by me in many other books. And if this be the opinion that you are arguing against, I intreat you to say no more as my words, [ *that love is the essential form of faith ;* ] But that you may neither work want, if you are destinated hereunto, nor yet lose your labor ; I will before hand tell you my opinion, how far love belongs to faith ; when I first told you. 1. That I resolve by Gods assistance to say no more in substance, then is the common Doctrine of Protestants, as far as I can understand it ; and therefore will have company in my cause. 2. That I will not say so much in terms as many of the most famous Protestants do ; I will instance but in two.

*Chamier Panstrat. Tom 3. li. 12. De fide, cap. 4. proving faith to be in the Will, hath this Argument. [ §. 16. Est & hoc Argumentum certum : Omnis amor est actus voluntatis. At fides est amor. Ergo est actus voluntatis : Major per se vera & cognita ; Minor probatur, quia vera fide, est ea, quæ credit in Deum, ac credere in Deum, est amare Deum. Augustinus, in Psal. 130, Hoc est credere in Christum, diligere Christum. Et in Johan, tract. 29. Quid est credere in Deum? ( credendo amare ; & verò victus hoc ar-*

gumento Gropperus in Enchiridio, &c. ] and so he cites him as consenting.

The other is, *Macchovius*, who, 1. *Colleg. Disput. de Justific. Disp.* 14. §. 10, 11, 12, 13. answering *Camero's* objection, that by placing faith in the Will we confound it with Love, answereth, [ *That the love of Complacency is required in faith, to its object. Hence Chemnitus on Melancthon's Com. places, pag. 660, saith, [ Faith is such a knowledge in the mind, to which followeth assent in the Will, and a motion of the heart apprehending and applying to it self with desire and Affiance, that object which is manifested to be good, so that it resteth in it : Object. But thus faith is confounded with Charity : Which two the Holy Ghost distinguisheth specially, 1 Cor. 13. Answ. Charity there is considered, as it is carried to God and our neighbour, and not as it is carried to Christ as the meritorious cause, and the benefits by him obtained and promised to us in him, which is the Charity or Love of faith, and is distinguished from the former. ]* Here he proceeds to shew the difference. Now my Judgement which you have to oppose ( if that be your work ) is this.

1. I take it as a certain and weighty Truth that saving faith is in the Will as well as the Understanding: and so do the stream of Protestants; though yet I highly honour *Chamero*, and the French Divines of his mind, that think otherwise.

2. I think the very Act of the Will is not properly called Love, according to the received use of that word.

3. I think that all gracious Love is not the thing directly meant by the Apostle, when he extolleth Charity as the everlasting Grace.

4. I think that Faith, Hope, and Charity, are three distinct Graces.

5. I suppose that this noble Grace of Charity is the simple Love of the Deity, as our beginning and end, and all, and of all things else for his sake, as he appeareth in them: or the Complacency of the soul in God as our God. Creator, Redeemer, Sanctifier and Felicity, or as the chief good. And that the lawfull Love of our selves, and of food, rayment, wealth, books, Sermons, humiliation, Duties, &c. may participate

cipate of some beams from this highest Charity, but is not directly the thing it self. And that faith is the *fiducial Assent* before described; and that Hope is the *fiducial desirous expectation* of the promised Glory, and the future blessings that are its necessary Foregoers.

6. I suppose that these moral acts and habits are *totius hominis*, and not to be confined to any one faculty, as meer simple physical Acts, at least not ordinarily.

7. I suppose that as there is ( as aforesaid ) *aliquid dilectionis* in Desire, and yet it is to be called Desire and not Love; and *aliquid dilectionis* in Hope essentially, and yet Hope is not Love, nor so to be denominated; every Grace being denominated not from all that is in it, but from that which is eminent and special in it, as to the Object; even so there is *aliquid fidei in spe*, & *aliquid spei in fide*, & *aliquid amoris in fide* & *spe*, and yet Faith is not Hope, nor Hope Faith, nor Love Faith.

8. The Schoolmen having some of them taken up a custom of distinguishing between Love in the affection and in the Will, and of calling all volition by the name of rational Love: if any be resolved to use their language, and to call the very act of Affiance, or of choice, or of consent, or Acceptance of an offered Saviour by the name of Love, though I will use the ancient terms and not his, yet for the thing signified I firmly hold, that it is as essential to saving Faith in Christ, as the Intellects Assent is; and that as *Davenant* speaks, Faith begins in the Intellect by Assent, and is compleated in the Will by the Acceptance of the offered Saviour. But this acceptance ( or if you will needs call it Love ) to Christ as the Mediator or Way to the Father, doth much differ from the formentioned Love of God as our chief good and ultimate end.

9. We are not said in scripture to be justified by Hope or by Charity, but by faith: but it is such a faith as hath *aliquid spei* & *Amoris* in it: and will operate by these Graces.

10. What sense soever the Schoolmen make of their distinction of *fides informis*, & *formata Charitate*, yet in this following sense it may truly be said, that the Love of God doth as it were animate all Graces and Duties whatsoever: that is, not as they are particular accidents which have every one, no doubt, their

own form ; but as they are Right Means to the End : For as the Respect to the end is essential to the means as means , ( though not to the Act that materially is that means , ) and the end intended or Loved is the cause of the means , ( it being the very nature of a final cause to be *amatum & desideratum efficaciter ab efficiente, propter quod amatum fit effectus*, as *Ockam Quodlib. 4. qu. 1. & in sent, passim* : ) So the Love of God as our end, must have the same essential respect and influence into all the means, that are *in usu* truly and acceptably such , as the *Intentio finis* hath into all ordinary means whatsoever. If this be the sense of *fides informis & formata a charitate*, I think the distinction of very great use and moment : For I think that no Prayer, Study, Alms, suffering, is any further truly and fully moralized or Theological, or Religious, that is, are acceptable means to our fruition of God ( which is our Salvation ) then it is caused and animated by the *Intention of God as our End*, which is the *Love* of God ; and so that faith in Christ, and Repentance, and Obedience, are all *mediate* Graces, and must be thus caused and animated by the Love of God ( yet so, as that in some respect faith goeth before this Love, and in some respect Love before this faith , which having lately occasion to discuss, I shall not here digress again to do it. ) Of this I have said somewhat in my annexed Explicatory Propositions. I confess I never understood whether any Papists took their distinction in this sense : But I remember *Aquinas* and some other of them say something that bendeth that way, though they seem not clear in it. And so much for my sense, that you may not assault me next in the dark.

If you join with the *Lutheran Hethusius* whom you cite in detesting them that mix Faith and Love in the act of Justification, you will detest the Generality of Protestants , who mix that is conjoin them in the act , though not to the act of Justification as of equal use : especially if you call all acts of the Will towards Good, by the name of *Love*, for then they commonly make them one.

As for the Hereticks you mention, p. 411. 412. I have no business with them, I'll study Gods word, and there is no Heresie. And for the right understanding of it , I have exceeding great cause to distrust my self, and depend on the gracious teaching of his



his Spirit. But I am resolv'd to be as impartial as I can, with respect to the Judgement of the Catholick Church of Christ.

As to your conclusion, *pag. 413. &c.* I freely confess that when such unlearned scriblers as we, *impune, & infelici puerperio* as you speak, do tire the (yet unsatiable) press, unhappily bringing forth our impertinencies (I leave the impious and monstrous Heresies to the fathers or the finders to dispose of,) it were unworthy dealing if such as you should be denied liberty, to cleanse & save the Church from our Errors. And for my one part, as I think not my self meet to speak when I may be your hearer, so let my travail be never so hard, if there were but one press in *England*, which offer'd me its help to deliver me of my impertinencies, I were much to blame if I would not readily discharge it for your service, there being not many whose judgement (conjecturing by your Exercitations) I have preferred before yours. And therefore I take it for an honour (though not to have been mistaken by you, nor to have been the occasion of your so much trouble, yet) that I have the encouragement of so much of your Consent, and that you condescend to be at so much pains with me, where you did but think I had differed from you.

Though you chose to conceal your name, yet Tradition having published it, your labour is to be a great deal the more acceptable for the Authors sake. And if you despair of my Conversion by it, its more likely to be, because of the unteachableness of my dull understanding, than from the imperfection of your Arguments, had you but aimed at the right mark. And where I dissent with confidence because of my Reasons that seem somewhat cogent, yet is it with a mixture of self-diffidence, when, I think what a person I dissent from.

And for your Resolution [*to own and vindicate your Writing if occasion be.*] It were strange if any thing of yours should be unworthy to be owned by you; but instead of a vindication, were I your adviser, you should search after some of my greater errors, and Assault me rather in another point (if this be your Harvest work,) at least in something where really we differ, lest the world think that we are not in good sadness, and dispute not *ex animo*. But yet I leave this to your graver judgement, being so far from deprecating any of your labours to save men from the danger of  
my

my opinions, as that I am tempted to be a little proud that I am chastised by so learned and eminent a man ; and can promise you that your Light shall be welcome to me, and your rebukes not altogether lost. But for [*the explication and confirmation of my new untrve Hypothesis*] as you call it, you speak so much too late, that I confes I have not the skil to speak much plainer then I have already done: I have here done something, but its little but what was done before. And for the *confirmation*, you have saved me that labour.

Had I known which are the [*by-mistakes*] in yours, which you would not have severely toucht, I should have past them over without any touch at all: But if I had not expressed my Dissent from you on those points that you bring in on the by, I should have had nothing to say, but to have joined with you against that *Baxter* whoever he be, whom you assault. And, taking me for so angry a fellow as your suppositions of a passionate Reply do intimate, I knew not whether you let not fall these passages on the by, lest I should, like the angry man in *Seneca*, have fallen upon you for saying still as I say, and bid you *differ from me in somewhat that we may be two*. [*Impertinencies*] I dare not promise you to avoid: But I were very unworthy if I would be passionate with so learned and sober a man as you. But had I to do with a passionate man, I should expect to be charged with passion when ever I make him angry: as if nothing but anger could provoke anger. Even Agitation with pressure sometime sets the Turners wood on fire. When I have bin readier to nod then to be Angry, yet if I have fitted *verbarebus*, I have oft been called angry, when the Truth is, I am daily lamented that my pituitous brain and languid spirits, have deprived me of the passion that once I had; and which I daily find the want of in my stupidity. But at least I shall promise you, that if I be [*impertinent*] the very Position and Design of my whole Book shall not be *Impertinent*, nor left to the Vindication of a *Non-Putarem*. Your prayers and pity I shall need I doubt not, and gratefully accept. But you shall not have the excuse of a *Passionate Reply* to deprive us of your Labours. As for your *Ability not to Reply*; your *potui bonas horas non sit perdere*, and your *other business*, I have the *Immodesty* as to vie with you, and purpose so far to overgo you, as that  
you

you shall see *I was able to be silent*, though your writings be never so free from *Passion*, if they concern not me or the cause of God, any more then this that you have written. And if by your fore-intimations of [*Railing Rhetorick signifying nothing but want of Reason,*] your Readers shall be brought into a conceit that they even hear me Rail before I speak, I intend to be so long silent till I have awaked them by saying nothing, and made them know that they did but dream. And whether I be reputed Reasonable or unreasonable, *Passionate* or *Calme*, *Erroneous* or *Orthodox*, though I undervalue not the Judgement of worthy men, yet am I so neer another kind of Judgement, that I have the less regard to spare for this. Even good and learned men do judge of Persons exceeding variously, as the variety of their prejudice, and interests leads them. So the Great and famous *Scaliger*, *Frans. Junius* was so great a man that [*Ab Apostolorum temporibus hactenus parem Theologum nullum vidisse seculum*] was his *Elogie* (*referente constantino L. Emperour.*) But to the great and famous *Dr. Twiss*, how unacquainted is he with *School-Divinity*? How unmeet for such *Disputations*? How over-witted by *Arminians*? How obscure and what not? So our excellent *Bishop Hall*. he was [*The Glory of Leyden, the Oracle of Textual and School-divinity, rich in Languages, subtile in distinguishing, and in Argument invincible.*] *Epist. 7.* And to the great *Thuanus*, he was [*Vir desultorio ingenio, qui multa Conatus, an adfectus sit quod moliebatur, doctorum erit judicium.*] *Hist. To. 3. l. 79.*] What can be more contrary then the censures of these men? Who more *Learned*, more *modest*, and *faithful* in reports, then the two that are on the one side, and the two that are on the other? How vain a thing is the esteem and applause of men! we stand or fall to the Judgement of the most *Great* *infallible* *God*. They that take him sincerely for their *God*, do take him as *Enough* for them. And they that find not enough in him, will never be satisfied.

March 31.  
1658.

N

FINIS;

**R**Eader, Because many that have bought the former Editions of my Book called *the Saints Rest*, do grudge that I have annexed a Sheet to the seventh Impression, on this Subject, which was not in the former, that they may have it here without buying that Book again, I shall here also annex it.

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T O T H E R E A D E R .

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Reader,



*Am so loath to leave thee under any mistake of my meaning in this point, that I shall yet make some further attempt for the explaining of it. And whereas I understand that some Readers say that this nice distinguishing doth but puzzle men: and others still fear not falsely to give out, that I make common Grace and special to differ only gradually and not specifically, in despite of my express asserting of the contrary; I intreat the first sort to tear that leaf out of the Book which speaks of this Subject, that it may not trouble them, or to be patient while we speak a few words to others; that understand that which they are but puzzled with. And I desire the second sort once more to remember. 1. That I still affirm that common Grace and special do differ by a moral specificke difference, and not a gradual only. 2. But that this moral specificke difference doth materially consist in a Physical Gradual difference. 3. And it being a Moral subject that we have in hand, our terms must be accordingly used and understood, and therefore it is most proper when we speak of any unsanctified man, to say that [ he is not a Believer, he hath no faith, he hath no Love to God, &c. ] because we are supposed to speak only of a true Christian saving faith, Love, &c. ] 4. But yet when it is known that we speak of another faith and love, we may well say that an unsanctified*

fi'd man hath these: and when we enquire of the difference, we must be as exact as possible, in shewing wherein it lyeth, lest we delude the hypocrite, and trouble the Regenerate. That the Faith, and Love, and Sanctity of the Ungodly are but Equivocally or Anologically so called, in respect to the Faith and Love of the Saints, I have proved in my fifth Disputation of Right to Sacraments.

That which I shall now add to make my sense as plain as I can, shall be these following Distinctions and Propositions.

We must distinguish between, 1. Those Gracious acts that are about our End, and those that are about the means. 2. Between God considered generally as God, and considered in his several properties and attributes distinctly. And Christ considered personally, and considered fully in the parts of his Office, whether the essential or integral parts. 3. Between the Goodness of God in himself considered, and as suitable unto us. 4. Between the simple act of the Intellect, and the comparing act. 5. Between the simple Velleity of the will, and the choice that followeth the Comperate act of the Intellect. 6. Between the Speculative and Practical act of the Intellect. 7. And between the Acts of the will that answer these two. 8. Between an End that is ultimate, but not principal and prevalent, and an End that is Ultimate and chief also.

Prop. 1. An unsanctified man may Love him that is the true God, and believe in that Person who is Jesus Christ, the Redeemer. This is past controversie among us.

Prop. 2. An ungodly man may love God as the Cause of his Prosperity in the World.

Prop. 3. He may know that his everlasting happiness is at the dispose of God, and may believe him to be merciful and ready to do good, and that to him. And consequently may have some love to him as thus Gracious and Merciful.

Prop. 4. He may by a simple apprehension know that God is Good in himself, and Goodness it self, and preach this to others. And consequently may have in his will a consent or Willingness hereof, that God be what he is, even infinite Goodness.

Prop. 5. He may have a simple Apprehension that God should be Glorified, and honoured by the creatures: and so may have a simple Velleity that he may be Glorified.

Prop. 6. He may have a General dim apprehension that ever-

lasting Happiness consisteth in the sight of the Glory of God, and in his love and favour and heavenly Kingdom; and so may have some love to him as thus apprehended.

Prop. 7. He may compare God and the creature together, and have a speculative or superficial knowledge that God is better then the creature, and better to him; and may write and preach this to others: And so may have an answerable superficial uneffectual Felleity or love to him, even as thus considered.

Prop. 8. One and the same man may have two contrary Ultimate ends of his particular Actions: Even the pleasing of God, and the pleasing of his flesh: proved.

Argument. 1. If the same heart may be partly sanctified and partly un sanctified (that is, in some degree) then it may have two contrary ends: Or if the same man may have flesh and spirit, then he may have two contrary Ultimate ends. But the Antecedent is certain, Ergo — so far as a man is carnal and un sanctified, flesh-pleasing and carnal self is his End.

Argam. 2. If the same man might not have two contrary Ultimate ends, then the godly should never sin but in the mis-choosing of the means, or abating the Degrees of love to God: But the consequent is false and against experience, Ergo. — Peter did not only mischoose a means to Gods Glory when he denied his master. A godly man when he is drawn to eat or drink too much, doth it not only as a mistaken means to Glorify God, but Ultimately to please his flesh. Either David in Adultery did desire flesh-pleasing for it self, or for some other end. If for it self, then it was his Ultimate end in that act: If for somewhat else as his end, For what? no one will say his end was Gods Glory. And there is nothing else to be it.

Prop. 9. There is a continual striving between these two contrary ends where they are, One drawing one way, and the other the other way; and sometimes one, sometimes the other prevailing in particular acts.

Prop. 10. But yet, every man hath one only Prevalent Ultimate end, which is to be called Finis hominis, or is the chief Ultimate End of the Habitual Predominant Inclination or Disposition of his soul, and of the tenour or bent of his course of life. And that which goes against this Habitual bent, is said to be the Act [not of him,

him, but of something in him] that is, not of that predominant disposition which should denominate the man to be Godly or ungodly, but of some subdued disposition that by accident hath got some advantage,

Prop. 11. As Godly men have God for their end, as to the predominant habit of their souls, and bent of their lives, so all Wicked men in the World have the creature and carnal-self for their end, as to the Predominant Habit of their hearts, and bent of their lives: so that this is simply to be called their several end, which is the Ruling end, and hath the greatest Interest in them: But yet as carnal self is a subdued, resisting end in the Godly, prevailing in some particular Actions; (as is too sure,) so God and Salvation may be a stifled, abused, subjected end of the ungodly that have but common Grace, and may prevail against the flesh in some particular outward Actions.

This is evident in the foregoing Propositions. If a man by common Grace may have such a simple and superficial apprehension of God as is before mentioned, knowing him to be good in himself, yea best, and good and best to him, when yet at the same time he hath a more deep predominant habitual apprehension that the Creature is best for him, then certainly he may have a subdued Love to God as best in himself and to him, that's answerable to this superficial knowledge, and consisteth with a predominant habitual Love to the Creature and carnal Self. I would desire every Divine to beware that he tell not the unsanctified, that whoever hath the least degree of Love to God for himself, or not as a means to carnal ends, shall certainly be saved: For he would certainly deceive many thousand miserable souls that should persuade them of this. He that believeth that there is a God, believeth that he is the chief Good, and best for him if he could see his Glory, and fully enjoy his Love for ever: And many a wicked man doth preach all this, and think as he speaks; but it is all but with a superficial opinionative Belief, which is mastered by more strong apprehensions of a contrary Good; and so they love but with a superficial Love, that's answerable to a meer opinionative Belief, and is conquered by a more potent Love to the contrary. So that strictly if you denominate not that single act, nor the person as thus disposed, but the bent of his affections, or the Person according to what indeed he is in the

Predominant habit of his Soul; so it is fittest to say that the godly loveth not the world, nor the things of the world, and the wicked loveth not God, nor the things of God as such.

Prop. 12. The sincere intending of the end, doth concur to constitute a sincere choice of the means. And therefore the Schoolmen say, that Charity (or Love to God) informeth all other Graces: not being the form of them as such or such Acts or Habits, but as gracious means: As the means are essentially as means for the end, and so animated by it; so the mediate Acts of Grace as mediate, are essentially animated by the love of the end, and participate of it. In this sense their Doctrine of the informing of other Graces by love, is not only true, but of very great weight, and giveth light to many other points. And Thus as men of common Grace have only an abused, subdued Will or Love to God as their end, that's conquered by the contrary, so they have but an unanswerable faith in Christ, as the way to God the Father, and an answerable use of all other means, which will never bring them to attain the end that is so superficially and uneffectually apprehended and intended. I desire the learned Reader to peruse well the first Disputation of Rada for Scotus, on this question.

Prop. 13. The Act of Love or Faith are considerable. 1. Physically: 1. In general as Faith and Love. 2. In special, as this Faith and Love about this object, the Father and the Son. And thus by common Grace men may have True Faith and Love; that is, such as is physically a true or real Act. 2. They are considerable morally: and that, 1. Either as Duty answering a Precept [believe and love God.] And thus they have an analogical defective Morality in them, and so are that far sincere or true; but not that same true Love or faith in specie morali which the Command requireth. For it commandeth us to love God above all, &c. 3. They are considerable as conditions of the Promises and Evidences of spiritual life in the soul, and thus wicked men by common Grace are never made Partakers of them. They have not the things themselves. Their Faith and Love is not the same thing which hath the Promises made to them in the Gospel; and so are not true or sincere.

