THE

PREFACE

TO THE

READER.

§ I.

I am very sensible that this Memorial of Mr. Baxter, and his Historical Accounts of the Times which went over him, have been long expected and much desired by the World. And the greater the impatience, the more severely the delay is like to be resented. But he that well considers, 1. How profusely a great quantity of loose Papers relating thereunto came into my hands; all which were to be forred and reduced to their proper places. 2. How much other work was then incumbent on me. 3. How little my indulged and weak hand can write; (not an Octavo page in a competently great character in an hour). 4. How many uncomfortable Providences have since diverted me; and could not be done. 5. How much time the orderly disposition of his bequeathed Library to young poor Students, according to his Instructions on me, took up. 6. How much time my Ministerial Work required; together with the unavoidable removal of my Habitation and Meeting Place, and the Settling of my Congregation thereupon. He that (I say) well considers these things (and more that I could say), were it expedient so long to detain the Reader from the more profitable and delightful Entertainment of the Book it self) will at least abate his Cenfures, if not quite lay them by. However, I must and shall submit my self unto what Constructions the Reader shall think fit to make of my Apology for its delay so long.

§ II.

As to the Author of the ensuing Treatise, he appears Par negatio, as being very Sagacious, Observant, Impartial, and Faithful. The Things here treated on were Things tranflated in his day, quaeque ipse videbat; Et quorum pars magna fuit. Much he knew and felt, and was himself actively and passively concerned in, and the rest he was inquisitive after, observant of, and acquainted with. And being himself an hater of falf History, he gave the greater heed and diligence to enter into the depths and springs of what was in his day upon the Theatre of Action. Much he must be inform'd of by others necessarily: and yet he was greatly averse from the reception of things as true, upon too loose reports. He fanned Intelligence, and was not easily imposed upon, in things of moment. Credulity, Rashness, Partiality, and Perfidiousness, Ignorance and Injudiciousness do ill become Historians. Quis nescit, primam historia Legem esse, ne quid falsi dicere audat? deinde ne quid veri non audat? Nequaque sapiente gratia fit in feriendo? nequa simulatio? Cic.de Orat. lib.11. and he had reason for this thought in that (as the Lord Bacon well observes) the Examples of our Ancestors, the Vicissitudes of Affairs, the Grounds of Civil Prudence, and Mens Names and Reputations do depend upon the Knowledge, the Judiciousnes and Faithfulness of Historians. Diligent Searches, deep and wise Thoughts, faithful Representations and Reports, with honest Intentions, and generous Designs and Aims at Publick Good, render Mens Histories of Things and Persons (as influential upon others,) pleasant and advantageous. Every one is not fit to tell the World the History of his own Life and Times: Who liv'd therein: what Post and Station, Truth and Business, was their assigned Province: what Characters they bore through their deportment therein: what were the regent Principles, the genuine Spirit, and
The Preface to the Reader.

main End and Scope, of what they did: what they pretendedly or really design'd: what was the Conduct, Tendency and Result of their Conflicts and Actions: wherein they truly failed, and how, and why? Such things as these call for the greatest Clearness, Freedom and Sincerity, Pains and Judgment; and I may add, a great Concern for Publick Good, which is the loveliest Property, and clearest Symptom of a large and noble Soul. History should inform, admonish, instruct, and reclaim, reform, encourage Men that read it. And therefore they that write it should labour the doings, i.e. discern things Excellent, and those things in their difference each from other, and in their importance to the Reader; and so take care that nothing doubtful, false, impertinent, mean, injurious, cloudy, or needlessly provoking or reflecting be exposed to Publick View by them; nor any thing excessive or defective, as relating to the just and worthy Ends of History. The Author of the Subsequent History (now with God) had an Eagle's Eye, an honest Heart, a thoughtful Soul, a searching and considerate Spirit, and a concerned frame of Mind to let the present and succeeding Generations duly know the real and true state and issues of the Occurrences and Transactions of his Age and Day; and how much Judgment, Truth, and Candour appear in his following Accounts of Things, the Candid and Impartial Reader will easily and quickly be relieved about. Scandals arising from Ignorance and misreports of what related to our Church and State greatly affected his very tender Spirit; and the removal and prevention of them, and of what Guilt, Calamities and Judgments might or did attend those Scandals, was what induced Mr. Baxter to leave Puerility this History of his Life and Times.

§ III.

Memorable Persons, Confusion, Actions, and Events (with their respective Epochs, Succesions and Periods) are the Subject Matter of History: Propriety, clearness and vigour of Expression is what duly and gratefully represents the Matter to the Reader. Accurate Method gives advantage to the Memory, as well as satisfaction to the Judgment. The faithfulness, fulness, and freedom of relation conciliates a good Reputation to the Writer by its convincing Influences upon the Reader's mind; and thus it powerfully claims and extorts his Submission to the evident credibility of what he penes: and the weight and usefulness of the Things related makes the Reader serious, and concerned to observe what he reads: for finding the Matter great, the Expression proper and lively, the Current of the History orderly and exact, and the Purposes and Ends various and important which the History subserves, he accordingly values and uses it as a Treasure. And from thence he extracts such Maxims and Principles as may greatly bespeak him in every Exigence, and in every Station and Article of Truth and Concern, and Negotiation. History tells us who have been upon the Stage, how they came into Bishop's and Truth, what was the Compuls and Import of their Province, what they themselves therein signified to others; and what, others to them; and what all availed to Puerility, and how they went off, and to what Figure they most deferv'd to make in the Records of Time.

§ IV.

He that well considers the Nature of Man, his Relation to God, God's governing of Man, and the Conduct of Providence pursuant to God's concerns with Men, and their concerns with him, as also the Discipline and Interests of the Holy War with Satan, will read History with a finer Eye and to better purpose than others can. To cover, endeavour, and obtain ability and furniture from History, Philology, Divinity, &c. to minifter to discursive Entertainment, or Self-conceitedness, Ambition, Preenment, or Reputation with Men, is a design (when ultimate) to mean in God's Eye, to odious and noyfon to others, when by them disconsidered, and I uncomfortable and fatal to our selves when at last accounted for, as that no wise Man would terminate and center himself, or his Studies there. I have seen all sorts of Learning differently placed, used, and influed. I can stay patiently to see the last Results of all. I have seen Learning excellently implanted in a gracious heart: (So it was in Mr. Baxter, and in several Prelates, and Confomiffits and Non-confomiffits, and others: it is so at this day). I have seen it without Grace; or not so evidently under the influences and conduct of Grace, as I have greatly defined it might have been: and here what Partiality, Malignity, Faction, Domination, Superciliousness and Invective hath his History and other Learning ministr'd unto! Indeed sanctified Learning hath a lovely show: And the Learning of graceless Persons hath in many Instances and Evidences greatly befriended God's Interest in the Chriftian World. And
The Preface to the Reader.

And the Knowledge which could not keep some from doing Mischief in the World, and from their being fitted for Hell, and from drawing others after them thither; hath yet helped others to heavenliness and Heaven. But he that well considers what Man is to God, and God to Man; what an Enemy degenerate Man is to God and himself; what a state and frame and posture of War in hath put Men into, both against God, themselves, and each other; what an Enemy Satan is to all, and what advantages Sin gives him against us; and how Christ is engaged against Satan for us, as the Captain of our Salvation; and how he manages this War by his Spirit, Oracles, Ordinances, Officers, and under-Agents in Church and State, and by the Conduct of Providence over crowned Heads, Thrones, Senates, Armies, Navies, greater and less Communities, and single Persons; in all things done by them, for them, or upon them, or against them: how he uses, and influences the Faculties, Actions, Projects, Confederacies, and Interests of Men, by poising them, changing them, and turning them to his own purposes and praiseth; He, I say, that well attends to these things in his Historical Readings and Studies, will (to his profit and delight) discern God's Providence in and over the Affairs of Men to be expressive of God's Name, minifying to his avouched purposes, and a great Testimony to his Word and Son, and to his Covenant and Servants.

§ V.