Prop. 14. By common Grace, men may love God under the Notion of the chiefest good, and most desirable end, and yet not with that



that Love which the chiefest good must be love  
fore it is not morally sincere or saving.

Prop. 15. There is no notion whatsoever that a true Christian hath of God, and no Word that he can speak of him but an unregenerate man may have some apprehension of that same notion, and speak those words; and know every proposition concerning God and Christ as Redeemer, which a godly man may know: and so may have some love to God, or faith in Christ in that same notion: though not with such a clear effectual apprehension and lively powerfull love, as the sanctified have.

Object. He cannot love God as his end. Answer. I have proved before that he may with a superficial uneffectual subdued Love.

Object. He cannot love him as the chief good. Answer. I have proved that he may love him under that notion, though not with that love which the chief Good must be loved with.

Object. He cannot believe in Christ, or desire him, as a Saviour to free him from every sin. Answer. Not with a prevalent faith or desire, for still he hath more love then averfeness to that sin; and therefore more Averfeness then love to Christ as such: But as in general he may wish to be free from all sin, so in particular he may have uneffectual wishes to be from his most beloved sin in several respects.

Object. But not to be free from sin as sin, or as against God.

Ans. Yes: A man by common grace may know that sin as sin is evil, and therefore may have uneffectual wishes to be freed from it as such: but at the same time he hath stronger apprehensions of the pleasure, profit or credit that it brings him, and this prevaieth. Indeed mens carnal interest which in sin they love, is not its opposition to God, nor the formal nature of sin. Doubtless all men that are ungodly do not therefore love sin, because it is sin, & against God, at lest this is not so total in them, but that there may be a subdued mind to the contrary, and dislike of sin as against God. Many a common drunkard I have known, that when he hath heard or talkt of sin & as sin, as against God, hath cryed out against himself, and wept as if he abhorred it: and yet gone on in it for the pleasure of the flesh.

Object. But where then is mans natural enmity to God and Holiness? Answer. 1. Its doubtfull whether man naturally hath an enmity to God and Holiness, considered simply; or only considered as being against mans carnal interest. 2. But were the former proved,

(98)  
Grace abateth that enmity, and gives men more

more corrupt nature doth.

*Object.* But the experience of the godly telleth them that it is another kind of Light and Love which they have after conversion then before. *Ans.* 1. It is not all Converts that can judge by experience in this; because all have not had common grace in the highest, or any great observed measure before conversion. 2. Its hard for any to make that experiment, because we know not in our change just when common Grace left and special Grace began. 3. A Physical gradual difference may be as great as that which your experience tells you of. Have you experience of common light and love before conversion, and of another since which differeth from it, more then the greatest flame from a spark: and more then the sun-shine at noon from the twilight when you cannot know a man? Or more then the sight of the cured blind man, that saw clearly from that by which he saw men like trees; ; or more then the pain of the strappado from the smallest prick of a pin.

*Object.* But it is not common gifts—that are workt up to be special Grace; one species is not turned into another. *Ans.* True: Imperfection is not turned materially into perfection. The dawning of the day is not materially turned into the greater light at noon. But a greater light superveneth, and is added to the less. The blind mans seeing men like trees, was not it that was the perfect following sight, but an additional light was it.

*Object.* But special Grace is the divine Nature, the image of God, the new Creature, &c. and therefore doth differ more from common. *Ans.* I easily yield the Antecedent, but deny the Consequence. The difference is as admirably great as these terms express, though it be but a moral specific difference.

Reader, I will trouble thee no more, but to entreat thee, if thou be of another mind, to differ from me without breach of Charity, as I do from thee, and to remember that I obtrude not my explications on any; and if I have done thee wrong, it is but by telling thee my thoughts, which thou hast liberty to accept or reject as thou see'st cause. But again, I intreat thee rather lay this by, or tear it out of the book, then it should be any stumbling block in thy way, or hinder thee from profiting by what thou readest. The Lord increase our Light and Life, and Love.

Jan. 15. 1657.









London, the 1st of June 1791

Dear Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th inst. in relation to the business of the Bank of England, and in answer to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration. I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
John Bull

And that M. Smith is gone from London.

W. Jessop Clerk of the Council  
Bank of England.

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Tuesday *May* the first, 1660.

Ordered,

**T**hat the thanks of this House be given to Mr. Baxter for his great pains in carrying on the work of Preaching and Prayer, before the House at Saint Margarets Westminster yesterday, being set apart by this House for a day of Fasting and Humiliation. And that he be desired to Print his Sermon, and is to have the same Priviledge in Printing the same, that others have had in the like kind.

And that Mr. Swinfin do give him notice thereof.

W. Jeffop Cler. of the Commons  
House of Parliament.

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A  
SERMON  
OF  
REPENTANCE.

Preached before the Honourable House of Commons,  
Assembled in Parliament at  
*Westminster*, at their late solemn Fast for the settling  
of these Nations,  
*April 30. 1660.*

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By *Richard Baxter.*

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LONDON,

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Church-Yard, 1660.

MEMORIAL

OF

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LONDON.

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TO THE  
HONOURABLE  
THE  
House of Commons  
ASSEMBLED IN  
PARLIAMENT.



*As your Order for my Preaching, perswaded me you meant attentively to hear; so your Order for my publishing this Sermon, perswaded me that you will vouchsafe*

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considerately to read it. ( For you would not command me to publish only for others, that which was prepared for, and suited to your selves. ) Which second favour if I may obtain, especially of those that need most to hear the doctrine of Repentance, I shall hope that the Authority of the heavenly Majesty, the great concernment of the subject, and the evidence of Reason, and piercing beams of sacred verity, may yet make a deeper impression on your souls, and promote that necessary work of Holiness, the fruits whereof would be effectual remedies to these diseased Nations, and would conduce to your own everlasting joy. Shall I think it were presumption for me to hope for so high a reward for so short a labour? Or shall

shall I think it were uncharitableness not to hope for it ? That here is nothing but plain English, without any of those Ornaments, that are by many thought necessary, to make such discourses grateful to ingenuous curious auditors, proceeded not only from my present want of advantages for study (having and using no book but a Bible and a Concordance,) but also from the humbling and serious nature of the work of the day; and from my own inclination, less affecting such ornaments in sacred discourses, then formerly I have done. It is a very great honour that God and you have put upon me, to conclude so solemn a day of prayer, which was answered the next morning, by your speedy, and cheerful, and unanimous acknowledgement of his Majesties authority.

authority. *May I but have the second part, to promote your salvation, and the happiness of this Land, by your considering and obeying these necessary Truths, what greater honour could I expect on earth? Or how could you more oblige me to remain*

*A daily Petitioner to Heaven  
for these mercies, on your own  
and the Nations behalf,*

**Rich. Baxter.**



A  
 S E R M O N  
 O F  
 R E P E N T A N C E.

E Z E K. 36. 31.

*Then shall ye remember your own evil wayes, and your doings that were not good, and shall loath your selves in your own sight, for your iniquities, and for your abominations.*



THE words are a part of Gods prognosticks of the Jews restoration, whose dejection he had before described. Their disease begun within, and there God promiseth to work the cure. Their captivity was but the fruit of their *voluntary* captivity to sin; and their grief of heart, was but the fruit of their *hardness* of  
 B hearts,

heart; and their sharpest *sufferings*, of their foul *pollutions*; and therefore God promiseth a methodicall cure; even to *take away their old and stony heart*, and *cleanse* them from their *filthiness*, and so to *ease* them by the removing of the *cause*. How far, and when this promise was to be made good to the Jews, as Nationally considered, is a matter that requires a longer disquisition than my limited hour will allow: and the decision of that case is needless, as to my present end and work. That this is part of the Gospel-Covenant, and applicable to us Believers now, the Holy-Ghost in the Epistle to the *Hebrews* hath assured us.

The Text is the description of the *Repentance* of the people, in which the *beginning* of their *recovery* doth consist, and by which the *rest* must be attained. The *evil* which they *Repent* of is, in general, *all their iniquities*, but especially their *idolatry*, called their *abominations*. Their *Repentance* is foretold, as it is in the *understanding* and *thoughts*, and as in the *will* and *affections*. In the former its called [ *Remembering their own evil wayes* ] In the latter its called [ *Loathing themselves in their own sight, for their iniquities and abominations*. *Montanus* translates it [ *Reprobabit is in vos* ]: but in c. 20. v. 43. [ *fastidietis vos* ] The same sense is intended by the other versions: When the Septuagint translates it by [ *displeasure* ] and the Chaldee by [ *groaning* ] and the Syriack by [ *the wrinkling of the face* ] and the Sept. in c. 20. 43. by [ *smiting on the face:* ] the Arabick here perverts the sense, by turning all to Negatives [ *ye shall not, &c.* ] yet in c. 20. 43. he turns it by [ *the tearing of the face.* ]



face. ] I have purposely chosen a Text, that needs no long explication, that in obedience to the foreseen straits of time, I may be excused from that part, and be more on the more necessary. This Observation contains the meaning of the Text, which by Gods assistance, I shall now insist on : *viz.*

*The Remembring of their own iniquities, and loathing themselves for them, is the sign of a Repenting people, and the prognostick of their Restoration.* (So far as deliverance may be here expected.)

For the opening of which, observe these things following.

1. It is not all kind of [ *Remembring* ] that will prove you *penitent*. The impenitent Remember their sin that they may commit it : They Remember it with love, desire and delight : The Heart of the worldling goeth after his aery or earthen idol : The heart of the Ambitious feedeth on his vain-glory, and the peoples breath : And the filthy Fornicator is delighted in the thoughts of the object and exercise of his lust. But it is a Remembring, 1<sup>o</sup> From a deep conviction of the evil and odiousness of sin ; 2<sup>o</sup> And with abhorrence and self-loathing ; 3<sup>o</sup> That leadeth to a resolved and vigilant *forsaking*, that is the proof of true Repentance, and the prognostick of a peoples restoration.

2. And it is not all *self-loathing* that will signifie true *Repentance*. For there is a *self-loathing* of the *Desperate* and the *damned* soul, that abhorreth it self, and teareth and tormenteth it self, and cannot be restrained from *self-revenge*, when it finds that it hath wilfully, foolishly and obstinately been its own de-

stroyer: But the *self-loathing* of the truly penitent, hath these following properties.

1. It proceedeth from the predominant Love of God, whom we have abused and offended: The more we Love him, the more we *loath* what is contrary to him.

2. It is much excited by the observation and sense of his exceeding *mercies*, and is conjunct with Gratitude.

3. It continueth and encreaseth under the greatest assurance of forgiveness, and sense of love; and dyeth not when we think we are out of danger.

4. It containeth a Loathing of sin as sin (and a Love of Holiness as such) and not only a love of ease and peace, and a loathing of sin as the cause of suffering.

5. It resolveth the soul against returning to its former course, and resolveth it for an entire devotedness to God for the time to come.

6. It deeply engageth the penitent in a *conflict* against the *flesh*, and maketh him victorious; and setteth him to *work* in a life of holiness as his trade and principal business in the world.

7. It bringeth him to a *delight* in God and holiness; and a delight in *himself*, so far as he findeth God, and Heaven, and Holiness within him: He can with some comfort and content own himself and his conversation, so far as God (victorious against his carnal self) appeareth in him. For as he loveth Christ in the *rest* of his members, so must he in *himself*. And *this* is it that *self-loathing* doth prepare for.

*This* must be the *self-loathing* that must afford you  
comfort,

comfort, as a penitent people in the way to restoration.

Where you see it is implied, that materially it containeth these common acts. 1. *Accusing* and *Condemning* thoughts against our selves. It is a judging of our selves, and makes us call our selves with *Paul*, *foolish, disobedient, deceived, yea mad* ( as *Acts 26. 11.* ) and with *David* to say, *I have done foolishly*, *2 Sam. 24. 10.* 2. It containeth a deep distaste, and *displeasure* with our selves; and a *heart-rising* against our selves. 3. As also an holy *indignation* against our selves; as apprehending that we have plaid the enemies to our selves and God. 4. And it possesseth us with *grief* and *trouble* at our miscarriages. So that a soul in this condition is sick of it self, and vexed with its self-procured woe.

2. Note also, that when *self-loathing* proceedeth from *meer conviction*, and is without the Love of God and holiness, it is but the *tormentor* of the soul, and runs it deeper into sin; provoking men here to destroy their lives; and in hell it is the never dying worm.

3. Note also, that it is [ *themselves* ] that they are said to *loath*: because it is *our selves* that conscience hath to do with, as *witness* and as *judge*: It is *our selves* that are *naturally* nearest to *our selves*; and our own affairs that we are most concerned in. It is *our selves* that must have the Joy or Torment: and therefore it is our *own actions* [ and estate ] that we have first to mind. Though yet as Magistrates, Ministers, and neighbours, we must *next* mind *others*, and must loath iniquity wherever we meet it; and a

vile person must be contemned in our eyes, while we honour them that fear the Lord, Psal. 15. 4.

And as by *Nature*, so in the *Commandment*, God hath given to every man the first and principal care and charge of *himself*, and his *own* salvation, and consequently of his *own* wayes. So that we may with less suspicion *loath our selves*, then *others*; and are more obliged to do it.

4. Note also, that it is not for our troubles, or our disgrace, or our bodily deformities or infirmities, or for our poverty and want, that penitents are said to *loath themselves*: But for their *iniquities* and *abominations*. For 1<sup>o</sup> this *loathing* is a kind of *Justice* done upon our selves; and therefore is exercised not for meer *infortunes*, but for *crimes*. *Conscience* keepeth in its own *Court*, and medleth but with *moral evils*, which we are conscious of. 2<sup>o</sup> And also it is sin that is *loathed* by *God*, and makes the creature *loathsome* in his eyes: And *Repentance* conformeth the soul to *God*, and therefore causeth us to *loath* as he doth, and on his grounds. And 3<sup>o</sup> there is no *Evil* but *sin*, and that which sin procureth. And therefore it is *for sin* that the penitent *loaths* himself.

5. Note also, that it is here implied, that till *Repentance*, there was none of this *Remembring of sin*, and *Loathing of themselves*. They begin with our conversion, and (as fore-described) are proper to the truly penitent. For (to consider them distinctly) 1<sup>o</sup> The deluded soul that is bewitched by its own concupiscence, is so taken up with *Remembring of his fleshly pleasures*, and his *alluring objects*, and his *honours*, and his *earthly businesses* and *store*; that he  
hath

hath no mind or room for the *Remembring* of his foolish odious sin, and the wrong that he is doing to God and to himself. *Death* is oblivious : and *Sleep* hath but a distracted uneffectual memory, that stirreth not the busie dreamer from his pillow , nor dispatcheth any of the work he dreams of. And the unconverted are *asleep* and *dead* in sin. The crowd of cares and worldly businessses ; and the tumultuous noise of foolish sports, and other sensual passions and delights, do take up the minds of the unconverted , and turn them from the observation of the things of greatest everlasting consequence. They have a memory for *sin* and the *flesh*, to which they are *alive* ; but not for things spiritual and eternal, to which they are *dead*. They Remember not God himself *as God* , with any effectual remembrance : *God is not in all their thoughts*, Psalm 10. 4. They live as *without him in the world* , Eph. 2. 12. And if they *remember not God*, they cannot *remember sin as sin*, whose malignity lyeth in its opposition to the *Will* and *Holiness* of God. They forget *themselves* , and therefore must needs forget their sinfulness : Alas , they remember not ( effectually and savingly ) *what they are*, and *why they were made*, and *what they are daily nourished and preserved for*, and what business they have to do here in the world. They *forget* that they have souls to save or lose ; that must live in endless joy or torment : you may *see* by their careless and ungodly lives, that they *forget* it. You may *bear* by their carnal frothy speech, that they *forget* it. And he that *remembreth not himself*, remembreth not his *own concernments*. They forget the *end* to which they tend : The *life* which they

they must live *for ever*. The matters everlasting (whose greatness and duration, one would think should so command the mind of man, and take up all his thoughts and cares, in despite of all the little trifling matters that would avert them, that we should think almost of nothing else; yet) *these, even these*, that nothing but *deadness* or *madness* should make a *reasonable* creature to forget, are *daily forgotten* by the unconverted soul, or uneffectually remembered. Many a time have I admired, that men of reason that are here to day, and in endless joy or misery to morrow, should be *able* to forget such unexpressible concernments! Me thinks they should easier forget to rise, or dress themselves, or to eat or drink, or any thing, then to forget an endless life, which is so undoubtedly *certain*, and so *near*. A man that hath a *cause* to be heard to *morrow*, in which his *life* or *honour* is concerned, *cannot forget it*: A wretch that is condemned to die to *morrow*, cannot forget it. And yet poor sinners, that are continually uncertain to live an hour, and certain speedily to see the Majesty of the Lord, to their unconceivable joy or terrour, as sure as now they live on earth, can forget these things for which they have their memory; and which one would think should drown the matters of this world, as the report of a Canon doth a whisper, or as the Sun obscureth the poorest glow-worm. O wonderful stupidity of an unrenewed soul! O wonderful folly and distractedness of the ungodly! That ever men *can forget*, I say again, that they *can forget*, eternal joy, eternal woe, and the eternal God, and the place of their eternal unchangeable abode, when they

they stand even at the door, and are passing in, and there is but the thin vail of flesh between them and that amazing sight, that eternal gulf; and they are daily dying, and even stepping in. O could you keep your honours here for ever; could you ever wear that gay attire, and gratifie your flesh with meats, and drinks, and sports, and lusts; could you ever keep your rule and dignity, or your earthly life in any state, you had some little poor excuse for not remembering the eternal things, (as a man hath, that preferreth his candle before the Sun :) But when death is near and inexorable, and you are sure to die as you are sure you live; when every man of you that sitteth in these seats to day can say, [I must shortly be in another world, where all the pomp and pleasure of this world will be forgotten, or remembered but as my sin and folly] one would think it were impossible for any of you to be ungodly; and to Remember the trifles and nothings of the world, while you forget that everlasting All, whose reality, necessity, magnitude, excellency, concernment and duration, are such, as should take up all the powers of your souls, and continually command the service and attendance of your thoughts, against all Seekers, and contemptible competitors whatsoever. But, alas, though you have the greatest helps (in subserviency to these commanding objects) yet will you not Remember the matters which alone deserve remembrance. Sometimes the Preachers of the Gospel do call on you to Remember; to Remember your God, your souls, your Saviour, your ends and everlasting state, and to remember your misdoings, that you may loath your selves,

and in Returning may find life: But some either scorn them, or quarrel with them, or sleep under their most serious and importunate solicitations, or carelessly and stupidly give them the hearing, as if they spoke but words of course, or treated about uncertain things, and spoke not to them from the God of heaven, and about the things that every man of you shall very shortly see or feel. Sometime you are called on by the voice of *conscience* within, to *remember* the unreasonableness and evil of your wayes: but *conscience* is silenced, because it will not be conformable to your lusts. But little do you think what a part your too-late-awakened *conscience* hath yet to play, if you give it not a more sober hearing in time. Sometime the voice of *common calamities*, and National or local judgements do call on you to *remember* the evil of your wayes: But that which is spoken to *all*, or *many*, doth seem to *most* of them as spoken unto *none*. Sometime the voice of *particular judgements*, seizing upon your families, persons or estates, doth call on you to *remember* the evil of your wayes: And one would think the rod should make you hear. And yet you most disregardfully go on, or are only frightened into a few good purposes and promises, that die when health and prosperity revive. Sometime God joyneth all these together, and pleadeth both by word and rod, and addeth also the inward pleadings of his Spirit: He sets your *sins in order before you*, *Psal. 50. 21.* and expostulateth with you the cause of his abused love, despised Sovereignty and provoked Justice; and asketh the poor sinner, Hast thou done  
well



well to waste thy life in vanity ? to serve thy flesh ? to forget thy God, thy soul, thy happiness ? and to thrust his service into corners, and give him but the odious leavings of the flesh ? ] But these pleas of God cannot be heard. O horrible impiety ! by his *own creatures* ! by *reasonable* creatures ( that would scorn to be called fools or mad men ) the *God of heaven cannot be heard*. The brutish, passionate, furious sinners, *will not Remember*. They *will not Remember, what* they have done, and with *whom* it is that they have to do, and what God thinks and saith of men in their condition ; and *whither* it is that the flesh will lead them ? and *what* will be the *fruit* and *end* of all their lusts and vanities ? and *how* they will *look back* on all at *last* ? and whether an *holy* or a *sensual* life will be sweetest to a dying man ? and what judgement it is that they will all be of, in the controversie between the flesh and spirit, at the later end ; Though they have life, and time, and reason for these uses, we cannot entreat them, to consider of these things in time. If our lives lay on it, as their salvation, which is more, lyeth on it, we cannot intreat them. If we should kneel to them, and with tears beseech them, but once a day, or once a week, to bestow one hour in serious consideration of their latter end, and the everlasting state of Saints and sinners, and of the *equity* of the holy wayes of God, and the *iniquity* of their *own*, we cannot prevail with them. Till the God of heaven doth overrule them, we *cannot prevail*. The witness that we are forc't to bear, is sad : It is sad to us : but it will be sadder to these rebels, that shall one day know,

that God will not be out-faced ; and that they may sooner shake the stable earth, and darken the Sun by their reproaches, then out-brave the Judge of all the world, or by all their cavils, wranglings or scorns, escape the hands of his revenging Justice.

But if ever the Lord will save these souls, he will bring their mi'doings to their remembrance. He will *make them think* of that, which they were so loth to think on. You cannot *now abide* these troubling, and severe meditations : The thoughts of God, and Heaven, and Hell, the thoughts of your sins, and of your duties, are melancholly unwelcome thoughts to you : But O that you could fore-know the *thoughts* that you *shall have* of all these things ! Even the proudest, scornful, hardened sinner that heareth me this day, shall shortly have such a *Remembrance*, as will make him wonder at his present blockishness. O when the unresistible power of heaven shall *open* all your sins before you, and *command* you to *remember* them, and to *remember* the *time*, and *place*, and *persons*, and all the circumstances of them, What a change will it make upon the most stout or stubborn of the sons of men ? What a difference will there then be between that trembling self-tormenting soul, and the same that now in his gallantry can make light of all these things, and call the messenger of Christ that warneth him, a Puritane or a doting fool ! Your *memories* now are *somewhat* subject to your *wills*, and if you *will not think* of your *own*, your *chief*, your *everlasting* concerns, you may *choose*. If you *will choose* rather to employ

employ your noble souls on beastly lusts, and waste your *thoughts* on things of nought, you may take your course, and chase a feather with the childish world, till overtaking it, you see you have lost your labour. But when *Justice* takes the work in hand, your *Thoughts* shall be no more subject to your *Wills*: You shall then *Remember*, that which you are full *loth* to remember; and would give a world that you *could forget*. Oh then one cup of the waters of oblivion, would be of unestimable value to the damned! O what would they not give that they *could but forget* the time they lost, the mercy they abused, the grace which they refused, the holy servants of Christ whom they despised, the wilful sins which they committed, and the many duties which they wilfully omitted! I have oft thought of their case, when I have dealt with melancholy or despairing persons. If I advise them to cast away such thoughts, and turn their minds to other things, they tell me they *cannot*; it is not in their *power*; and I have long found, that I may almost as well persuade a broken head to give over aking. But when the holy God shall *purposely* pour out the vials of his wrath on the consciences of the ungodly, and open the books, and shew them all that ever they have done, with all the aggravations, how then shall these worms be able to resist?

And now I beseech you all consider; is it not better to *Remember* your sins on *earth*, then in *hell*? before your *Physitian*, then before your *Judge*?

*Judge ? for your cure , then for your torment ? Give me leave then , before I go any further , to address my self to you as the Messenger of the Lord , with this importunate request , both as you stand here in your private , and in your publick capacities . In the name of the God of Heaven I charge you [ Remember the lives that you have led : Remember what you have been doing in the world ! Remember how you have spent your time : and whether indeed it is God that you have been serving , and Heaven that you have been seeking , and Holiness and Righteousness that you have been practising in the world till now ? Are your sins so small , so venial , so few , that you can find no employment on them for your memories ? Or is the offending of the Eternal God , so slight and safe a thing , as not to need your consideration ? God forbid you should have such atheistical conceits ! Surely God made not his Laws for nought ; nor doth he make such a stir by his Word , and Messengers , and Providences against an harmless thing ? Nor doth he threaten Hell to men for small indifferent matters : Nor did Christ need to have dyed , and done all that he hath done to cure a small and safe disease . Surely that which the God of heaven is pleased to threaten with everlasting punishment , the greatest of you all should vouchsafe to think on , and with greatest fear and soberness to remember .*

*It is a pittiful thing , that with men , with Gentlemen , with professed Christians , Gods matters , and their*

their *own* matters, their *greatest* matters, should seem unworthy to be *thought on*; when they have thoughts for their honours, and their lands, and friends; and thoughts for their children, their servants, and provision; and thoughts for their horses, and their dogs, and sports! Is God and Heaven less worth than these? Are death and Judgement matters of less moment? Gentlemen, you would take it ill to have your wisdom undervalued, and your reason questioned: For your Honour sake do not *make* it contemptible your selves, in the eyes of all that are truly wise. It is the nobleness of *objects* that must ennoble your *faculties*; and the *baseness* of objects doth *debase* them. If *brutish objects* be your employment and delight, do I need to tell you what you make your selves? If you would be *noble indeed*, let God and everlasting Glory be the object of your faculties: If you would be *Great*, then dwell on *Greatest* things: If you would be *High*, then seek the things that are above, and not the sordid things of earth, *Col. 3. 1, 2, 3.* And if you would be *safe*, look after the enemies of your peace: and as you had *Thoughts of sin* that led you to *commit* it, entertain the Thoughts that would lead you to *abhor* it. O that I might have now but the grant of this reasonable request from you, that among all your Thoughts, you would bestow now and then an hour in the serious *Thoughts* of your misdoings, and soberly in your retirement between God and your souls, *Remember* the paths that you have trod; and whether  
you

you have lived for the work for which you were created ? One sober hour of such employment might be the happiest hour that ever you spent, and give you more comfort at your final hour, than all the former hours of your life : and might lead you into that new and holy life, which you may review with everlasting comfort.

Truly, Gentlemen, I have long observed that *Satans* advantage lyeth so much on the *brutish* side, and that the work of mans Conversion, and holy Conversation, is so much carryed on by Gods exciting of our *Reason*; and that the misery of the ungodly is, that they have *Reason* in *faculty*, and not in *use*, in the greatest things, that I perswade you to this duty with the greater hopes : If the Lord will now perswade you but to retire from vanity, and soberly exercise your *Reason*, and *Consider your wayes*, and say, *What have we done ?* and *What is it that God would have us do ?* and *What shall we wish we had done at last ?* I say, could you now but be prevailed with, to bestow as many hours on this work, as you have cast away in idleness, or worse, I should not doubt, but I should shortly see the faces of many of you in Heaven, that have been recovered by the use of this advice. It is a thousand pitties, that men that are thought wise enough to be entrusted with the publick safety, and to be the Physicians of a broken State, should have *any* among them that are untrusty to their God, and have not the *Reason* to *Remember their misdoings*, and prevent the danger of their immortal souls. Will you sit all  
day

day here, to find out the remedy of a diseased Land; and will you not be intreated by God or man, to sit down one hour, and find out the disease of, and remedy for your own souls? Are those men like'y to take care of the happiness of so many thousands, that will still be so careless of themselves? Once more therefore I entreat you, *Remember your misdoings*, lest God remember them: And bless the Lord that called you this day, by the voice of Mercy, to *Remember* them upon terms of Faith and Hope. *Remembered* they *must* be first or last: And believe it, this is far unlike the sad remembrance at Judgment, and in the place of woe and desperation.

And I beseech you observe here, that it is your *Own* misdoings that you must *Remember*. Had it been only the sins of *other men*, especially those that *differ* from you, or have *wronged* you, or stand against your *interest*, how easily would the duty have been performed? How little need should I have had to press it with all this importunity? How confident should I be, that I could convert the *most*, if *this* were the Conversion? It grieves my soul to hear how quick and constant high and low, learned and unlearned are at this uncharitable contumelious *remembering* of the faults of others: how cunningly they can bring in their insinuated accusations: how odiously they can aggravate the smallest faults, where difference causeth them to distaste the person: how

ordinarily they judge of actions by the persons, as if *any thing* were a crime that is done by such as they dislike, and *all* were *vertue* that is done by those that fit their humours : How commonly Brethren have made it a part of their *service of God*, to speak or write uncharitably of his *servants*; labouring to *destroy* the *bearers charity*, which had more need in this unhappy time, of the *bellows* than the *water* ! How usual it is with the ignorant that cannot reach the truth, and the impious that cannot bear it, to call such *Hereticks* that know more then themselves ; and to call such *Precisians*, *Puritans*, ( or some such name which Hell invents, as there is occasion ) who dare not be so *bad* as they ! How odious, men pretending to much gravity, learning and moderation, do labour to make those that are dear to God ; and what an art they have to widen differences, and make a sea of every lake ; and that perhaps under pretence of blaming the uncharitableness of others ! How far the very Sermons and discourses of some learned men are from the common rule of *doing as we would be done by* : and how loudly they proclaim that such men *love not their neighbours as themselves* ; the most uncharitable words seeming moderate which *they give* ; and all called intemperate that savoureth not of flattery, which they *receive* ! Were I calling the several exasperated factions now in *England*, to remember the misdoings of their supposed *adversaries*, What full-mouth'd and debasing Confessions



essions would they make? What monsters of Heresie, and Schism, of impiety, treason and rebellion, of perjury and perfidiousness, would too many make of the faults of others, while they extenuate their *own* to almost nothing! It is a wonder to observe, how the *case* doth *alter* with the most, when that which was their *adversaries* case, becomes their *own*. The very *prayers* of the godly, and their care of their salvation, and their fear of sinning, doth seem their crime in the eyes of some that easily bear the guilt of swearing, drunkenness, sensuality, filthiness, and neglect of duty, in *themselves*, as a tolerable burden!

But if ever God indeed convert you, (though you will pity others, yet) he will teach you to begin at home, and take the beam out of your own eyes, and to cry out, [ *I am the miserable sinner.* ]

And lest these *generals* seem insufficient for us to confess on such a day as this, and lest yet your memories should need more help, is it not my duty to mind you of some particulars? which yet I shall not do by way of *accusation*, but of *enquiry*: Far be it from me to judge so hardly of you, that when you come hither to lament your sins, you cannot with patience endure to be told of them.

1. Enquire then, whether there be none among you that live a sensual careless life; *cloathed* with the best, and *saring deliciously every day*? in

*gluttony or drunkenness, chambering and wantonness, strife or envying, not putting on Christ, nor walking in the Spirit, but making provision for the flesh, to satisfy the lusts thereof, Rom. 13. 13, 14.*

Is there none among you that spend your precious time in vanities, that is allowed you to prepare for life eternal? that have time to waste in complements and fruitless talk and visits; in gaming and unnecessary recreations, in excessive feasting and entertainments, while God is neglected, and your souls forgotten, and you can never find an hour in a day, to make ready for the life which you must live for ever. Is there none among you that would take that man for a Puritan or Phanatick, that should employ but half so much time for his soul, and in the service of the Lord, as you do in unnecessary sports and pleasures, and pampering your flesh? Gentlemen, if there be any such among you, as you love your souls, *Remember your misdoings*, and bewail these *abominations* before the Lord, in this day of your professed humiliation.

2. Enquire whether there be none among you, that being strangers to the New birth, and to the inward workings of the Spirit of Christ upon the soul, do also *distaste* an *holy Life*, and make it the matter of your reproach, and pacifie your accusing consciences with a Religion made up of meer words, and heartless out-side, and so much obedience as your fleshly pleasures will admit;

admit; accounting those that go beyond you, especially if they differ from you in your modes and circumstances, to be but a company of proud, Pharisaical, self-conceited hypocrites, and those whom you desire to suppress. If there should be one such person here, I would entreat him to remember, that it is the solemn asseveration of our Judge, that *Except a man be converted, and be born again, of water and the spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of heaven.* Joh. 3. 3, 5. Mat. 18. 3. That if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his, Rom. 8. 9. That if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are past away, and all things are become new, 2 Cor. 5. 17. That without holiness none shall see God, Heb. 12. 14. That the wisdom that is from above, is first Pure and then Peaceable, Jam. 3. 17. That God is a spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth, John 4. 23, 24. That they worship in vain, that teach for Doctrines the commandments of men, Mat. 15. 8, 9. And that *Except your righteousness exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees, you shall in no wise enter into the Kingdom of heaven,* Matth. 5. 20. And I desire you to remember that its *hard to kick against the pricks*; and to prosper in rage against the Lord: and that its *better for that man that offendeth one of his little ones, to have had a mill-stone fastened to his neck, and to have been cast into the bottom of the Sea,* Matth. 18. 6. It is a sure and grievous condemnation, that waiteth for all that are themselves

*unboly*: but to the *haters* or *despisers* of the holy Laws and Servants of the Lord, how *much more grievous* a punishment is reserved?

3. Enquire also, Whether there be none among you, that let loose your passions on your inferiours, and oppress your poor Tenants, and make them groan under the task, or at least do little to relieve the needy, nor study not to serve the Lord with your estates, but sacrifice all to the pleasing of your flesh, unless it be some considerable pittance, or fruitless drops, that are unproportionable to your receivings. If there be any such, let them *Remember* their *iniquities*, and cry for mercy, before the cry of the poor to heaven, do bring down vengeance from him that hath promised, to hear their cry, and speedily to avenge them, *Luk. 18. 7, 8.*

4. Enquire, Whether there be none that live the life of *Sodom*, in *Pride*, *fulness of bread* and *idleness*, *Ezek. 16. 49.* and that are not puffed up with their estates and dignities, and are strangers to the humility, meekness, patience, and self-denial of the Saints: That ruffle in bravery, and contend more zealously for their honour and preheminance, then for the honour and interest of the Lord. For pride of apparel, it was wont to be taken for a childish or a womanish kind of vice, below a man; but its now observed among the gallants, that (except in spots) the notes of vanity are more legibly written on the hair and dress of a multitude of  
 effe-

effeminate males, then on the females; proclaiming to the world *that pride*, which one would think even *pride it self* should have concealed; and calling by these signs to the beholders to observe the emptyness of their minds, and how void they are of that inward worth, which is the honour of a Christian, and of a man: It being a marvel to see a man of Learning, gravity, wisdom, and the fear of God, appear in such an antick dress.

I have done with the first part [*the Remembrance of your own evil wayes and doings.*] I beseech you practically go along with me to the next, [*The loathing of your selves in your own eyes, for all your iniquities and abominations.*]

*Every true Convert doth thus loath himself for his iniquities; and When God will restore a punished people upon their Repentance, he bringeth them to this loathing of themselves.*

1. A converted soul hath a new and heavenly *Light* to help him, to see those matters of humbling use, which others see not.

2. More particularly, he hath the knowledge of sin, and of *himself*. He seeth the odious face of sin, and seeth how much his heart and life, in his sinful dayes, abounded with it, and how great a measure yet remains.

3. He

3. He hath seen by Faith the Lord himself : The Majesty , the holiness , the jealousy , the goodness of the eternal God whom he hath offended ; and therefore must needs *abhor himself*, John 42. 6.

4. He hath tasted of Gods *d spleasure* against him for his sin already. God himself hath set it home, and awakened his conscience , and held it on , till he hath made him understand that the consuming fire is not to be jested with.

5. He hath seen *Christ Crucified* , and mourned over him. This is the glass that doth most clearly shew the ugliness of sin : And here he hath learned to abhor himself.

6. He hath foreseen by Faith the *End of sin* , and the doleful recompence of the ungodly : His faith beholdeth the misery of damned souls , and the Glory which sinners cast away. He heareth them before-hand repenting and lamenting , and crying out of their former folly , and wishing in vain that all this were to do again , and that they might once more be tryed with another life , and resolving then how holily , how self-denyingly they would live ! He knows if sin had had its way , he had been plunged into this hellish misery himself , and therefore he must needs *loath himself for his iniquities*.

7. More-

7. Moreover the true Convert hath had the liveliest taste of *mercy*; of the blood of Christ; of the offers and Covenant of grace; of *reprieving* mercy; of *pardoning* mercy; of *healing* and *preserving* mercy; and of the unspeakable mercy contained in the *promise* of *everlasting life*: And to find that he hath sinned against *all this mercy*, doth constrain him to abhorre himself.

8. And it is only the true Convert that hath a *new and holy nature*, contrary to sin; and therefore as a man that hath the *Leprosie* doth *loath himself* because his *nature* is contrary to his *disease*, so is it (though operating in a freer way) with a converted soul as to the Leprosie of sin. Oh how he *loaths* the remnants of his pride and passion; his excessive cares, desires, and fears; the backwardness of his soul to God and Heaven! Sin is to the new nature of every true Believer, as the food of a Swine to the stomach of a man; if he have eaten it, he hath no rest till he hath vomited it up; and then when he looketh on his vomit, he loatheth himself to think how long he kept such filth within him; and that yet in the bottom there is some remains.

9. The true Convert is one that is *much at home*; his heart is the Vineyard which he is daily dressing; his work is ordinarily about it; and therefore he is acquainted with those secret sins, and daily failings, which ungodly men that are strangers to themselves, do not observe, though they have them in dominion.

10. Lastly, A serious Christian is a *workman of the Lords*, and daily busie at the exercise of his graces;

ces; and therefore hath occasion to observe his weaknesses, and failings, and from sad experience is forced to abhorre himself.

But with careles unrenewed souls it is not so; some of them may have a mild ingenuous disposition; and the knowledge of their unworthiness; and customarily they will confesse such sins, as are small disgrace to them, or cannot be hid; or under the terrible gripes of conscience, in the hour of distress and at the approach of death, they will do more; and abhorre themselves perhaps as *Judas* did; or make a constrained confession through the power of fear. But so far are they from this *loathing of themselves for all their iniquities*, that sin is to them as their element, their food, their nature, and their friend.

And now, Honourable, Worthy and beloved auditors, it is my duty to enquire, and to provoke you to enquire, whether the Representative body of the Commons of *England*, and each man of *you* in particular, be thus affected to your selves or not. It concerns *you* to enquire of it, as you love your souls, and love not to see the death-marks of impenitencie on them. It concerneth *us* to enquire of it, as we love you and the Nation, and would fain see the marks of Gods return in mercy to us, in your *self-loathing* and return to God. Let conscience speak as before the Lord that sees your hearts and will shortly judg you: Have you had such a sight of your naturall and actuall sin and misery, of your neglect of God, your contempt of Heaven, your loss of precious hasty time, your worldly, fleshly, sensuall lives, and your omission of the great and holy works which you were made



made for; have you had such a sight and sense of these, as hath filled your souls with shame and sorrow: and caused you in tears or hearty grief to lament your sinfull careless lives, before the Lord. Do you loath your selves for all this, as being vile in your own eyes, and each man say, *What a wretch was I? what an unreasonable self-hating wretch, to do all this against my self? what an unnaturall wretch! what a monster of rebellion and ingratitude, to do all this against the Lord of love and mercy? what a deceived foolish wretch! to preferre the pleasing of my lust and senses, a pleasure that perisheth in the fruition, and is past as soon as its received, before the manly pleasures of the Saints, and before the souls delight in God, and before the unspeakable everlasting pleasures? was there any comparison between the brutish pleasures of the flesh, and the spirituall delights of a believing soul, in looking to the endles pleasure which we shall have with all the Saints and Angels in the glorious presence of the Lord. Was God and glory worth no more, then to be cast aside for satiating of an unsatisfiable flesh and fancie! and to be sold for a harlot, for a forbidden cup, for a little aire of popular applause, or for a burdensome load of wealth and power, for so short a time? where's now the gain and pleasure of all my former sins! what have they left but a sting behind them? How neer is the time when my departing soul must look back on all the pleasures and profits that ever I enjoyed, as a dream when one awaketh; as delusory vanities, that have done all for me that ever they will doe, and all is but to bring my flesh unto corruption (Gal.6.8.) and my soul to this distressing grief and fear! Add then I must sing and*

laugh no more! I must brave it out in pride no more! I must know the pleasures of the flesh no more! but be levelled with the poorest, and my body laid in loathsome darkness, and my soul appear before that God whom I so wilfully refused to obey and honour. O wretch that I am! where was my understanding, when I plaid so boldly with the flames of hell, the wrath of God, the poison of sin! when God stood by and yet I sinned! when conscience did rebuke me, and yet I sinned! when Heaven or hell were hard at hand, and yet I sinned! when to please my God and save my soul I would not forbear a filthy lust, or a forbidden vanity of no worth! when I would not be perswaded to a holy, heavenly, watchfull life, though all my hopes of Heaven lay on it. I am ashamed of my self: I am confounded in the remembrance of my wilfull self-destroying folly! I loath my self for all these abominations: O that I had lived in beggery and rags, when I lived in sin: and O that I had lived with God in a prison or in a wilderness, when I refused a holy heavenly life, for the love of a deceitfull world! Will the Lord but pardon what is past, I am resolved through his grace to do so no more, but to loath that filth that I took for pleasure, and to abhorre the sin that I made my sport; and to die to the glory and riches of the world, which I made my idoll; and to live entirely to that God that I did so long and so unworthily neglect; and to seek that treasure, that Kingdom, that delight, that will fully satisfie my expectation, and answer all my care and labour, with such infinite advantage. Holiness or nothing shall be my work and life; and Heaven or nothing shall be my portion and felicity.