And such a Person was the Reverend Author (and in part the Subject Matter) of the subsequent Treatise. He was an early Votary to his God: so early as that he knew not when God engaged him first unto himself. And hence he in great measures espoused those Evil Habits and Calamities which old Age ordinarily pays to dear for, though he lamented the carelessnes and intemperance of his first childish and youthful days. And if the Reader think it strange and mean, that these, and some other passages inferioris subtilis should be intermixt amongst so many things far more considerable, written by himself, and published by me, I crave leave to reply, 1. That Conscience is a tender thing, and when awakened, it accounts no sin small, nor any Calamity below most serious Thoughts and sensible and smart Remembrances, that evidently springs from the least Miscarriage, which might (and ought to) have been prevented. 2. That the apprehension of approaching Death made him feverer in his Sentiments and Reflections. 3. That he thence thought himself concerned and bound in duty to warn others against all which he thought or found to be prejudicial to his own Soul and Body. 4. That as mean passages as these are to be found in Ancient and Modern Lives and Histories, which pass not under rigid Cen- sures. 5. That the Author wrote this his History, Historia & projecta, and it was rather a Rhapsody than one continued Work. So that I hope that the obvious inequalities of Style and Matter, (or the Defects in accuracy of Method (much more the Errors of the Pres) will be no Scandal to the ingenuous and candid Readers. 6. And as to my suffering such things to be exposed to publick view; can any Man take it ill, that I give him what Mr. Baxter left with me to this end? and had I thought to have expunged some things, and to have altered others, I could not have laid as he himself did (in his Preface to the Lord Chief Justice Hale's Judgment of the Nature of true Religion) 'I take it as an intolerable Piaculum to put any altering hand of mine to the Writings of such a Man——But to pass by this——His feriousness in and about the greatest things, and his solicitous care to lay his own and others Souls, and his great zeal for Holiness, Truth, Concord and Peace amongst all Christians abroad, and in these Kingdoms, made him (when capable thereof) to mind how Matters flood bewixt God and us; and to enter into the Springs of Publick Affairs and Actions in Church and State: and to take notice of the Originals, Instruments, Principles, Progresses, Tracts, Traverses, and Refuits of Things. How Men were placed, inspired, influenced and engaged: and how herein they miniftred to the woes or welfare of the Publick, of themselves, and of Politerity. And very loth he was that all should be imposed upon and injured by partial or false History; and to become Deceivers or Deceived, and Scandalizers or Scandalized. He well considered what a fairfull History of his Times might import to all. And hence, having had much perfect understanding of all the Things here treated on, from the first, he thought it not amiss to write the chieft of them in order; that others might know the certainty of things, to the better institution of after Conduct and Deportment: and (if it may yet be) to call the Guilty of all Parties yet alive, to due Repentance, and Returns to God.
The Preface to the Reader.

§ VI.

The following History takes a considerable compass (from A.D. 1615. to 1684.) and it will entertain the Reader with no small variety of useful and delightful Matter. 1. You have here the History of God's early, kind, and powerful Dealings with himself, so as to enprinciple and train him up as a Christian: and how God touch'd and fix'd his Soul for himself in Christian Bonds. God cast that Mantle on him which made his heart to turn and stand towards him; and be most ambitious of, and solicitous about his pardon from, fellowship with, devotedness to, and living with God in the heavenly glory. Then God acquainted him with his natural, degenerate and lost self, till Christ by Grace befriended and relieved him. When making towards, and brought to Christ, he is presently and sensibly engaged in secret and open War with Satan and his own self. And here his Conflicts and Temptations are gradually and wisely ordered him, and let look upon him; but every way suited to his Strength and benefit. His Exercises were and must be such as shall put him to deep Thoughts, close Studies, strict Guards and Watchings, fervent Prayer, and a quick sense of the Neccessity of daily help from Heaven. And Satan is permitted to attack him in all the Articles of his Christian Faith, and in the Foundation of his Heavenly Hopes. He was so severely urged by Satan to Atheism, Scepticism, Infidelity, and followed with such perplexing Difficulties and amazing Intricacies about both Natural and Revealed Religion, as that he had concerned and earnest breathings after, value of, and resolution for full Satisfaction about both the Foundations and Superstructure of Religion. Slight Studies, precarious though confident Affections, the Publick Vogue and Suffrages of Men, Worldly Interests, Popular Applauses, and Fleemy Eale, could not do limits and to his inquisitive Mind and painful Searches. His Soul ever lay open to Evidence: His Eye was first upon the Matter to find out that: he then considered Words as the fit Portraiture of Things, and Representations of Humane Apprehensions to mutual Information about Things and Words. And when he observed Words to be so equivocal, and of such lax, uncertain fence, he was ever careful to give Expressions their strict and just Interpretations, and to be clear about the fixed sense of doubtful Terms. And from the accuracy of his Judgment, and fineness of his Thought, and from the impertinent Liberties of his Desires and endeavours to know Things clearly, orderly and distinctly, arose that multitude and variety of Distinctions (many whereof were thought unusual, though I never thought yet any of them useless and impertinent as improved by him) which usually accompanied his Discourses and Writings. But (to conclude this Head) clear knowledge of the Name and Kingdom of God in Christ, well grounded Faith, lively Hopes, rational Satisfaction about the Safety of his State and Soul, the Soundness and due Furniture of his Inner Man in order to his fulfilling after God and Christ, and an Exemplary Holy Life, an happy Death, a joyful Resurrection, there were the Pleasure, Ambition and Employment of his Life; as also to be found in Christ, and every way faithful and fruitful to him. And by what Instruments, Steps and Methods, God brought him hitherto, this following Account of his, from his own Pen will tell you. As also to what he ever had recourse for his own Personal Satisfaction and Redress, and how God exercised and used his Parts and Thoughts herein.