These are the thoughts, the affections the breathing of every regenerate gracious soul. For your souls sake enquire now, Is it thus with you? or have you thus returned with *self-loathing* to the Lord, and firmly engaged your souls to him at your enterance into a holy life? I must be plain with you Gentlemen, or I shall be unfaithfull; and I must deal closely with you, or I cannot deal honestly and truly with you. As sure as you live, yea as sure as the word of God is true, you must all be such *converted men, and loath your selves for your iniquities*, or be condemned as impenitent to everlasting fire. To hide this from you, is but to deceive you, and that in a matter of a thousand times greater moment then your lives. Perhaps I could have made shift, instead of such serious admonitions, to have wasted this hour in flashy oratory, and neat expressions, and ornaments of reading, and other things that are the too common matter of ostentation, with men that preach Gods word in jeast, and believe not what they are perswading others to believe. Or if you think *I could not*, I am indifferent, as not much affecting the honour of *being able*, to offend the Lord, and wrong your souls, by dallying with holy things. Flattery in these things of soul concernment, is a self-ish vilany, that hath but a very short reward; and those that are pleased with it to day, may curse the flatterer for ever. Again therefore let me tell you, (that which I think you will confess,) that it is not your greatness, nor your high looks, nor the gallantry of your spirits that scorns to be thus humbled, that will serve your turn when God shall deal with you, or save your carcasses from rottenness and dust, or

your guilty souls from the wrath of the Almighty. Nor is it your contempt of the threatnings of the Lord, and your stupid neglect, or scorning at the message, that will endure, when the sudden irresistible light shall come in upon you and convince you, or you shall see and feel what now you refused to believe! Nor is it your outside hypocritical Religion, made up of meer words or ceremonies, and giving your souls but the leavings of the flesh, and making God an underling to the world, that will do any more to save your souls, than the picture of a feast to feed your bodies. Nor is it the *stiffest conceits* that you shall be *saved in an unconverted state*, or that you are *sanctified when you are not*, that will do any more to keep you from damnation, than a conceit that you shall never die, will do to keep you here\* for ever. Gentlemen, though you are all here in health, and dignity, and honour to day, how little a while is it, alas how little, till you shall be every man in Heaven or hell! (unless you are Infidels you dare not deny it.) And it is only *Christ and a holy life* that is your *way to Heaven*, and only *sin, and the neglect of Christ and holiness* that can undo you. Look therefore upon sin as you should look on that which would cast you into hell, and is daily undermining all your hopes. O that that this Honourable Assembly *could know it* in some measure, as it *shall be shortly known?* and judg of it as men do, when time is past, and delusions vanished, and all men are awakened from their fleshly dreams, and their naked souls have *seen the Lord?* O then what *Laws* would you make against sin? How speedily would you joyn your strength  
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against it, as against the only enemy of our peace, and as against a fire in your houses, or a plague that were broken out upon the City, where you are? O then how zealously would you all concur to promote the interest of Holiness in the Land, and studiously encourage the servants of the Lord! How severely would you deal with those, that by making a mock of Godliness, do hinder the salvation of the peoples souls? How carefully would you help the Labourers that are sent to guide men in the holy path? and your selves would go before the Nation, as an example of penitent *self-loathing* for your sins, and hearty conversion to the Lord. Is this your duty now, or is it not? If you cannot deny it, I warn you from the Lord, do not neglect it; and do not by your disobedience to a *convinced* conscience, prepare for a *tormenting* conscience. If you know your Masters will and do it not, you shall be beaten with many stripes.

And your *publike capacity and work*, doth make your *Repentance* and *holiness* needfull to *others* as well as to *your selves*. Had we none to govern us, but such as entirely subject themselves to the government of Christ; and none to make us Laws, but such as have his Law transcribed upon their hearts, O what a happy people should we be. Men are *unlikely* to make *strickt Laws*, against the vices which they *love* and *live* in: or if they *make* them, they are more unlikely to *execute* them. We can expect no great help against drunkenness, swearing, gaming, filthiness, and prophaneness, from men that love these abominations so well, as that they will rather part with God and their salvation, then they will let them go. All men.

men are born with a serpentine malice and enmity against the seed of Christ, which is rooted in their very natures. Custome in sin encreaseth this to more malignity; and it is only renewing grace that doth overcome it. If therefore there should be any among our Rulers, that are not cured of this mortall malady, what friendship can be expected from them to the cause and servants of the Lord? If you are all the children of God your selves, and Heaven be your end, and holiness your delight and business, it will then be your principall care to encourage it, and help the people to the happiness that you have found your selves. But if in any the original (increased) enmity to God and godliness prevail, we can expect no better (ordinarily) from such, then that they oppose the holiness which they hate, and do their worst to make us miserable. But woe to him that striveth against his Maker. Shall the thorns and bryers beset in battail against the consuming fire and prevail? *Isa. 27. 4, 5.* Oh therefore for the Nations sake, begin at home, and cast away the sins which you would have the Nation cast away! All men can say, that *Ministers* must teach by their *lives*, as well as by their *doctrines*; (and woe to them that do not.) And must not *Magistrates* as well govern by their *lives*, as by their *Laws*? Will you make Laws which you would not have men obey? Or would you have the *people* to be better then your *selves*? Or can you expect to be obeyed by others, when you will not obey the God of Heaven and Earth your selves? We beseech you therefore for the sake of a poor distressed Land, *let our recovery begin with you.* God looks

so much at the *Rulers* of a Nation in his dealings with them, that ordinarily it goes with the people as their *Rulers* are. Till *David* had numbered the people, God would not let out his wrath upon them, though it was they that were the great offenders. If we see our Representative body begin in *loathing themselves for all their iniquities*, and turning to the Lord with all their hearts, we should yet believe that he is returning to us, and will do us good after all our provocations. Truly Gentlemen, it is much *from you* that we must fetch our comfortable or sad prognosticks, of the *life* or *death* of this diseased Land. Whatever you do, *I know that it shall go well with the righteous*; but for the happiness or misery of the Nation in generall, it's *you* that are our best prognostication. If *you repent your selves*, and become a *holy people to the Lord*, it promiseth *us* deliverance: But if you harden your hearts, and prove despisers of God and holiness, it's like to be *our temporall*, and sure to be *your eternall* undoing, if saving grace do not prevent it.

And I must needs tell you, that if you be not brought to *loath* your selves, it is not because there is no *loathsom*e matter in you. Did you see your inside, you could not forbear it. As I think it would somewhat abate the pride of the most curious Gallants, if they did but see what a heap of flegme, and filth, and dung, (and perhaps crawling worms) there is within them: Much more should it make you loath your selves, if you saw those sins that are a thousand times more odious. And to instigate you hereunto, let me further reason with you.

1. You can easily loath an enemy; and who hath been a greater enemy to any of you, then *your selves*? Another may injure you; but no man can everlastingly undo you, but *your selves*.

2. You abhorre him that kills your dearest friends; and it is you by your sins that have put to death the Lord of life.

3. Who is it but your selves that hath robbed you of so much precious time, and so much precious fruit of Ordinances, and of all the mercies of the Lord?

4. Who is it but your selves that hath brought you under Gods displeasure? Poverty could not have made him loath you, nor any thing besides your sins.

5. Who wounded Conscience, and hath raised all your doubts and fears? was it not your sinfull selves?

6. Who is it but your selves that hath brought you so neer the gulf of misery? and endangered your eternall peace?

7. Consider the *loathsome* nature of your sins, and how then can you choose but *loath* your selves?

1. It is the creatures rebellion or disobedience against the absolute universall Sovereign.

2. It is the deformity of Gods noblest creature here on earth; and the abusing of the most noble faculties.

3. It is a stain so deep that nothing can wash out but the blood of Christ. The flood that drowned a world of sinners, did not wash away their sins. The fire that consumed the Sodomites, did not consume

their



their sins. Hell it self can never end it, and therefore shall have no end it self. It dieth not with you when you die: Though Churchyards are the guiltiest spots of ground, they do not bury and hide our sin.

4. The Church must *loath* it, and must cast out the sinner as loathsome if he remain impenitent: and none of the servants of the Lord must have any friendship with the unfruitfull works of darknes.

5. God himself doth loath the creature for sin, and for nothing else but sin, *Zech. 11. 8. My soul loathed them. Deut. 32. 19. When the Lord saw it he abhorred them, because of the provoking of his sons and daughters.*] *Lev. 26. 30. My soul shall abhorre you.*] *Psal. 78. 59. When God heard this he was wroth, and greatly abhorred Israel. Lam. 2. 7. He abhorred his very Sanctuary.*] *For he is of purer eyes then to behold iniquity, Hab. 1. 13.* In a word, it is the sentence of God himself, that *a wicked man is loathsome and cometh to shame, Prov. 13. 5.*] so that you see what abundant cause of *self-aborrence* is among us.

But we are much afraid of Gods departure, when we see how common *self-love* is in the world, and how rare this *penitent self-loathing* is.

1. Do they *loath themselves* that on every occasion are contending for their honour, and exalting themselves, and venturing their very souls, to be highest in the world for a little while?

2. Do they *loath themselves* that are readier to *justify* all their sins, or at least *extenuate* them, then humbly *confess* them?

3. Do they *loath themselves* for all their sins, that cannot *endure to be reprov'd*, but *loath* their friends,

and the Ministers of Christ that tell them of their *loathsomness*?

4. Do they *loath themselves* that take their *pride* it self for *manhood*, and Christian *humility* for *base-ness*, and *brokenness of heart* for *whining hypocrisie* or *folly*, and call them a company of *Priest-ridden fools*, that lament their sin, and ease their souls by free confession? Is the ruffling bravery of this City, and the strange attyre, the haughty carriage, the feasting, idleness and pomp, the marks of such as *loath themselves* for all their abominations? why then was *fasting*, and *sackcloth* and *ashes*, the badge of such in ancient times?

5. Do they *loath themselves* for all their sins, who *loath those* that will not do as they? and speak reproachfully of such as run not with them to the same excess of riot, 1 *Pet.* 4. 4. and count them precisians that dare not spit in the face of Christ, by wilfull sinning as venturously and madly as themselves.

6. Or do they *loath themselves* for all their sins, that *love* their sins, even better then their God, and will not by all the obtestations, and commands, and intreaties of the Lord, be perswaded to forsake them? How farre all these are from this *self-loathing*, and how farre that *Nation* is from happiness where the *Rulers* or *inhabitants* are such, is easie to conjecture.

I should have minded you what *sins of the Land* must be *remembered*, and *loathed* if we would have peace and healing. But as the glass forbids me, so, alas, as the sins of *Sodom* they declare themselves. Though through the great mercy of the Lord the  
body

*body of this Nation, and the sober part, have not been guilty of that Covenant-breaking perfidiousness, treason, sedition, disobedience, self-exalting, and turbulence as some have been, and as ignorant foreigners through the calumnies of malicious adversaries may possibly believe, yet must it be for a lamentation through all generations, that any of those that went out from us, have contracted the guilt of such abominations, and occasioned the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme; and that any in the pride or simplicity of their hearts, have followed the conduct of Jesuiticall seducers, they knew not whither, nor to what.*

That Profaness aboundeth on the other side, and drunkennes, swearing, fornication, lasciviousness, idleness, pride and covetousness, do still survive the Ministers that have wasted themselves against them, and the labours of faithfull Magistrates to this day! And that the two extreames of *Heresie* and *Profaneness*, do increase each other; and while they talk against each other, they harden one another, and both afflict the Church of Christ. But especially woe to *England* for that crying sin, *the scorning of a holy life*, if a wonder of mercy do not save us. That people *professing the Christian Religion*, should scorn the diligent *practise of that Religion* which *themselves profess*! That obedience to the God of Heaven, that imitation of the example of our Saviour who came from Heaven to teach us Holiness, should not only be neglected, unreasonably and impiously neglected, but also by a transcendent impious madness, should be made a matter of reproach! That the holy Ghost

into whose name as the sanctifier these men were themselves baptized, should not only be resisted, but his sanctifying work be made a scorn! That it should be made a matter of derision, for a man to preferre his soul before his body, and Heaven before earth, and God before a transitory world, and to use his reason in that for which it was principally given him, and not to be wilfully mad in a case where madness will undo him unto all eternity! judg as you are men, whether hell it self is like much to exceed such horrid wickedness! and whether it be not an astonishing wonder, that ever a reasonable soul should be brought to such a height of abomination. That they that profess to believe the holy Catholike Church, and the Communion of Saints, should deride the holiness of the Church, and the Saints and their communion! that they that pray for the hallowing of Gods Name, the coming of his Kingdom, and the doing of his will even as its done in Heaven, should make a mock at all this that they pray for! How much further think you is it possible, for wicked souls to go in sinning? Is it not the God of Heaven himself that they make a scorn of? Is not Holiness his image? Did not he make the Law that doth command it; professing that none shall see his face without it? *Heb. 12. 14.* O sinfull Nation! O people laden with iniquity, Repent, Repent, speedily and with self-loathing Repent of this inhumane crime, lest God should take away your glory, and enter himself into judgment with you, and plead against you the scorn that you have cast upon the Creator, the Saviour, the sanctifier to whom you were engaged in your baptismall  
vows!

vows! Lest when he plagueth and condemneth you he say, *Why persecuted you me?* (Acts 9.4.) *Inasmuch as you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me.*] Read Prov. 1. 20. to the end. When Israel mocked the messengers of the Lord, and despised his words, and misused his Prophets, his wrath arose against his people till there was no remedy, 2 Chron. 26. 16. And O that you that are the Physicians of this diseased Land, would specially call them to Repentance for *this*, and help them against it for the time to come.

Having called you first to *Remember your misdoings*, and secondly to *loath your selves in your own eyes for them*; I must add a third, That you stop not here, but proceed to *Reformation*, or else all the rest is but hypocrisie. And here it is that I most earnestly intreat this Honourable Assembly for their best assistance. O make not the forementioned sins your own; lest you hear from God, *quod minus crimine, quam absolute peccatum est*. Though England hath been used to cry loud for *liberty*, let them not have liberty to abuse their Maker, and to damn their souls, if you can hinder it. *Optimus est reipublica status, ubi nulla libertas deest, nisi licentia pereundi*, as Nero once was told by his unsuccessfull Tutor. Use not men to a liberty of scorning the Laws of God, lest you teach them to scorn yours: For can you expect to be better used then God. And *cui plus licet quam par est, plus vult quam licet* (Gell. 1. 17. c. 14.) We have all seen the evils of *Liberty* to be wanton in *Religion*: Is it not worse to have *Liberty*, to *deride Religion*? If men shall have leave to go quietly to  
hell.

hell *themselves*, let them not have leave to *mock* poor souls from Heaven. The suffering to the sound in faith is as nothing: for what is the foaming rage of mad men to be regarded? But that in *England* God should be so provoked, and souls so hindered from the pathes of life, that whoever will be converted and saved, must be made a laughing stock (which carnall mindes cannot endure,) this is the mischief which we deprecate.

The eyes of the Nation, and of the Christian world, are much upon you, some high in hopes, some deep in fears, some waiting in dubious expectations for the issue of your counsels. Great expectations, in deep necessities, should awake you to the greatest care and diligence. Though I would not by omitting any necessary directions or admonitions to you, invite the world to think that I speak to such as cannot endure to hear, and that so Honourable an Assembly doth call the Ministers of Christ to do those works of their proper office, which yet they will be offended if they do; yet had I rather erre in the *defective* part, then by *excess*, and therefore shall not presume to be too particular. Only in generall, in the Name of Christ, and on the behalf of a trembling yet hoping Nation, I most earnestly beseech and warn you, that *you own and promote the power and practise of Godliness in the Land*, and that as God whose Ministers you are (*Rom. 13.4.*) is a Rewarder of them that diligently seek him, *Heb. 11.6.* and hath made this a principall Article of our Faith; so you would imitate your absolute Lord, and *honour them that fear the Lord*, and encourage them that diligently seek

*seek him.* And may I not freely tell you, that *God* should have the *precedencie*? and that you must first *seek his Kingdom and the Righteousness thereof*, and he will facilitate all the rest of your work. Surely no Powers on earth should be offended, that the God from whom, and for whom, and through whom they have what they have, is preferred before them; when they should own no interest but his, and what is subservient to it. I have long thought that pretences of a necessity of beginning with our own affairs, hath frustrated our hopes from many Parliaments already: and I am sure that by delays the enemies of our peace have got advantage to cross our ends and attain their own. Our calamities *begun in differences about Religion*, and still *that's the wound that most needs closing*: and if *that were done*, how easily (I dare confidently speak it) *would the generality of sober godly people, be agreed in things civill, and become the strength and glory of the Sovereign* (under God?) And though with grief and shame we see this work so long undone (may we hope that God hath reserved it to this season.) Yet I have the confidence to profess, that (*as the exalting of one party by the ejection and persecuting of the rest, is the sinfull way to your dishonour and our ruine, so the termes on which the differing parties most considerable among us, may safely, easily and suddenly unite, are very obvious; and our concord a very easie thing, if the prudent and moderate might be the guides, and selfish interests and passion did not set us at a further distance then our principles have done.* And to shew you the facility of such an agreement, were it not that such personall

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matters are much liable to misinterpretations, I should  
 # tell you, that the late Reverend Primate of *Ireland*  
 consented (in less than half an hours debate) to five or  
 six Propositions which I offered him, as sufficient for  
 the Concord of the moderate Episcopall and Pres-  
 byterians, without forsaking the Principles of their  
 Parties. O that the Lord would yet shew so much  
 mercy to a sinfull Nation, as to put it into your hearts  
 to promote but the practise of those Christian principles  
 which we are all agreed in: I hope there is no con-  
 troversie among us whether God should be obeyed and  
 hell avoided; and Heaven first sought, and Scripture  
 be the rule and test of our Religion, and sin abhor-  
 red and cast out. O that you would but further the  
 practise of this with all your might: We crave not  
 of you any Lordship or dominion, nor riches, nor  
 interest in your temporall affairs: we had rather see  
 a Law to exclude all Ecclesiasticks from all power of  
 force: The God of Heaven that will judg you and  
 us, will be a righteous Judg betwixt us, whether  
 we crave any thing unreasonable at your hands.  
 These are the summe of our requests: 1. That Ho-  
 linesse may be encouraged, and the overspreading pro-  
 phaneness of this Nation effectually kept down.  
 2. That an able diligent Ministry may be encouraged,  
 and not corrupted by temporall power. 3. That Dis-  
 cipline may be seriously promoted, and Ministers no  
 more hindred by Magistrates in the exercise of their  
 office, then Physicians and Schoolmasters are in theirs;  
 seeing it is but a Government like theirs, consisting in  
 the liberty of conscionable managing the works of our  
 own office that we expect: Give us but leave to  
 labour



labour in Christs Vineyard with such encouragement as the necessity of obstinate souls requireth, and we will ask no more. You have less cause to restrain us from *discipline* then from *preaching*: for it is a *more flesh-displeasing* work that we are *hardlier* brought to. I foretell you, that *you shut out me and all that are of my minde*, if you would force us to administer *Sacraments* without *Discipline*, and without the conduct of our own discretion, to whom the Magistrate appoints it; as if a Physician must give no Phylick but by *your prescript*. The *antidisciplinarian* Magistrate I could as resolutely suffer under as the *superstitious*; it being worse to cast out *Discipline*, then to erre in the *circumstances* of it. The question is not, *whether Bishops or no?* but *whether Discipline or none?* and *whether enow to use it?* 4. We earnestly request that *Scripture sufficiency as the test of our Religion*, and *only universall Law of Christ* may be maintained: and that *nothing unnecessary may be imposed as necessary*, nor the *Churches unity* laid on that which *will not bear it, nor ever did*. O that we might but have leave to serve God only as Christ hath commanded us, and to go to Heaven in the same way as the Apostles did! These are our desires; and whether they are reasonable God will judg.

*Give first to God the things that are Gods*, and then *give Caesar the things that are Caesars*. Let your *wisdom* be *first pure*, and then *peaceable*. Not but that we are resolv'd to be loyall to Sovereignty, though you deny us all these: whatever malicious men pretend, *that is not nor shall not* be our difference. I have proved more publikely when it was more dangerous

to publish it, that the *generality* of the Orthodox sober Ministers, and godly people of this Nation, did never consent to King-killing, and resisting Sovereign Power, nor to the change of the ancient Government of this Land; but abhorred the pride and ambition that attempted it. I again repeat it: The blood of some, the imprisonment and displacing of others, the banishment or flight of others, and the detestations and publike protestations of more; the oft declared sense of *England*, and the warres and sad estate of *Scotland*, have all declared before the world, to the shame of calumniators, that the generality of the orthodox sober Protestants of these Nations, have been true to their allegiance, and detesters of unfaithfulness and ambition in subjects, and resisters of heresie and schisme in the Church, and of Anarchie and Democraticall confusions in the Commonwealth. And though the Land hath ringed with complaints and threatnings against my self, for publishing a *little* of the mixture of Jesuiticall and Familisticall contrivances, for taking down together our Government and Religion, and setting up new ones for the introduction of Popery, infidelity and heresie; yet I am assured that there is much more of this confederacie, for the all-seeing *God* to discover in time, to the shame of Papists, that cannot be content to write themselves for the killing of Kings when the Pope hath once excommunicated them, and by the Decrees of a *Generall Council* at the Laterane, to depose Princes that will extirpate such as the Pope calls Hereticks, and absolve all their subjects from their fidelity and allegiance, but they must also creep into the  
 Councils

Councils and Armies of Protestants, and taking the advantage of successes and ambition, withdraw men at once from their Religion and allegiance, that they may cheat the world into a belief, that Treasons are the fruits of the Protestant profession, when these masked Juglers have come by night and sown and cherished these Romish tares. As a *Papist* must cease to be a *Papist* if he will be *truly and fully loyall* to his Sovereign (as I am ready to prove against any adversary;) so a *Protestant* must so farre cease to be a *Protestant* before he can be disloyall. For *Rom. 13.* is part of the Rule of his Religion. Unhappily there hath been a difference among us, *which is the higher Power*, when those that have their shares in the Sovereignty are divided: But whether we should be subject to the Higher Power is no question with us.

Gentlemen, I have nothing to ask of you for my self nor any of my brethren as for themselves: But that you *will be friends to serious preaching and holy living*, and will not *ensnare our consciences with any unscripturall inventions of men*, this I would beg of you as on my knees: 1. As for the sake of *Christ*, whose cause and people it is that I am pleading for. 2. For the sake of *thousands of poore souls* in this Land, whose salvation or damnation will be much promoted by you. 3. For the sake of *thousands of the dear servants of the Lord*, whose eyes ara waiting to see what God will do by your hands. 4. For *your own sakes*, who are *undone* if you dash your selves on the rock you should build on, and set against the holy God, and turn the cries of his servants to Heaven for deliverance from you, *Luk. 18. 8.* If you *stumble on*

Christ he will *break you in pieces*; but if he fall upon you he will *grind you to powder*. 5. For the sake of your posterity, that they may not be bred up in ignorance or ungodliness. 6. For the Honour of the Nation and your selves; that you turn by all the suspicions and fears that are raised in the Land. 7. For the honour of sound Doctrine and Church Government, that you may not bring schisme into greater credit then now you have brought it to deserved shame. For if you frown on godliness under pretence of uniformity in unnecessary things, and make times worse then when Libertinisme and schisme so prevailed, the people will look back with groans and say, *what happy times did we once see?* and so will honour schisme, and libertinisme, and usurpation, through your oppression. 8. Lastly, I beg this of you, for the Honour of Sovereignty and the Nations Peace. A Prince of a holy people is most Honourable. The interest of holiness is Christs own: Happy is that Prince that espouseth this, and subjecteth all his own unto it. See *Psal. 1. 1, 2. & 101. & 15. 4.* It is the conscionable, prudent, godly people of the Land that must be the glory and strength of their lawfull Sovereign. Their Prayers will serve him better then the *hideous Oaths and Curses* of the prophane. Woe to the Rulers that set themselves against the interest of Christ and holiness. Read *Psal. 2.* or that *make snares* for their consciences, that they may persecute them as *disobedients*, who are desirous to obey their Rulers in subordination to the Lord. See *Dan. 3. & 6. 5, 10, 13.* I have dealt plainly with you, and told you the very truth. If God have now a blessing for you and us, you will obey it: but  
if

if you refuse, then look to your selves and answer it if you can. I am sure in spite of earth and hell, it shall go well with them that live by faith.

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*FINIS.*

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# Aleyne Maior.

*Martis 15<sup>o</sup>. die Maii 1660. Annoque  
Regis Caroli Angliæ, &c. duodecimo.*

**I**T is ordered That Mr *Baxter* be  
from this Court desired to Print  
his late Sermon at *Pauls*.

*Sadler.*

57

# Right Rejoycing:

OR

The Nature and Order

OF

Rational and Warrantable Ioy.

Discovered in a Sermon preached  
at *S<sup>t</sup>. Pauls* before the Lord Maior  
and Aldermen, and the several  
Companies of the City of *London*,  
On *May 10. 1660.* appointed by both Houses  
of Parliament, to be a day of solemn  
Thanksgiving for Gods raising up and  
succeeding his Excellency, and other  
Instruments, in order to his Maje-  
sties restoration, and the settle-  
ment of these Nations.

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By *Richard Baxter.*

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L O N D O N,

Printed by *R. W.* and *A. M.* for *Francis Tyton* and  
*Jane Underbil*, and are to be sold at the sign of  
the three Daggers in *Fleet-street*, and at  
the Bible and Anchor in *Pauls*  
Church-Yard, 1660.

1780

John ...

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To the Right Honourable  
*Thomas Aleyne* Lord Maior of  
the City of *London*, with the right  
Worshipfull Aldermen his bre-  
thren.



*S* in obedience to your fa-  
vourable invitation, this  
Sermon was first preached,  
and the author conscious of  
his great unworthiness, employed in so  
honourable a work; so is it your pleasure  
(against which my judgement must not  
here contest) that hath thus exposed it  
to the publick view. Which yet I must  
confess doth not engage you in the patro-  
nage of any of the crudities and imperfe-

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Etions of this hasty work; It being the matter (which is of God) that so far prevailed for your acceptance, as to procure your pardon of the manner, which is too much my own. Rejoycing is so highly valued even by nature, that I thought it a matter of great necessity, to help to rectifie and elevate your joyes. The corruption of a thing so excellent must needs be very bad: And it being the great and durable Good, that must feed all great and durable joy: and seeing these little transitory things can cause but little and transitory delight: I thought it my duty to insist most on the greatest, on which in your meditations you must most insist: which I repent not of especially now you have given my doctrine a more loud and lasting voice; because it is only our Heavenly interest, that may be the  
matter

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matter of universal, continued delight, and so the subject may make the Sermon to be of the more universal and continued use, when a subject of less excellency and duration than heaven, would have depressed and limited the discourse as to its usefulness. And also I was forced in this (as in all these sublunary things) to estimate the Mercy in which we did all so solemnly rejoyce, but as a Means, which is so far to be valued as it conduceth to its end; and is something or nothing as it relateth to Eternity. Since I placed my hopes above, and learned to live a life of faith, I never desire to know any mercy in any other form or name; nor value it on any other account: as not affecting to make such reckonings, which I daily see obliterated in grief and shame, by those that make them: and remembering

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membring who said, that if we had known  
Christ himself after the flesh, henceforth  
we know him so no more. As it was  
my compassion to the phrantick merry  
world, and also to the self-troubling me-  
lancholy Christian, and my desire metho-  
dically to help you in your rejoycings  
about the great occasions of the day,  
which formed this exhortation to what  
you heard, and chose the subject which to  
some might seem less suitable to the day;  
so if the publication may print so great  
and necessary a point on the hearts of  
any that had not the opportunity to hear,  
as God shall have the praise, and they the  
joy, so you shall have (under God) the  
thanks, and I the attainment of my end,  
which is my reward: I rest

Your servant in the  
work of Christ,  
Richard Baxter.





## Right Rejoycing.

LUKE 10. 20.

*Notwithstanding in this rejoyce not, that the spirits are  
subject to you; but rather rejoyce because your names  
are written in heaven.*

*Right Honourable, Worshipfull, and beloved Auditors,*

**I**F any of you shall say upon the hearing of my Text, that I have chosen a subject unsuitable to the occasion, and that a [*Rejoyce not*] is out of season on a day of such *rejoycing*, they may I hope be well satisfied by that time they have considered the *Reason* of these words as used by Christ to his Disciples, and the *greater joy* that's here commanded; and so the reason of my choice.

When Christ had sent forth his seventy Disciples, to preach the Gospel through the Cities of *Judea*, and to confirm it by miraculous cures, for which he endued them with power from above; upon their return, they triumph especially in this, that *the Devils themselves were subject to them, through the name*

of Christ, ver. 17. A mercy which Christ is so far from extenuating, that 1. He sets it forth more fully than they, ver. 18. [ *I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven* ] 2. He promiseth them yet more of it, [ *giving them power to tread on Serpents and on Scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy, and that nothing should by any means hurt them.* ] 3. He rejoiced in Spirit, and thankfully acknowledged it to the Father himself, ver. 21. ] And yet he seems here to forbid them to rejoyce in it, commanding them another joy. What! was it not a mercy to be rejoyced in? Or is there any contradiction in the words of Christ? Neither: He doth not *absolutely* forbid them to rejoyce in it. But he saw that their corruption took an advantage by it, to puff them up with pride and vain-glory, and that they savoured it too carnally, and were much taken with it, as it was a visible triumph, and honour to themselves the instruments, and too much overlook't the end and use of it. Christ therefore aggravateth the *Mercy in its proper notion*, as it was to the honouring of the Father and himself, and the advancement of his Kingdom, and the saving of mens souls, by the confirmation of the Gospel, and the fall of Satan. But the *shell* or *grosser substance* of the mercy, applyed to a wrong end, and by corruption made *another thing*, being deprived of its proper soul, this Christ admonisheth them to keep out of their estimation and affection. He meeteth his returning messengers, rejoycing too much in themselves: and this proud, inordinate, selfish joy is it that he would take from them by his caution or prohibition, [ *In this rejoyce not* ] But that they may see

see that he doth not envy them their comforts, he sheweth them cause of a *greater joy*, which he alloweth and commandeth them, as more suitable to his ends, and their felicity: [*But rather rejoyce that your names are written in heaven.*]

For the better understanding of this you may observe, 1. What matter of Joy the subjection of the Devils might afford them. 2. What manner of joy they were affected with, which Christ forbade them. 3. What manner of joy it is that Christ alloweth them, when he seemeth to restrain it wholly to their heavenly interest.

1. No doubt, to have the Devils subject to them, was a great mercy, in which they might rejoyce: For 1. It was the *Gift of Christ*: and all is perfumed that hath toucht his hand. Nothing but Good can come from him that is so Good, by way of Gift.

2. It was a Gift foretold by the Prophets, as reserved for the *Gospel-time*, that's eminently called *The Kingdom of God*: And an *extraordinary* gift in respect to the precedent and subsequent generations. It was *no usual* thing for men to exercise such authority over the very Devils, as to command them to come forth, and to heal the bodies that they had long afflicted.

3. It was a victory over the *strongest* enemy, that can make more effectual resistance then the most numerous armies of poor mortals, and would laugh at your horse and arms, your fire and sword, your greatest Cannons: and cannot be expugned but by the power of the Almighty. A stronger then he must come upon him and bind him, and cast him out of

his possession, before he will surrender the Garrison, goods, and prisoners which he hath held in peace, *Luke 11. 21, 22.*

4. It was a victory over the most *subtile* enemy, that is not conquerable by any stratagems of humane wit.

5. It was a victory over the most *malitious* enemy: that sought more then the subversion of mens temporal peace, and by afflicting the body intended the hurting of the soul.

6. It was a conquest of him that had *long possession*, and one way or other kept in bondage the prisoners, that justice had subjected to his rage.

7. It was a victory exceeding honourable to Christ, whose very messengers by his name alone, could make the powers of hell submit. He that refused to be made a King, as having not a Kingdom of this world, (*John 18. 36.*) and that had not a place to lay his head on (*Mat. 8. 22.*) commanded him that had presumed to tempt him with *all the Kingdoms and the glory of the world*, (*Mat. 4. 8, 9.*) and that not only by the bare word of his mouth, but by the word of his meanest, most despised Messengers; which made the people stand amazed, saying, What manner of man is this?

8. It was a victory tending to the successes of the Gospel, to convince the unbelieving world, and so to enlarge the Kingdom of Christ, and to save the peoples souls.

9. And also from so great a work, it was no small honour that accrewed to the instruments: An honour which in its proper place they might lawfully regard.

10. And

10. And all this was aggravated by the congruency of the mercy, to the low despised condition of the instruments, (and of Christ himself) when they were destitute of all common advantages and means, for the carrying on of so great and necessary a work, surpassing all the strength of flesh: how seasonable was it that the Omnipotency of Heaven should then appear for them, and thus engage itself for their success? So that in all this you may easily see that here was abundant matter for a rationall warrantable joy to the Disciples.

11. *But where then was their fault? and what was that joy which Christ forbid them.* *Answ.* Having already told you in *generall*, I shall tell you more *particularly*. 1. They looked too much at the matter of *Dominion* over the subjected and ejected Devils, and relished most delightfully the externall part. As the Jews lookt for a Messiah that should come in grandeur, and bring the Nations under his dominion; so the Disciples that had yet too much of these conceits, began to be lifted up with the expectation of some earthly glory, when they saw the powers of hell submit, and Christ thus begin with the manifestation of his omnipotency. But the great End of these Miracles, they too much overlooked: They too much left out of their rejoycings, the *appearances of God*, the advantages of faith, the promotion of the spiritual Kingdom of Christ, and the greater mercies of the Gospel, as to themselves and others.

2. They took too great a share of the honour to *themselves*, being more affected, to see what great things *they* were made the instruments to accomplish,

then what honour did thereby accrew to God, and benefit to man. And thus while they arrogate too much to *themselves*, and withall too much over-look those *higher*, greater mercies, to which all their *miracles* were but *means*, they deservedly fall under Christs reproof; and he is employed in the cure of their diseased joyes, by amputation of the superfluities, and rectifying the irregularities, and supplyng the defects, lest Satan should take possession of *their souls*, by carnality, selfishness and pride, when they thought they had conquered him, by dispossessing him of *mens bodies*.

III. By this you may understand, *what joy it is that Christ alloweth and commandeth them.*

1. *As to themselves*, to kill their pride, and to increase their kindly joy and thankfulness, and to advance their estimation of the riches of the Gospel, and rectifie their judgement of the work and Kingdom of their Lord, he calls them to mind that *Higher Mercy*, which is worthy of their *greatest joy*. *An interest in Heaven* is another kind of mercy, then healing the sick, or casting out Devils here on earth.

2. In reference to *his honour*, he would have them *first* look at the *Greatest of his Gifts*, and not forget the glory which he finally intends them; while they are taken up with these wonders in the way. For *his greatest honour* ariseth from his *greatest mercies*.

3. As to the *Degrees* of their *Rejoycing*, he would not have them give the *greater share* to the *lesser mercy*, but to Rejoyce so much more in their heavenly interest, as that all other joy should be as none in comparison of it. So that this [ *Rejoyce not in this, &c.* ]

is as much as if he had said [ *Let your Rejoycing in this power over the Devils be as nothing in comparison of your rejoycing that your names are written in heaven.* ] Just as he forbiddeth *Care* and *Labour* for these earthly things, when he saith [ *Care not what you shall eat, &c.* ] Mat. 6. 25. [ *Labour not for the meat that perisheth, but for that which endureth to everlasting life, which the Son of man will give you* ] John 6. 27. Our *Care* and *Labour* for earthly things, must be *nothing in Comparison* of the *Care* and *Labour* we are at for heaven: And so our *joy*, in the *greatest* of these *outward mercies*, should be as *Nothing in comparison* of our *joy* in higher things.

4. As to the *nature* and *order* of the thing, he alloweth them *no joy* in this or any temporal or created thing whatsoever, but *as it proceedeth from God and tendeth to him as our ultimate end*: We must not *Rejoyce* in our victories over Satan or any other enemy, *for it self*, and as our *end*, but as it is a *means* to the glory of God and mens salvation. In all which it is evident, that Christ doth but *regulate* and *advance* their joy, and calling them *first* to rejoyce in that which is their *End* and *All*, and animateth all their lower mercies, he then alloweth and requireth them to rejoyce, even in this, which he seemed to forbid them to rejoyce in, *viz.* *that the Devils were subject to them*; so they do it in due subordination to its end.

The only difficulty in the preceptive part of the text is, what's meant here by the [ *writing of their names in heaven* ] In a word the meaning is, that they are *fellow Citizens of the Saints, and of the household of God,*  
and

and having a *room* among the *Saints on earth*, have a *title* to the *celestial glory*. As in some well-ordered Cities there were rolls kept of the names of all the Citizens, or Free-men, as distinct from all the inferiour, more servile sort of subjects, and as muster-rolls are kept of the listed souldiers of the Army; so all that are Saints are *enrolled Citizens of heaven*, that is, *are the heirs of the heavenly felicity*.

We are *Decreed* to this state before the foundations of the world; We are *Redeemed* to it by the death of Christ: but we are not *actually entred* into it, till we are *sanctified* by the Holy Ghost, and heartily engaged to God the Father, Son, and Spirit, in the holy Covenant.

The Doctrine of the Text is contained in this proposition; *To have our names written in Heaven, is the greatest mercy, and first and chiefly, and only for it self to be rejoyced in; which so puts the estimate on all inferiour mercies, that further then they refer to this they are not to be the matter of our joy.*

Though we had seen the Devils subjected to our ministration, departing from the possessed when we command them in the name of Christ, and the bodies of the afflicted miraculously relieved, yet all this were not *comparatively* to be rejoyced in, nor as *separated* from our title to the heavenly glory.

When I have first given you the *Reasons* of the *prohibition*, [*Rejoyce not in this* and then of the *command* [*but rather Rejoyce, &c.*] you may by fuller satisfaction about the sense and truth of the Proposition, be better prepared for the further application.

I. *Rejoyce not, though the Devils themselves were*  
*subject*



*subject to you*, further then as this refers to Heaven ;  
 1. Because *all these common mercies*, may possibly consist with the *present misery* of the persons that receive them. A man may be the slave of the Devil as to his soul, when he is casting him out of another mans body. He may be conquered by his own concupiscence, that hath triumphed over many an enemy. These times have shewed it to our grief, that heresie, and pride, and ambition, and self conceit, may conquer those that have been famous for their conquests: He may be a slave to himself, that is the Master of another.

And what I say of the instance in my text, you may ( upon a parity or superiority of reason ) all along give me leave to apply to the great occasion of the day : it being a matter of much greater glory, to conquer infernal powers then mortal enemies, and to have the Devils *subject to us*, then men. To be such a conquerour of men or Devils, is no sure proof of the pardon of sin, the favour of God, and saving of your souls. Alas, how many called *valiant*, are the basest cowards in the warfare that their everlasting life dependeth on? How many that are renowned for their victories by men, are wretches despised and abhored by the Lord? What Christian so poor and despicable in the world, that would change his state with a *Cataline* or *Sejanns*, yea with a *Cesar* or *Alexander*. if he might? Could you see the inside of a glittering gallant, or an adored Prince that is a stranger to the life of faith, what a sad disparity would you see? the vermine of the most filthy lusts continually crawling in the soul, while the body is

set out by the most exquisite ornaments, that pride can invent and their purses can procure, for the encreasing of their esteem in the eyes of such as judge of souls by the colour and cover of the bodies. To see the same man sumptuously feasted, attended, honoured, magnified by men; and at the same time dead in sin, unacquainted with the life and comforts of believers, and under the curse and condemnation of the Law of God, would tell you, that such a wretch is far, from the state in which a reasonable man is allowed to rejoyce. There are not more naked leprous souls in the world, then some that are covered with a filken, laced, painted case: Nor any more poor and sordid, then such as abound with earthly riches. And for *such a one to Rejoyce*, is as *unseemly*, as for a man to glory that his gangren'd foot hath a handsom shoo, or that his diseased pained flesh doth suffer in the fashion, or that his wounds and ulcers are searched with a silver instrument. God sees the rottenness and filth that is within these painted sepulchres, and therefore judgeth not of them as the ignorant spectator, that seeth no further then the smoothed, polished, gilded outside. And therefore we find his language of such to differ so much from the language of the world: He calls those, poor and miserable, and blind and naked, and foolish and mad, and dead and cursed, that perhaps hear nothing lower from the world, then Honourable, Worshipfull, Rich and Wise; and *men* are *admiring* them, while *God* is *loathing* them; and *men* *applauding* them, while *God* *condemneth* them. And hence it is that the servants of the Lord, do *lament* the

the case of those that worldlings count most *happy*. When *Paul* speaks of those, *whose God is their belly, whose glory is their shame, and who mind earthly things*, he doth it *weeping* (Phil. 3. 18, 19.) when a phre-netick sensualist would but have derided his com-passionate tears, and bid him keep them for him-self.

2. *Rejoyce not in these outward common things, comparatively or for themselves*, because they are not only *consistent with* most deplorable misery, but also are the *strong and ordinary means*, of making men miserable, and fixing them in it, and increasing it. Many that have seemed humble, fruitful, flourishing, and stedfast while they dwelt in the valleys of a mean, a low, afflicted state, have proved sun-burnt, weather-beaten sinners, apostates, proud, vain-glorious and barren, when they have removed their habitations to the mountains of prosperity. Alas, we find it hard enough to be serious faithfull Christians, under the less and ordinary temptations, of a poor, or mean, or suffering condition. And should I rejoyce if I were put, to pass to heaven, as a Camell must pass through a needle's eye? We have *difficulties* enow *already*, unless our wisdom, strength and courage, were greater to encounter them; And shall we Re-joyce if these *difficulties* be encreased to *impossibilities*, (as with men,) leaving us no hope but that humane impossibilities are conquerable by Divine omnipotency? *Luk. 18 27*. Is it not *hard enough* to have a *lowly* mind in a *low* condition? (but much more in a *high*?) to despise the world when the world despi-seth us? to walk in heaven when faith is not inter-

rupted by the noise or shews of the distracted asters of these bedlam tragadies? and to converse with our everlasting company; when we are freest from these crowds and tumults? And shall we Rejoyce that we, who already stumble at a straw, have rocks of offence and mountains of difficulty cast before us? How few are advanced to higher measures of faith and holiness, by their advancements in the world? For the most part, if they seemed to have something of plain honesty and fidelity before, when they come to be *advanced*, its drowned in carnal policies, self-love and hypocritical dissimulation: And if they seemed before to be humble and heavenly, and to live to God, and to his interest and service, how strangely doth prosperity and dignity transform them, and make them forget their former apprehensions, their convictions, purposes and vows, yea their God, their happiness, and themselves? And should we not be very cautelous how we rejoyce, in an air that few men have their health in? and in a diet (how sweet soever) that corrupts and kills the most that use it? in the tables that prove snares, and the sumptuous houses that are traps to the inhab tants?

3. *Rejoyce not in these common things*: for they are but such as are often *made the Devils tools to do his his work by*, and *are used against the Lord that gave them*, to the hindrance of the Gospel; and injury of the Church of Christ. While men are *low*, and *live by faith*, they do good with the *little* which they have; and have the blessing of the *Will* (when they are

are unable for the *deed*, ) and of hearts disposed to do *good*, if they *had* opportunity : when usually those that are lifted up, having *more* of *Power* and *less* of *Will*, do *less* when they *might* and *should* do *more* ; and use their talents to aggravate their sin and condemnation : To *further* piety, or charity, they have *power* without *will* ; but to *hinder* it, they have both *power* and *will*. And while the poor of the world, that are rich only in faith, *would* help on the work of God, and cannot ( by the great assistances which the great might give, ) and the rich and honourable *can* and *will* not, but *can* and *will* promote the interest of the flesh, you may easily see the Churches case, how sure it is to know adversity, and how much of our expectation must be from God, and how little from any of the Sons of men. Is it as common for one that is *very* rich to part with all to follow Christ for the hopes of heaven, as it is for one that hath not much in the world to part with ? Is it as common for one that hath many thousands a year, to cast all his substance into the treasury, as for a widdow to do it that hath but two mites ? *Luke 21. 2, 4.* O how much easier were it like to go with the Church of God, if *greatness* and *ungodliness* were not no so commonly conjunct ? But usually, as riches, and dignities, and honours do much encrease their *carnal interest*, so do they encrease their *carnal-mindedness*, and their *engagements* against that life of faith & holiness, which is contrary to their interests ; so that none are such malignant adversaries to godliness, and none have such *advantage* to *execute* their malice. Seeing then that all such honours and advancements are

made by corruption too ordinary instruments of the vilest works of serving Satan, and opposing Christ, and oppressing piety, honesty and innocence, rejoyce not in them as for themselves, nor any way but in subservience to your heavenly rejoycings.

4. And it should much abate our carnal joy to consider that all these things are such, as *may End in misery* and leave the owner in everlasting woe. He that is feasting in purple and fine linnen to day, may be to morrow in remediless torments, and want a drop of water to cool his tongue, *Luke 16*. He that is to day triumphing over mortal enemies, may to morrow be led in triumph to hell fire, and lie in chains of darkness till the judgement of the great day. He that is now *prophecying in the name of Christ, and casting out Devils, and doing many great and wonderful works*, may shortly be condemned at his bar, with a [ *depart from me ye workers of iniquity: I never knew you* ] *Mat. 7. 22. 23*. And who would be merry at a feast, that he must cast up again, in griping pain or mortal sickness? You see *now* where the great ones of the world do take their places, and how they are admired and honoured by men: but you see not where the tide will leave them, and how they shall be used by infernal spirits, if they have not a better preventive and security, then all the renown and dignities of the world. Be cautelous therefore in your Rejoycing for that, which may end in everlasting sorrows.

Yea more then so, these outward honours, and successes, may plunge men *deeper in perdition*, then ever they had been without them. And thousands shall  
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shall wish that they had never known them ; and that they had rather been the lowest and obscurest persons, then by the temptations of prosperity to have been led into that misery. And should you not be very cautelous in your rejoycing in that which you may possibly wish you had never known? You see then the Reasons for the prohibition [ *Rejoyce not.* ]

I I. But on the contrary, that the precept [ *Rejoyce that your names are written in heaven* ] is backed with such Reasons from the nature of the thing, as should much excite us to the practise, is a truth so manifest, that a tedious demonstration of it might seem at best unnecessary , and so an error, in these straits of time. 1. What should be Rejoyced in, if not the Lord of life himself, who is the everlasting joy and glory of the Saints? If felicity it self cannot make us happy, and life it self is insufficient to quicken us, and the Sun it self cannot illuminate us, it is in vain to expect this light, this life, this happiness and joy, from any other. From others we may have joy *derivatively* at the second hand: but only from God as the *Original* and *first cause*. Other things may be *means* of the conveyance: but God is the *matter* of our joy: A creature may be his *medicine*; but he is our *life and health it self*. Comfort may be *offered* by others; but its he that gives it, others may *direct* us to it, but he *effecteth* it. If God be not to be rejoyced in, the affection of joy is made in vain: For he is *goodness it self*, and there is nothing lovely or delectable but what is in him. And what is *Heaven*, but the fruition of God?

2. It is *congruous* that we now Rejoyce, in that which we must Everlastingly rejoyce in. Heaven is the state of Everlasting joy: and therefore the foresight of it by faith, is the only way to rational solid comfort here. If you knew the *place* in which you should live but an hundred years in earthly pleasures, or the *friend* in whom you should as long have sweet delight, the fore-knowledge of it would make that *place* and *friend*, more delightfull to you then any other. Mutable joyes are the shame of man, and shew his levity, or his folly in choosing the things to comfort him, that are insufficient to perform it. But if your heavenly interest be the matter of your joy, you may rejoyce to morrow as well as to day, and the next day as well as to morrow, and the next year as well as this. If *prosperity* be your joy; your joy must be *short*; for your worldly prosperity will be so. If *victory*, and *dignity*, and over-topping others be your joy, it will be short; for death is ready to leave the conquerour, the honourable, the Prince, with the conquered, and the meanest subject. If the solemnity and feasting of such a day as this should be the greatest matter of your joy, the day will have a night, and the feast an end, and so will your joy. But if *Heaven* be the matter of your joy, you may go on in your rejoycing, and every day may be your festivall: For God is the same both yesterday, and to day, and for ever. *You only* have the day that hath no night, and the feast that hath no end, or intermission, unless as it is caused by your errors and misapprehensions. There can nothing fall out, of so hurtfull a nature, as to turn your feast into gall and worm-



wormwood; for God will be still God, and Christ still your Head, and Heaven will be Heaven, and nothing is of any considerable moment to put into the scales against your happiness. If once you have a God, a Christ, a Heaven to rejoyce in, you may rationally indulge a constant joy, and may rationally rejoyce in poverty, reproach, contempt and calumny, in imprisonment, banishment, sickness, or in death, as well as in a prosperous state: and you transgress the laws of Reason if you do not.

3. Rejoyce if your names are written in Heaven; for this is a *Divine, a pure, a profitable, and a warran-ble joy*. When God and his Ministers *rebuke your mirth*, it is not *this holy mirth* that they rebuke, but your dreaming mirth, or waking folly. As we beat down you presumption, but to set up your faith; and beat down mens deceitfull hopes, to prepare them for the hopes that will not fail them, and not to bring them to despair: so do we call you from your frothy, foolish, childish mirth, that we may lead you to the highest joyes. *Here's joy* that you need not be *ashamed* of: of which you can scarcely take too much: of which you need not to repent. Be as joyfull and merry as you will, if this may but be the matter of your joy. The more you are thus joyfull, the more acceptable to God. It is Satan and not God that is the enemy of this joy; that pleads against it, and fills a Christians mind with groundless scruples, and doubts, and objections against it. O that our souls, and our assemblies did more abound with this holy joy! And O that Christians understood the excellency and usefulness of it; and would set

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themselves more constantly to the promoting and maintaining of it in themselves! Whoever of you is *most joyfull in the Lord*, I dare perswade you to be *more joyfull yet*; and so far should you be from *checking* your selves for this *holy joy*, that the *rest* of your *duties* should *intend* it, and you should make it your *work* by the help of all Gods Ordinances and mercies to *encrease* it. He is the best Christian, that hath most love, and joy, and gratitude: And he that is best at this, is like to be best in the performance of his other duties; and in the conquest of remaining sins. But more of this in the application.

AND now I am approaching to a closer Application, I hope I may suppose that I have removed the Objection that met me in the beginning, and that by this time you see, that I am not unseasonably suppressing your warrantable joy; but 1. preventing that which is unwarrantable, and 2. Shewing you the higher joys, which must animate these, or they will be but dead corrupted things; It is only the *regulation* and the *Exaltation* of your joyes that I am endeavouring: And for the first, my Text affordeth me so full instruction, that you may see this Observation meeting you in the first perusal of the words.

*That when the Lord hath vouchsafed us matter of rejoycing in his wonders of Mercy, and our great successes, the best of us are too prone to take up a selfish carnal joy, and have need of Christs prohibition or Caution:*  
[Rejoyce not in this.]

The soul is active, and *will* be doing: and there is nothing that it is more naturally inclined to, then *delight*.

*light.* Something or other ( which may be suitable to it, and sufficient to answer its desires) it saith would be rejoycing in. And the *spiritual part* of all our mercies is pure and refined, and too subtile for the discerning of our *carnal minds*, and therefore is invisible to the dark ungodly world: and also it is contrary to the interest of the *flesh*, & to the present bent of mans concupiscence; and therefore it is that *spiritual mercies* are not perceived, nor relished by the *flesh*, yea that they are refused (as food by a sick stomach) with enmity and loathing, as if they were judgements or plagues, and not mercies: And hence it is that a *carnal mind* doth as *unwillingly accept* of any mercies of *this sort*, as if it were some heavy service that made God almost beholden to him to accept them. But the *Objects of sense*, the matters of commodity, or honour, or sensuall pleasure, are such, as the *worst* of men are *more eager* after then any other: They are things that *flesh* it self doth savour, and can judge of, and is naturally (now) too much in love with. And therefore there being too much of this concupiscence yet within us, the best have need, as to be *excited* to the *spiritual part* of their *rejoycing*, so to be *warned and called off* from the *carnal part*. Our successes and our other common mercies, have all of them both a *carnal* and a *spiritual part*: somewhat that is suited to our *bodies*, and somewhat to our *souls*: And as we are all too prone to be sensible and regardfull of our bodily affairs and interests, and too insensible and neglectfull of the matters of our souls; so we can easily pick out so much of providences and mercies, as gratifie and accommodate our *flesh*; and there

we would stop and know no more ; as is if we had no spiritual part to mind, nor the *mercy* any *spiritual part* to be improved. To rejoyce in meer prosperity & success, may be done *without grace*, by *pride*, & *sensuality*; as easily as a drunkard can be merry with his cups, or any other sinner in his sin. Think it not needles then to hear this admonition, *Take heed that you rejoyce not carnally in the carcases or outside only of your mercies*: As such an outside-Religion consisting in the shell of duty, without God who is the life and kernell, is not *Religion* indeed, but an hypocriticall, self-deceiving shew ; so you may turn a day of *Thanksgiving* into a day of *fleshly mirth*, more sinful then a Morrice-dance or May-game, because of the aggravation of conjunct hypocrisie, if you set not a faithfull guard upon your hearts.

For the *rectifying* therefore and *elevating* of your joyes, I am first to tell you, that *there is matter of far greater joy before you, then all the successes or prosperity of the world*; and *if it be yours*, it may be the matter of *your present joy*: and *if it be not*, yet being freely offered you, your *acceptance* may quickly *make it such*. Eternal joy and glory is at hand: The door is open: The promise is sure: The way made plain: The helps are many, and safe, and powerfull ; You may have the conduct of Christ, and the company of thousands (though the smaller number) if you will go this way; There are passengers every day going on, and entring in; Many that were here the last year, are this year in heaven ; yea many that were yesterday on earth, are in heaven to day. It is another kind of assembly and solemnity then this, that *they* are *now* beholding, and

*you may* behold. One strain of their celestial melody, doth afford more ravishing sweetness and delight, then all that ever earth could yield. If a day in Gods courts *here*, be better then a thousand in common employments or delights, then sure a day in Heaven is better then ten thousand. That's the Court: and (except the Church which is a garden that hath some celestial plants, and is a seminary or nursery for heaven) this world's the dunghill. *There* all is spiritual, pure and perfect; the soul, the service and the joy: But *here* they are all so mixt with flesh, and therefore so imperfect and impure, that we are *afraid* of our very *comforts*, and are fain upon the review to sorrow over many of our joyes. We come now from cares and troubles to our feasts; and our wedding garments smell of the smoak; and a *secret disquietness* in the midst of our delights, doth tell us, that the *root* of our *troubles* doth remain, and that yet we are not where we should be, and that this is not our resting place. We lay by our cares and sorrows on these dayes, with our old clothes, to take them up again to morrow, and alas, they are our ordinary week dayes habit; and it were well if it were only so: But even in laughter the heart is sorrowfull; and in our sweetest joyes we feel such imperfections as threatneth a relapse into our former troubles. But the face of God admitteth no such imperfections in the joy of the beholders: There we shall have joy without either feeling or fear of sorrow; and praise without any mixtures of complaint. Our sweetest Love to the Lord of love will feel no bounds, and fear no end. O what unspeakable delights will fill that soul that now walks

mournfully, and feedeth upon complaints and tears ! How the Glory of God will make that face to shine for ever, that now looks too dejectedly, and is darkened with griefs, and worn with fears, and daily wears a mourning visage ! No trouble can enter into the heavenly Jerufalem : nor is there a mournfull countenance in the presence of our King ! Self-troubling was the fruit of fin and weaknes, of ignorance, mistakes and passion, and therefore is unknown in heaven, being pardoned and laid by with our flesh, among the rest of our childish weakneses and diseases. That poor afflicted wounded soul, that breaths in trouble as its daily air, and thinks it is made up of grief and fear, shall be turned into love and joy, and be unspeakably higher in those heavenly delights, then ever it was low in sorrow. O blessed face of the most Glorious God ! O happy presence of our glorified Head ! O blessed beams of the eternal love, that will continually shine upon us ! O blessed work ! to *behold*, to *love*, to *delight*, and *praise* ! O blessed company of holy Angels, and of perfect Saints, so perfectly united, so exactly suited, to concord in those felicitating works ! where all these are, what sorrow can there be ? what reliefs of distress, or smallest scars of our antient wounds ! Had I but one such friend as the meanest Angel in heaven to converse with, how easily could I spare the courts of Princes, the popular concourse, the learned Academies, and all that the world accounteth pleasure, to live in the sweet and secret converse of such a friend ! How delightfully should I hear him discourse of the ravishing love of God, of the Glory of his face, the  
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person of our Redeemer, the continued union of the glorified humane nature with the Divine, and of the Head with all the glorified members, and his influences on his imperfect ones below! of the dignity, quality and work of Saints and Angels, and of the manner of their mutual converse? How gladly would I retire from the noise of laughter, the complements of Court gallants, the clutter and vain-glory of a distracted world, or any the more manly inferiour delights, to walk with one such heavenly companion? O how the beams of his illuminated intellect, would promote my desired illumination? and the flames of his love to the most Glorious God would reach my heart; what life and heavenly sweetness there would be in all his speeches! that little of Heaven that I have perceived on some of the servants of the Lord, that are conversant above in a life of faith, doth make them more amiable, and their converse much more delectable to me, then all the feasting, musick or meriments in the world. O then, what a world of joy and glory will that be, where we shall not only converse with them that have seen the Lord, and are perfected in the beatifical vision and fruition, but also shall our selves everlastingly behold him, and enjoy him in perfection! That world all true believers see; They see it by faith in the holy glass which the spirit in the Apostles and Prophets hath set up; And they have the earnest and first fruits of it in themselves, even that spirit by which they are sealed hereunto; That world we are ready to take possession of; We are almost there; We are but taking our leave of the inhabitants and affairs of earth, and  
better

better putting on our heavenly robes, and we are presently there. A few nights more to stay on earth; a few words more to speak to the sons of men; a few more duties to perform, and a few more troublesome steps to pass, will be a small inconsiderable delay. This room will hold you *now* but an hour longer; and this world but a few hours more; But Heaven will be the dwelling place of Saints, to all eternity. These faces of flesh that we see to day, we shall see but a few times more, if any; But the face of God we shall see for ever. That glory no dismal times shall darken; That joy no sorrow shall interrupt; No sin shall forfeit, no enemy shall endanger or take from us; no changes shall ever dispossess us of. And should not a believer then *rejoyce*, that *his name is written in Heaven?* and that every providence wheels him on, and whether the way be fair or foul, its *thither* that he is travelling? O Sirs, if Heaven be better then Vanity and Vexation; if endless joy be better then the laughter of a child that ends in crying; and if God be better then a delusory world, you have then greater matters set before you, to be the matter of your joy, then prosperity and success, or any thing that flesh and blood delights in.

And this being so, I am next in faithfulness to your souls, obliged to call you to enquire, *Whether the Rejoycing of this day, and the Rejoycing of your lives, do here begin?* Is God the *beginning* and the *end* of all? O that the Lord would awaken you to perceive, in all your mirth, how nearly it concerneth you, to *know first whether your names are written in heaven?* and whether your *cheifest joy be fetcht from thence.*

Alas,



Alas, Sirs; its a most pittifull sight, to see men frisk about in jollity, with the marks of death and wrath upon them ! and to see men so phrantickly merry in their sin, as to forget the misery that will so quickly marre their mirth ! and to see men live as quietly and pleasantly as if all were well with them, when they have taken no succesfull care, for their precious souls, nor made any considerable sure provision, for their endless life. Poor sinner ! the Lord, who sent me on this message to thee knows, that I envy thee not thy mirth or pleasure, but only would have it better for thee, or have thee set thy mind on better. But let me so farre interrupt thee in thy mirth, as to ask thee, whether thou art sure of Heaven ? or at least, whether thou hast *given diligence to make it sure* ( 2 Pet. 1. 10. ) If this night thy soul be called away, canst thou truly say, that thou art an heir of life, and hast laid up thy treasure there before hand ? If thou say, that thou *hopest well, and no man can do more*, and thus dost desperately cast thy everlasting life upon a careless ventüre, I must tell thee first that *Assurance may be had*: would God bid us *Rejoyce that our Names are written in Heaven*, if it were a thing that could not by any means be knowne: would he bid us *give diligence to make our calling and election sure*, if it were a thing that could not by any *diligence* be attained ? And I must add, that presumption is no sign of a safe condition: It shall not go well with you because you *imagin* it shall go well: A man in a Dropsie or Consumption will not live, by saying that he hopes he shall not die. Yea more, I must add, that a careless venturousness is a mark of

misery: for a man that valueth God and his salvation, cannot put off a matter of such eternall consequence, so sleightly and disregardfully! And a fear and care about your salvation, would be a farre better signe. For the most part, they are safest that fear their danger: and they are in the saddest case that are never sad at the consideration of their case. It's not your bold and confident conceits, that will open Heaven to you; And therefore I beseech you presently look out for surer grounds of peace then these.

If you say, *How can it be known to me, whether my Name be written in Heaven or not?* I shall briefly, but *satisfactorily* answer it.

In generall, if thou know that thou art one that God hath *promised Heaven* to, thou maist know thy *title*, which is meant by the *writing of thy name in Heaven*; and thou maist know, that this promise shall be made good.

More particularly, 1. If thou hast had such an effectuall sight of the vanity of earth, and of the heavenly felicity, that Heaven hath the preheminance in thy *practicall estimation*, and *choice*, and thou hast resolved that Heaven or nothing shall be thy *Happiness*; and art so farre at a point with all things under the Sunne, as that thou art resolved to stick closer to Christ then unto them, and whatever it cost thee, to take the fruition of God for ever as thy portion; If upon consideration of the difference between Heaven and earth, God and the creatures, eternity and time, thou hast heartily devoted thy self to God, and art willing to be his servant upon the termes that he inviteth thee on, thou maist be  
assured

assured that *thy name is written in Heaven*, Matth. 6. 19, 20, 21. & 16. 24, 25, 26. & 13. 45, 46. Luk. 18. 33.

But if *earth* be the place of thy *highest estimation*, and *choice*, where thou placest thy chief affections, and which thou *adherest to more resolutely* then to God, and which thou *wilt not leave* whatever thou lose by it, then as earth hath thy heart, so earth is thy treasure, and thy name is not written in Heaven, but in the dust.

2. If the *obtaining* of Heaven be the principall part of thy care and business, the principall work which thou mindest in the world, its certain that thy name is written in Heaven. *Col. 3. 1, 2, 3, 4.* otherwise not.

3. If finding thy self lost and filthy in thy sin, thou see the necessity and sufficiency of Christ, and being desirous of his grace and righteousness, dost unfeignedly take him for thy Saviour and Lord, and give up thy self to be healed, and justified, and saved by him, as the only Phyficion of souls, thou art then his member, and thy name is written in Heaven, *Joh. 1. 12. & 3. 16, 18.*

4. If the heavenly nature be most amiable in thy eyes, and the heavenly life be it that thou most desirest: If thou hadst rather be Holy then be unholy, and hadst rather perfectly obey the Lord, then live in sin; and longest to be better, and studiest to live in obedience to the Lord, thy name is in Heaven, and thither thou art passing, and it will be thy reward. But if thou love not Holiness, but hadst rather be excused from it, and live in thy sins,

thou art as yet no heir of Heaven, *Joh. 3. 19. & 12. 26.*  
*Pfal. 1. & 119. 11.*

5. If thy *name be written in Heaven*, thou hast a *speciall love to the heirs of Heaven*: and the more of Heaven thou findest in their hearts and lives, the more amiable they are unto thee, and the sweeter is their converse, *1 Joh. 3. 14. Psal. 15. 4.*

I shall name no more: These Evidences are sure. By these you may know while you sit here in these seats, yea if you lay in the darkeſt dungeon, that you are the heirs of Heaven, and your names are there.

But where there is no ſuch work, no high eſtimation of Heaven and reſolution for it, no mortification or conqueſt of the world, no prevalent care and diligence for Heaven, no reſignation of the ſoul to Chriſt, that by faith and holineſs we might follow him to that glory, no love to holineſs, and no delight in the heirs of Heaven, ſuch perſons are yet aliens to the heavenly nature and inheritance, and cannot rejoyce that their names are written in Heaven.

And now I have ſet the glaſs before you, I earneſtly intreat you, that you will here ſeriously view the complexion of your ſouls. It more neerly concerneth you to know whether your names are written in Heaven, and where it is that you muſt dwell for ever, than to know how to manage your trades and buſineſs, or to know whether you ſhall ſtirre from this place alive, or ever ſee another day. O ſirs take heed of living in ſelf-deceit, till your trying and recovering time is paſt. This is it that your enemy aims at: he will do all that malice and ſubtilty can do, to keep ſuch matters from your ſober thoughts, or to  
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make you groundlesly presume that you are safe, or securely to cast your souls upon a desperate venture, under pretence of trusting in Christ; till he hath you where he would have you; and then he will himself take off the veil, and let you know that you had time and light to have acquainted you with your disease and misery, while you might have had a free, and sure, and full remedy. Then you shall know that it was long of your self-deceit if you would not understand and beleve in time, that *if you lived after the flesh you should die* ] Rom.8.13. and [ *that it is the pure in heart that shall see God*, Matth.5.8. [ *Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the Kingdom of God? be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the Kingdom of God*, 1 Cor.6.9,10. *For this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the Kingdom of Christ and of God: Let no man deceive you with vain words; for because of these things cometh the wrath of God on the children of disobedience*, Ephes.5.5,6. ] And can any thing justify the Rejoycing of men, in so sad a state?

Give me leave therefore to make a little closer application, of the severall parts of my Text, to the severall sorts of persons whom they do concern. And first to all *that yet are not become the heirs of Heaven: Rejoyce not though Devils were subject to you*, till your souls are *subject* to him that bought them: Rejoyce not though you had conquered all the world, and had your wills of all your adversaries, as long as you are

conquered by your fleshly lusts, and Satan leads you captive at his will, *2 Tim. 2. 25, 26.* Rejoyce not though you had all the riches of the earth, as long as you are void of the riches of grace, and have nothing to do with the riches of glory. Rejoyce not though all men should honour you, and bow to you, and proclaim your fame, as long as you are the drudges of the Devill and the flesh, and the God of Heaven proclaimeth you his enemies, and resolveth on your destruction, if you do not soundly and seasonably repent, *Luk. 19. 27. & 13. 3, 5.*

Be not offended with me, that on a day of Thanksgiving *I thus farre forbid you to rejoyce*; For, it is not *you* that are qualified for it, or have any part or fellowship in this business, being in the gall of bitterness and bonds of your iniquity, your hearts being not right in the sight of God. Though the invitation be generall, it supposeth that you come prepared: and therefore even he that calls men to his joyes, will find out him that hath not on the wedding garment, and will bind him and cast him into outer darkness, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, *Matth. 22. 12, 13.*] 1. Alas Sirs, if God would allow you to Rejoyce, how willingly could I allow it you? But hear whether he approve it, *Jam. 5. 1, 2, 3.* *Go to now ye rich men, weep and howl for the miseries that are coming on you: your riches are corrupted, and your garments motheaten, your gold and silver is cankered, and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire: yee have heaped treasure together for the last dayes.*] *Luk. 6. 24, 25, 26.* *Woe unto you that are rich (if you have*

have no better riches;) for ye have received your consolation. Woe unto you that are full, for ye shall hunger: Woe unto you that laugh now, for ye shall mourn and weep: Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you, &c.] You may find your lesson, *Foel* 2.12, 13. Thus saith the Lord; Turn ye, even to me, with all your hearts, with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning, and rent your hearts. You see what God calls such men to. And if he allow you not to rejoyce till you are Converted, if I or any man should flatter or cheat you into joy, it would be but a curse to you, and not a benefit.

2. Were your *Foy* but *Reasonable* I would not discourage it. But a mad mans laughter is no very lovely spectacle to your selves. And I appeal to all the Reason in the world, whether it be *Reasonable* for a man to live in Mirth, that is yet unregenerate, and under the curse and wrath of God, and can never say, in the midst of his greatest pomp or pleasure, that he is sure to be an hour out of hell; and may be sure he shall be there for ever, if he die before he have a new, a holy and a heavenly nature; though he should die with laughter in his face, or with a jest in his mouth, or in the boldest presumption that he shall be saved, yet as sure as the word of God is true, he will find himself everlastingly undone, as soon as ever his soul is departed from his body, and he sees the things that he would not believe. Sirs, Is it rati-  
onall to dance in Satans fetters, at the brink of hell, when so many hundred diseases are all ready, to marre the mirth, and snatch away the guilty soul, and cast it into endless desparation? I exceedingly pittie the  
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godly in their unwarrantable melancholly griefs; and much more an ungodly man that's bleeding under his wounds of conscience: But a man that is merry in the depth of misery, is more to be pittied then he. Me thinks it is one of the most pittifull sights in all the world, to see a man ruffle it out in bravery, and spend his precious time in pleasures, and melt into sensuall foolish mirth, that is a stranger to God, and within a step of endless woe! When I see their pomp, and feasting, and attendance, and hear their laughter, and insipid jests, and the fiddlers at their doors or tables, and all things carried as if they had made sure of Heaven, it sadneth my heart to think, Alas how little do these sinners know the state that they are in, the God that now beholdeth them, the change that they are neer! How little do they think of the flames that they are hasting to, and the outcries and lamentations that will next ensue.

3. Your Mirth is *disingenuous* and *dishonest*, as long as you are without a title to Heaven: You slight the Lord, that can find such matters of rejoicing, when you have not his favour to rejoice in, and are under his displeasure! while you are refusing Christ, abusing grace, resisting the spirit, serving the flesh, and undoing your own souls, it cannot be an *honest* or *ingenuous* thing for such as you to live in joy.

4. If your *mirth* were truly *Honourable* to you, it were the more excusable. But to laugh in sin and misery, and make merry so neer your endless woe, is a greater shame to your understandings, then to make sport to set your house on fire: This is the laughter of which *Solomon* might well say, *Thou art mad,*



*mad*, and the mirth of which he saith, *what doth it?*  
*Eccl. 2. 2.*

5. Would thy *mirth* do thee *any good* we would not discourage it; yea if it did not do thee *harm*. But O how many are now in sorrow, by the means of their unseasonable sinfull mirth? They are too jocular to hear the Preacher, or their consciences, or to observe the checks and motions of Gods Spirit: or to spend now and then an hour in retired sober thoughts of their everlasting state. Should we but presume to call them to exercise their reason, and mind them of these most needfull things, and tell them, *O poor distracted mortals, your time is given you for greater things, then to fiddle, and dance, and drink, and jeast, and prate, and complement it away!* Should we not be thought morose, or melancholly, or fanaticks; and should we not have some such answer as their ancestors in *Sodome* gave to *Lot*? *Gen. 19. 9.* [*stand back: this one fellow came in to sojourn, and and he will needs be a judg: we will deal worse with thee then with them,*] wee'l take a course with these controllers. Alas, it is this foolish mirth, that casteth mens *reason* and *consciences* asleep, and drowns the voice of sober words, so that God himself cannot be heard. Could we but get men to retired soberness and seriousness, we should hope that we might find a friend within them, and that we speak to *men*, and that reason would take part with the most reasonable motions that are made to them from the Lord.

6. Lastly, Would your groundless *mirth* endure, we would not say so much against it. But, alas, to be

merry for a day, and then to lie in misery for ever; is a thing deserving no encouragement. We see its a *merry world* with many that have least cause of mirth: but *how long will they continue it?* To see a man laugh, and play, and feast in a chariot that drives on so fast to death; in a vessell that is in so swift a stream that ends in the gulf of endless horrour, is a dolefull sight. O how quickly will that merry countenance turn sad; those proud looks be turned to an earthly paleness; and those wanton eyes be mouldered to dust, and leave the empty holes, to warn the next spectators to use his eyes more wisely while he hath them? How quickly will these same sensuall persons, exchange their mirth for sighs and groans, and endless torments, and fruitless lamentations, when they shall have everlasting leisure to peruse their lives, and to consider of their ways, which now there is no perswading them to consider of? Who can encourage such hurtfull and unseasonable mirth as this? *Hof. 9. 1. Rejoice not O Israel for joy, as other people, for thou hast gone a whoring from thy God. Rejoice not in a thing of nought, Amos 6. 13.* Much less in the sufferings of your bretheren; see *Obad. 12.* and least of all in any hurt that befalls the Church. If enmity to holiness, and exalted impiety should take occasion to triumph; we answer as *Mich. 7. 8, 9. Rejoice not against me O mine enemy; when I fall, I shall arise: when I sit in darkness the Lord shall be a light unto me: I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, untill he plead my cause, and execute judgment for me: he will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold his righteousness.*

If you think I have stood too long on the first part of my Text, it is not to rebuke your holy joy, but only to promote it, and repress that carnall joy, which is more destructive to it, then sorrow it self. As you must [*seek first the Kingdom of God and its Righteousness, and then other things shall be added to you,*] (Matth. 6. 33.) so must you rejoyce first in the Kingdom of Heaven, and the Righteousness that is the way thereto, and then you may add a moderate rejoicing in the things below, in a due subordination thereunto. You have the summe in the words of the Holyghost, *Fer. 9. 23, 24.* [*Thus saith the Lord, Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might; let not the rich man glory in his riches; but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord, &c.*]

2. My next address must be to them, whose names are written in Heaven, and that with a twofold Exhortation.

I. Rejoice that your names are written in Heaven. Its you, Christians, that joy of right belongs to. Little know the lovers of pleasure, more than God, that they lose a thousand fold more pleasure than they win: and that by running from a holy life for pleasure, they run from the fire into the water for heat, and from the Sun into a dungeon for light. O shew the unbelieving world by your rejoicing, how they are mistaken in their choice. Be ashamed that an empty sott, and one that must be for ever a firebrand in hell, should live a more joyfull life than you! O do not so wrong your Lord, your faith, your endless joys, as

to walk in heaviness, and cast away the joy of the Lord which is your strength, and to be still complaining, when those that are prepared for the slaughter, are as frolick as if the bitterness of death were past. It's well that you have so much life, as to feel your sicknesses: but it is not well, that because you are yet diseased, the life of grace and of glory should be so uneffectual to your comfort. And yet alas, how common is it, to see the most miserable frisk and fleere, while the heirs of life are sinfully vexing themselves with the inordinate fears of death! Lift up thy head Christian and remember, whence came thy graces, even thy least desires, and whither do they tend! Where is thy Father, and thy Head, and the most of thy dear companions? where is it that thou must live to all eternity? Doth it beseem a companion of Angels, a member of Christ, a child of God, an heir of Heaven, to be grieved at every petty cross, and to lay by all the sense of their felicity, because some trifle of the world falls cross to their desires and commodity? Is it seemly for one, that must be everlastingly as full of joy, as the Sun is full of light, to live in such a self-troubling, drooping state, as to disgrace Religion, and frighten away the ungodly from the doors of grace, that by your joyfull lives might be provokt to enter? I know as to your happiness the matter is not comparatively great; because if mistakes and the Devils malice, should keep you sad here a hundred years, yet Heaven will wipe away all tears, and those joys will be long enough when they come: and as the joy of the ungodly, so the sorrows of the humble upright soul, will be but for a moment:

moment. And though you weep and lament when the world rejoyceth, as their joy shall be turned into sorrow, so your sorrow shall be turned into joy, and your joy shall no man take from you. But in the mean time, is it not shame and pity, that you should live so unanswerable to the mercies of the Lord: that *you* should sinfully grieve the comforting spirit, by the wilfull grieving of your selves; and that you should peevishly cast away your precious mercies, when you so much need them, by reason of the troubles of a vexatious world, which you cannot avoid: that *you*, even *you* that are saved by the Lord, should still be questioning it, or unthankfully denying his great salvation, and so much hinder the salvation of others? For the Lords sake Christians, and for your souls sake, and in pity to the ungodly, yeeld not to the tempter, that would trouble you, when he cannot damne you? Is God your Father, and Christ your Saviour, and the Spirit your sanctifier, and Heaven your home? and will you make all (for the present) as nothing to you, by a causless obstinate deniall? If you are in doubt, let not meer passionate *fears* be heard; and let not the Devill, the enemy of your peace be heard: but peruse your evidences, and still remember as the summe of all, that the *will is the man; and what you would be, that you are, before the Lord.* If you cannot see the sincerity of your hearts, go to your faithfull able guides, and open the case to them, and let not passion prevail against the Scripture and Reason which they bring. Yea if in your trouble you cannot by all their helps, perceive the uprightnes of your hearts, I must tell you, you

may stay your selves much upon their judgment of your state. Though it cannot give you full assurance it may justly help to silence much of your self-accusations, and give you the comfort of probability. If a Physician, that feels not what you feel, shall yet upon your speeches, and other evidences, tell you that he is confident your disease is not mortall, nor containeth any cause of fear, you may rationally be much encouraged by his judgement, though it give you no certainty of life. As wicked men through contempt, so many godly people through melancholy, do lose much of the fruit of the office of the Ministry: which lieth much in this assisting men, to judg of the life or death of their souls. *Alas, say they, he feels not what I feel: he is used to judg charitably, and he knoweth not me so well as I know my self.* But when you have *told him* faithfully (as you do your Physician) what it is that *you know by your self*, he is able to pass a farre sounder judgment of your life, or death, then your selves can do, for all your feeling. For he knows better what those symptoms signifie, and what is used to be the issue of such a case as yours. Be not then so proud or wilfull, as to refuse the judgment of your faithfull Pastors, about the state of your souls, in a confidence on your own.

And look not for more, as necessary to your comforts, then God hath made necessary. Is it nothing to have a *Title to eternall life*, unless you be also as *holy as you desire*? Yea is it nothing to have a *desire to be more holy*? Will you have *no comfort*, as long as you have *distractions* or *dullness*, or such like imperfections?

perfections in duty? And till you have no disease of soul to trouble you, that is, till you have laid by flesh, and arrived at your perfect joy? Dare not to disobey the voice of God: *Psal. 32. 11. Be glad in the Lord, and rejoyce ye righteous; and shout for joy all ye that are upright in heart. 1 Thess. 5. 16. Rejoyce evermore.* Let it be something that *Heaven* cannot weigh down, that shall suppress thy joy? Art thou in poverty? and is not *Heaven* sufficient riches? Art thou in disgrace? and shalt thou not have honour enough in *Heaven*? Art thou in danger from the injustice or the wrath of man? and is he not Almighty that hath undertaken to justify thee? *Rom. 8. 33, 34.* Dost thou languish under pining sicknesses? and is there not everlasting health in *Heaven*? Art thou weak in knowledg, in memory, in grace, in duty? troubled with uncommanded thoughts and passions? and was it not so on earth with all that are now in *Heaven*? O Christians make conscience of obeying this command: *Rejoyce that your names are written in Heaven.* Did you but know how God approveth such rejoycing, and how much it pleaseth him above your pining sorrows; and how it strengtheneth the soul, and sweetneth duty, and easeth suffering, and honoureth Religion, and encourageth others, and how suitable it is to *Gospel* grace, and to your high relations and ends, and how much better it serves to subdue the very sins that trouble you, than your fruitless self-weakning complainings do; I say, did you well consider all these things, it would *sure* revive your drooping spirits.

And do not say now, [ *I would rejoyce if I were sure that my name were written in Heaven: but I am not sure.* ]

sure.] For 1. *Who is it long of, that you are not sure? you may be sure that he that valueth and seeketh Heaven as better then earth, and that loveth the holy way to Heaven, and the most heavenly people, is indeed an heir of Heaven; and you may be sure, if you will, that this is your own case: and yet you say, you are not sure that your names are written in Heaven. If God give you his grace and you deny it, will you therefore deny your right to glory, and make one sin the excuse for another?*

2. *And if you are not sure, is it nothing to have your probabilities, and hopes, and the judgment of your able faithfull Pastors, that your souls are in a safe condition? We dare not say so to the careless world, nor to the most of men, as we do to you.*

Especially take heed lest *melancholy habituate you to fears and griefs; and then Religion must bear the blame, and you undergo a calamitous life, though you are the heirs of Heaven.* To this end 1. Use not musing serious thoughts beyond the strength of your brain and intellect. 2. Place not too much of your Religion in the perusals and study of your hearts: but (for such as are inclined to melancholy) it is the fruitfull-est way, to be much in expending duties abroad, and labouring to do good to others: such duties have less of self, and as much of God, and divert the troubling melancholly thoughts, and bring in more comfort by way of reward, then is usually got by more direct enquiring after comfort. 3. Use not too much solitariness and retiredness: man is a sociable creature: and as his duty lyeth much with others, so his comfort lyeth in the same way as his duty. 4. Take heed of worldly



worldly sorrows : and therefore of overvaluing worldly things. 5. Take heed of idleness, or of thinking that the duty of holiness are all that you have to mind : but make conscience of being diligent in a particular calling : which diverts the hurtfull troubling thoughts, and is pleasing unto God. 6. Take not every sickness of your souls for death : but rejoyce in that life which enableth you to be troubled at your diseases. Keep under melancholy by these meanes (and the advice of the Physician) and you will escape a very great hinderance to this high and holy duty of *heavenly rejoycing*.

2. But you think perhaps that I have all this while forgotten the duty proper to the day. No: but I was not fit to speak for it, nor you fit to hear and practise it, till the *impediment of carnall rejoycing* was removed, and till we had begun with *heavenly joy*. It is *Heaven* that must *animate* all our comforts. They are so far sweet as Heaven is in them, and no further. Now therefore if you *first rejoyce* for your *heavenly interest*, I dare safely then perswade you, to rejoyce in the mercies which we are, to be thankfull for this day. And though some of them are but yet in the birth, if not in the womb, and we are yet uncertain what they'le prove, that will not excuse us for any unthankfullness; for the first conception or infancy of our mercies. And though Satan seek to get advantage by them, that will not excuse us for our overlooking the mercie in it self. And though there are yet abundance of fears and troubles, on the hearts of many of Christs servants through the

Land, we cannot by any such accidents be excused, from the thankfull observation of the workings of the Lord. All mercies on earth even spirituall mercies, have their mixtures of trouble and their imperfections : but must not therefore be denied or extenuated. And though many that are dear to us, smarting by the change, will be offended and grieved at our most moderate thanksgiving; we must not therefore offend the Lord, by our disregardfullness of his works.

There are these things to be commemorated by us this day, which I dare not overlook. 1. That God hath so honoured his *justice* and *impartiality*, as to shew how he hateth sin in whomsoever. And indeed the *justice* of God it self would seem more *amiable* to us, were we not so *selfish*, as to think hardly of all thats hurtfull unto us. *Justice* demonstrateth the *holinesse* of God, and all the appearances of his holinesse are lovely in themselves.

2. That the holy God hath *disowned heresie* and *divisions* on the one side, as well as *impiety* and *prophaneness* on the other: and that his wisdom thought meet, to acquaint us *experimentally* with the hurtfullnesse of both, and our danger of both, as he did in former ages of the Church. We first found the serpentine malice of the ungodly, and God delivered us, when they would have swallowed us up. But while we only heard and read of *heresie* and *schisme*, and that too often abusively applyed, to many of the most peaceable servants of the Lord, we understood not the mischief of those evils; but were ready to take the very names, to be but the

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the reproaches of piety it self. But God saw meet to let out a flood of this sort of calamities, and to suffer heresie to disgrace it self by its unrighteous fruits, that by those fruits we might the better know it. We never knew before how much we are beholding to him, for saving us from *this sort* of evils; and should never have sufficiently hated them, if we had not smarted by them.

3. It is a mercy to be thankfull for, that thus the Church is notably fortified, against ever relapsing into heresie or schisme for the time to come.

4. And that the frailties of men professing godliness, having so lamentably appeared, they are taught to take heed of spirituall pride, and to know and distrust themselves, and not to be high-minded, but to fear.

5. It is a very great mercy, for which I must profess I was thankfull from the first appearance of it; that so many that I hope are dear to God, have the advantage of his frowns to further their conviction, and repentance, and salvation. As prosperity was the temptation, by which ambition got advantage, and providence mis-understood was pleaded, against the holy rule: what a mercy is it that providence also should undeceive them, and vindicate it self, and teach men hereafter by the example of this age, to stay till the end, before they take the sense of providence, or rather to adhere to the holy word, because the longest liver shall be too short-lived to see the end, so far as to furnish him for such an interpretation? And therefore that word that is the glass in which we can *foresee* the end, must be our guide.

We kept this Thanksgiving voluntarily in Worcester-shire, by Agreement among the Associated Ministers, as we do here this day. See the Agreement published by the weekly Mercury.

I had rather have my friend poor and penitent, than wealthy and impenitent; and rather in a prison, than in the chains of pride: and am glad that God hath taken away the snare that brought so many souls to so sad a pass; and hath undeceived them in part, that had carnall thoughts of the happiness of Saints, and lookt for temporall reign and dignity; forgetting that rich men must pass through a needles eye to Heaven, and that lowliness, meekness, humility, patience, forbearing, forgiving, self-denial, contempt of this world, and living all upon things unseen, is the life that Christ by his doctrine and example taught us, and how ill prosperity befriendeth these. I am in far more hope to see many *Peters go out and weep bitterly*, then I was when they prospered in a *sinfull way*. And if yet any be so far unhumbl'd, as to deny it to have been a *sinfull way*, I am in far greater hope of their conviction now, then heretofore. In their greatness few durst tell them of their crimes: and those of us that did it, were voluminously reproached, threatned, calumniated, and represented as turbulent to the world: (it being usuall with base spirited men, to take the judgement of the greatest for their rule, and to think all suffering to be just and dishonourable, that is inflicted by such as few dare contradict.) But now I hope plain dealing may recover many that before lived under flatteries, and were above reproof. I must profess that my hopes of the saving of many that are dear to me, by the furtherance of this providence, is matter of so much thankfulness to me, that were I sure to suffer with them, I would yet give thanks.

6. It is matter of thanksgiving to me, that God hath so far owned an unanimous, painfull, faithfull Ministry, (for all their many sad infirmities,) as *first* to break the *profane* opposers of them, and then to *scatter* the adversaries on the *other side*. Ever since I heard it so familiar among them, to call Christs faithfullest servants by so many reproachfull names, as Priests (in scorn) Pres-biters, Drivines, Jack-Presbyters, Blackcoats, Pulpeteers, &c. and theirs friends, *Priest-ridden*; to suffer Quakers openly in the streets to revile them as Deceivers, Doggs, Wolves, Hirelings, false-Prophets, Lyars, and all the names that hell could teach them, I waited in fear for the Judgments of the Lord; which he hath executed in our sight, and caused us to know, that his delayes are no desertions of his servants, nor justification of our revilers. And let it stand as a warning to *you* that have *seen* it, and *you* that have executed the punishments of God, upon the reproachers, that you take heed of falling into the same crime, and dashing on the rock on which they have been broken; but let all *England* hear and fear, and do no more so malignantly or presumptuously.

And O that we the unworthy Ministers of Christ may remember, that we are not vindicated and delivered to contend, or to imitate our afflictors, in seeking greatness to our selves, nor to live in idleness, and neglect the souls committed to our care.

7. It is very great cause of Thankfullness in my eyes, that from first to last God hath been so tender of the honour of his unanimous sober people, and his cause, and of the innocency and consciences of his

servants; as to execute his afflictions mostly by the hands of erring men; and to keep the rest by imprisonments, seclusions, and other means, so farre from all appearance of consent, to irregularities: and that at last he hath put an opportunity into their hands, to declare to the world, their innocency in the things, with which they were reproached: and that while prophane opposers of Religion, did boast and vapour, and swear, and curse, and drink healths for his Majesties restitution, it is *those whom they reproached*, that have *silently* and *effectually* accomplisht it, and that with *speed*, as soon as they had power.

8. It is some matter of Thankfullness to me, that whereas to our perpetuall shame, we could not in so many years compose the disagreements in Church affairs among us, we are not altogether without hope, that agreement may be now more effectually procured; not only because that carnall advantages, that hindred it with some, are taken from them, and suffering will dispose some more to peace; but because we are *perswaded* the *disposition*, and we are *sure* the *interest* of his Majesty standeth, for our reconciliation and unity. And verily we are the most inexcusable people in the world, if our own long and sad experiences do not resolve us to do the utmost in that work our selves, which if we are not horridly proud and wilfull, is easie to accomplish.

9. And its matter of Thanksgiving, that *God hath been all along so wonderfully seen in the work*; which makes us hope, that the issue will yet be for our good. The *first sparks* that set fire on the last foundation, are yet *much unknown*, but were *so little* as makes it  
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the more strange. The wonderfull whirlwind that suddenly finished the subversion, was marvellous, though sad, because of the wickedness of men. The introducing of the remnant of the Members; the stop that was given them, when they had voted in a Committee, a liberty in Religion, that excepted not Popery: the casting of them out, by those that set them up; the discoveries of the fallaciousness of some of their chiefs, that then were tempted into a compliance with the Army, and were fabricating a new form of a Commonwealth: the breaking of them and of the Army, in part by the returning Members: the unexpected stop that was given first to their proceedings by his excellency in the North: the expeditiousness, the constancy, the unanimity and strange successfullness of that attempt, that an Army that thought themselves only fit to be the Nations security for liberty and Religion, and were thought necessary to be entailed upon us to that end; that were so heightned in their own and other mens esteem, by their many and wonderfull successes, should in a moment (we scarce know how) fly all into pieces, as a Granado that's fired. That *Ireland* at the same time should be so strangely and easily reduced, and that by sober faithfull hands, and by so few, and with such speed! That this famous City should be so unanimously excited to concurre so eminently, and contribute so very much to the success: that his Excellency should conquer without any blows; and all be dispatched that since is done, with no considerable resistance; all this and much more, do make us wonder at the hand of God. And seldom is there so wonderfull an appearance of the Lord, but

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it holds forth matter that's *samiable* as well as *admirable* to his Church.

Lastly, That all this is done with little or no effusion at all of blood, when so much blood was shed in the foregoing changes, advanceth the wonder to a greater height. And I hope his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament will take notice, how God hath gone before them in a tender and unbloody change, and will not hearken to them that protest against *revenge*, while they would use it under the name of *justice*. When the wheel of providence turneth so fast, if all that have the advantage of executing their wils under the name of justice, should take their advantage, you know what *names* and *sufferings* multitudes of the usefulest Members in such Nations, in the severall vicissitudes must *incurr*, to the detriment of the Commonwealth and Governours.

3. You see what cause we have of thankfulness: but I must tell you that this (as all inferiour mercies) are imperfect things, and being but *meanes* to greater *matters*, (the heavenly interest first treated on) they are no further significant or valuable, then they have some tendency to their end. And I must further tell you, that it's much committed into the hands of man, (under God) whether such beginnings shall have a happy or unhappy end. If *Christ* become to many a *stumbling stone*, and be set for the fall of many in *Israel*, (Luk. 2. 34.) and if the Gospel it self prove the *savour of death* to some, no wonder if it be yet possible and too easie, for a sinfull Land, to turn these forementioned mercies and successes, into most heavy



heavy judgements, and to rob themselves of all the honour and the benefit. And therefore *above all*, for the Lords sake, and for a poor tired yet hoping Nations sake, and for the sake of the cause of Christ through the world, I beseech you, all from the highest to the lowest, that you will be awakened to an holy vigilancy, and look about you in your severall places, lest the enemy of Christ and you, should play his after-game more successfully then now you can foresee: and lest the return of a sinfull Nation to their vomit, should make the end yet worse than the beginning. It is not enough to have begun: the fruit of all is yet behind. I must here deal plainly with you, however it be taken, lest I be charged with unfaithfulness, at the dreadfull Tribunal to which both you and I are hastening. If these beginnings, through your neglects, or any others that have been the instruments, should now be turned to the reviving and strengthening of prophaneness, and malignity against the holy wayes of God; to the introduction of meer formality in Religion; to the casting out, or weakening the hands of the faithfull Ministers in the Land; to the destruction of order and Discipline in the Churches, to the suppression of orderly and edifying meetings for mutuall assistance in the matters of salvation; or to the cherishing of ignorance or Popery in the people; it will blast the glory of all that you have done, and turn the mercy into gall. Believe it, the interest of Christ and holiness, will be found at last the surest ground, for any Prince to build his interest upon: And the owning of corrupt and

contrary interests, that engage men in quarrels with the interest of Christ, is it that hath undone so many Princes and States already, that it should make the greatest learn at last, to account it their highest honour to be the servants of the King of Saints, and to devote their power to the accomplishment of his will. I need not tell you, that it's the sober, godly, conscionable sort of men, that know what they do, and why, that will be the honour of their Governours, and the usefulest of their subjects, and not the barbarous malignant rabble, that understand not what belongs to the pleasing of God, the happiness of themselves, the good of the Commonwealth, or the honour of their King. And do you not think that remissness (to say no worse) of Magistrates that should restrain the insolencies of such, is not a great dishonour to our Nation, and a great temptation to many in the Countrey, that stand at a distance from the fountain of affairs, to continue their fears lest we have changed for the worse? Put your selves in their cases, and tell me whether you could with equall cheerfulness keep this day, if you were used as many able, faithfull Ministers and people are in the Cities and Countreys of the Land, who have their persons assaulted, their windows battered, their ministrations openly reviled, and that go in danger of their lives, from the brutish rabble that were formerly exasperated by the Magistrates punishing them, or the Ministers reproof, or crossing them in their sins. As Physicians are judged of, not so much by the *excellency* of their *remedies*, as by their *success*, and the people think of them as they see the patients *live* or *die*; so will they do by your *great performances*

*formances* which you mention before the Lord this day. Should they prove to the *suppression of serious godliness*, and the *setting up of the wicked of the Land*, I need not tell you *what a name it will leave unto the actors to all generations*. But if you vigilantly improve them (as you have given us abundant reason to expect,) and the issue shall be *the healing concord of the Churches, the curbing of profaneness, the promoting of a plain and serious Ministry, and of the diligent service of the Lord*; this is it that will make your Names immortall that have been the happy instruments of so blessed a work! How joyfully then will the subjects commemorate, the happy introduction of their Sovereign? With what love and honour will they hear his Name? How readily will they obey him? How heartily will they pray for him? How precious will *your memory* be? and this will be numbered among the wonderfull deliverances of *England*. If Godliness be persecuted or made a common scorn in the Land, the holy God will vindicate his honour, and make their Names a scorn and curse that shall procure it. But if you exalt him, he will exalt you: Protect his Lambs and he will be your Protector. He is with you while you are with him, 2 Chron. 15. 2. *Those that honour him he will honour; and those that despise him shall be lightly esteemed,* 1 Sam. 2. 30.

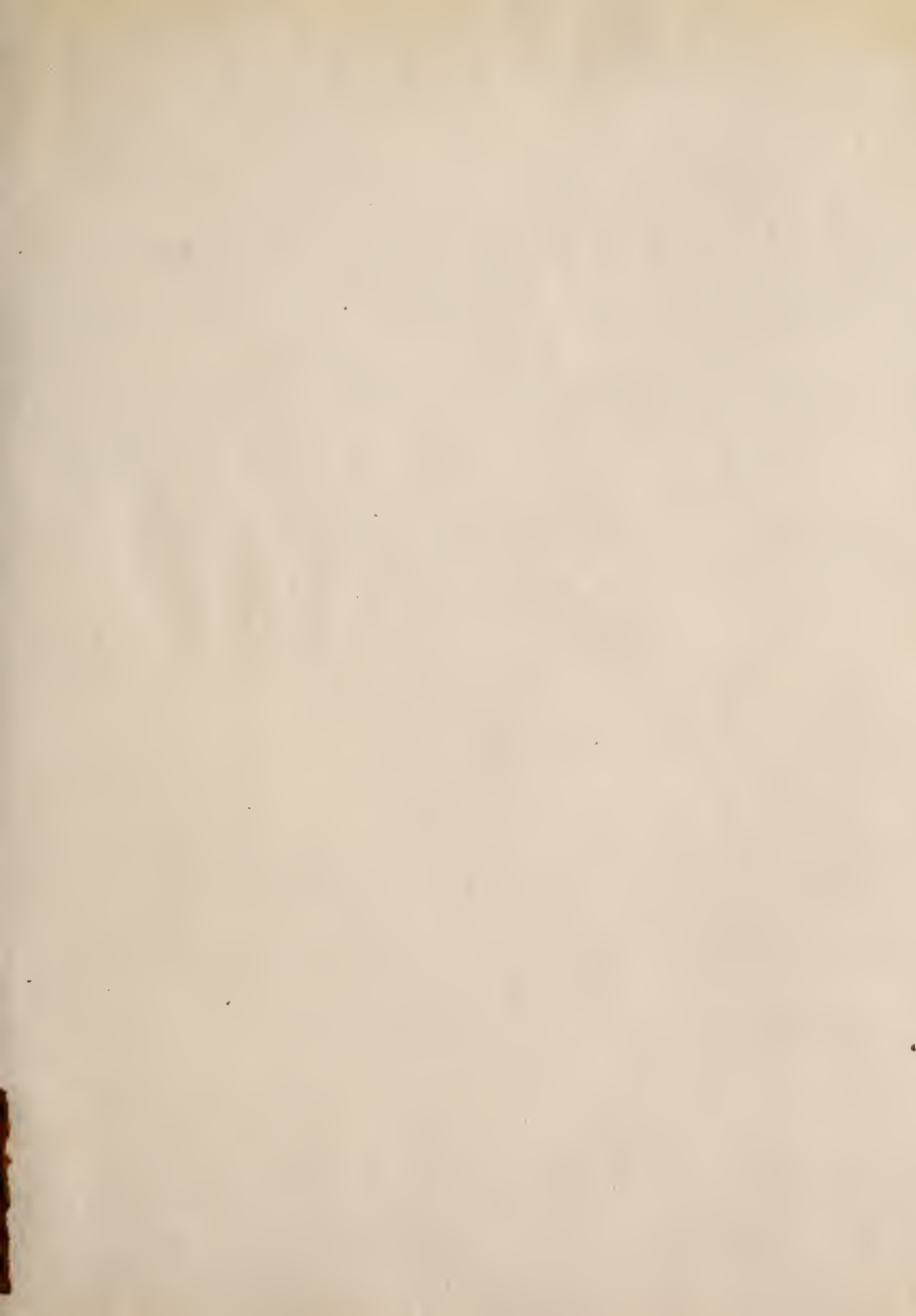
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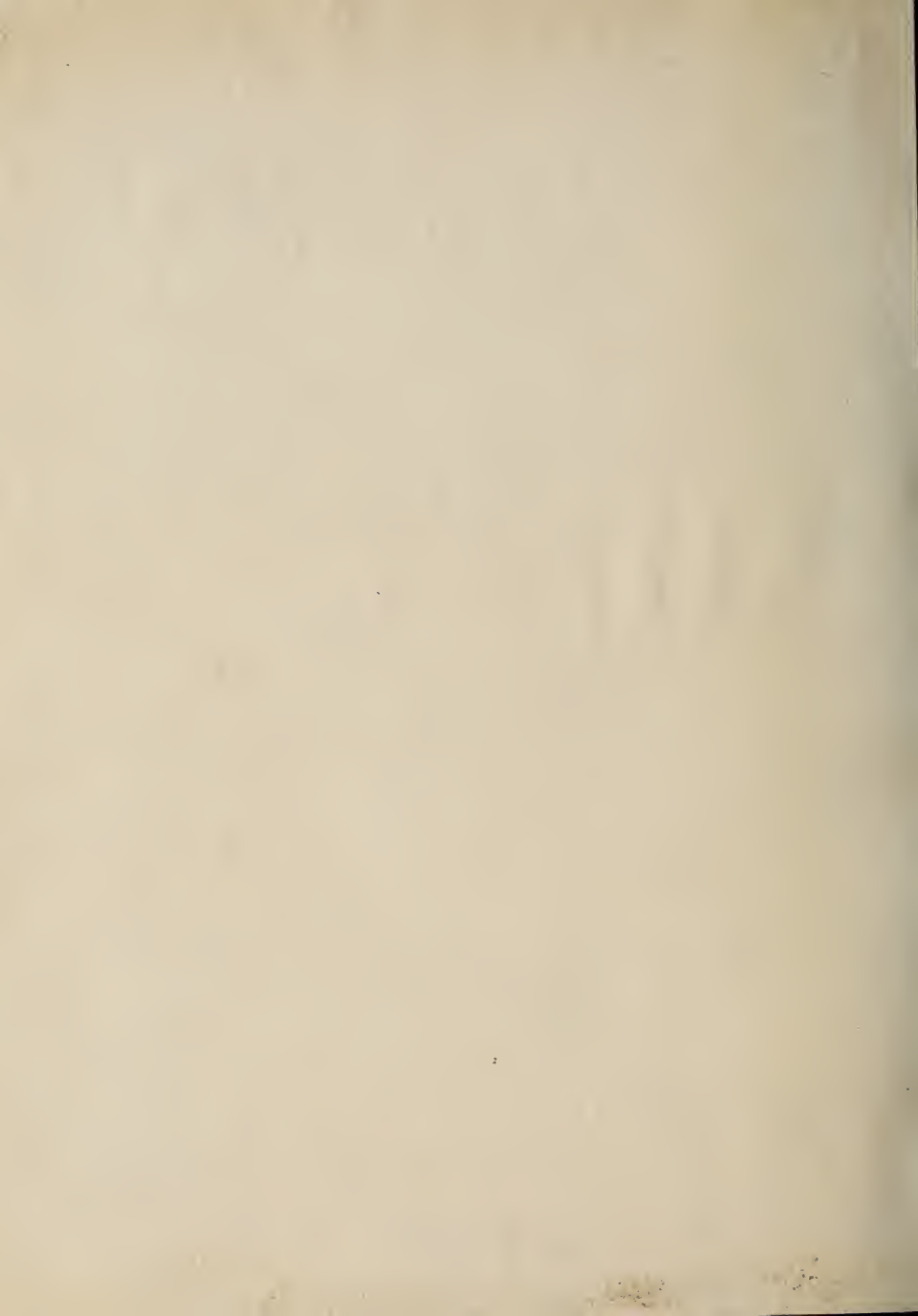
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Swallow 1660.

July.

| Days | The sun setteth. | Length of the day. |
|------|------------------|--------------------|
| 1    | 8                | 16 hou. 16         |
| 2    | 6                | 16 hou. 12         |
| 3    | 4                | 16 hou. 8          |
| 4    | 1                | 16 hou. 4          |
| 5    | 59               | 15 hou. 55         |
| 6    | 56               | 15 hou. 52         |
| 7    | 54               | 15 hou. 48         |
| 8    | 52               | 15 hou. 44         |
| 9    | 49               | 15 hou. 38         |
| 10   | 46               | 15 hou. 32         |
| 11   | 43               | 15 hou. 26         |
| 12   | 40               | 15 hou. 20         |
| 13   | 36               | 15 hou. 12         |
| 14   | 33               | 15 hou. 6          |
| 15   | 30               | 15 ho just         |

minutes  
past

minutes

Swallow 1660.

Here followeth the time of Sun-setting, and length of the day, in our latitude of Cambridge.

January.

| Days | The sun setteth. | Length of the day. |
|------|------------------|--------------------|
| 1    | 54               | 7 hou. 48          |
| 2    | 57               | 7 hou. 54          |
| 3    | 59               | 7 hou. 49          |
| 4    | 1                | 8 hou. 8           |
| 5    | 4                | 8 hou. 8           |
| 6    | 4                | 8 hou. 12          |
| 7    | 4                | 8 hou. 18          |
| 8    | 4                | 8 hou. 26          |
| 9    | 4                | 8 hou. 32          |
| 10   | 4                | 8 hou. 40          |
| 11   | 4                | 8 hou. 48          |
| 12   | 4                | 8 hou. 54          |
| 13   | 4                | 9 hou. 2           |
| 14   | 4                | 9 hou. 12          |
| 15   | 4                | 9 hou. 20          |

minutes  
past

minutes

Swallow 1660.

August.

| Days | The sun setteth. | Length of the day. |
|------|------------------|--------------------|
| 1    | 24               | 14 hou. 48         |
| 2    | 20               | 14 hou. 40         |
| 3    | 16               | 14 hou. 32         |
| 4    | 12               | 14 hou. 24         |
| 5    | 9                | 14 hou. 18         |
| 6    | 7                | 14 hou. 10         |
| 7    | 5                | 14 hou. 2          |
| 8    | 58               | 13 hou. 56         |
| 9    | 54               | 13 hou. 48         |
| 10   | 50               | 13 hou. 40         |
| 11   | 46               | 13 hou. 32         |
| 12   | 42               | 13 hou. 24         |
| 13   | 38               | 13 hou. 16         |
| 14   | 34               | 13 hou. 8          |
| 15   | 30               | 13 ho. just        |

minutes  
past

minutes

February

| Days | The sun setteth. | Length of the day. |
|------|------------------|--------------------|
| 1    | 45               | 9 hou. 30          |
| 2    | 49               | 9 hou. 38          |
| 3    | 53               | 9 hou. 44          |
| 4    | 56               | 9 hou. 52          |
| 5    | at 5             | 10 ho. just        |
| 6    | 4                | 10 hou. 8          |
| 7    | 5                | 10 hou. 16         |
| 8    | 5                | 10 hou. 24         |
| 9    | 5                | 10 hou. 32         |
| 10   | 5                | 10 hou. 40         |
| 11   | 5                | 10 hou. 48         |
| 12   | 5                | 10 hou. 56         |
| 13   | 5                | 11 hou. 4          |

minutes

minutes

September.