You have here the History of his Ministerial Self. God set upon his Soul, as one resolv'd to qualify and anoint it in no ordinary manner, for that Sacred Function, whereunto (after many Temptations and Attempts to fix him in some other Station and Employment, both from others and himself) by the Call and Conduct of his heavenly Mafter, he applied and kept himself at last. God throughly made him first to know the Soul which he had breathed into him, as to its Faculties, Capacities, Worth and Usefulness. God made him feel and mind that Body wherein this Soul of his was lodged; and wherein and how far his better Part might be helped or hinder'd thereby: and the two Worlds wherein both Soul and Body were related: and wherewith they were variously concerned. And in this World God fix'd him in such a Prospect of another, as made him intimately and sharply feel both what, and where, amidst what Circumstances, and to what purposes he here were a bode in painful, exercised and declining Flee. And all this gave him great Advantages and Inducements to deal more closely, skilfully, diligently, and constantly; and consequently with Souls, about their great Concerns. And what a Transcript God made him of what the Apostle speaks as to himself and Timothy, in Col. 1.25—29. the following History of his Kidderminster (and other) Labours and Successes in the Gospel, will convince you to great Satisfaction: as also of what Oppositions and Deliverances and Prefervations he met with there. And
The Preface to the Reader.

And you have here some Tales and Informations of his Thoughts and Studies; and of his Books and Letters to divers Persons, of different Stations and Quality, and also of what Pens and Spirits wrote against him. He was of such Repute and Figure in his day, as that many coveted to see his Face, to hear his Voice; and to receive his Resolution of weighty Cases of Confidence proposed to him. And in all this you will find that verified of him, which the Lord Bacon hath deliver'd from his Pen, viz. Much Reading makes Men full: Much Writing makes them judicious and acute: and much Conversation makes them ready. I have been amazed to see how hastily he turned over Volumes, how intimately he understood them, how strangely he retained his Reading, and how pertinently he could use it to every proposed Case. Men fayed not long for what they wrote to him about: and what he wrote was to great satisfaction and to the purpose. He wrote his Books with quick dispatch; and never, but when he thought them needful, and his duty then to write them. And when as the Reader well considers his Apology for his Books hereafter mention'd, let him but seriously weigh what is alleged, and accordingly form his Censure. His mentioned and recited Casualtiffal Letters and Books, favour at least of Thought and Pains; and perhaps the Reader's patient and attentive mind of both his mention'd Books and Letters will not be lost of time and pains. And though through too much haste and hasty lines, some few Escapes (perhaps inaccuracies) in the beginning may distaile his curious eye; yet a very few Pages following will yield him better Entertainment.

§ VII.

But the great things which are as the Spirit of this History, are the Accounts he gives of the Original Springs and Sources of all these Revolutions, Distractions and Disaffairs which happen'd from the Civil Wars betwixt King Charles the First, to the Restoration of Charles the Second, and what was Consequent after thereupon to Church and State. And here we shall find various and great Occurrences springing from different Principles, Tempers and Interests; directed to different Ends, and resolved into different Events and Issues. The Historian endeavours to be faithful, candid, and severe. Nothing of real serviceable Truth would he conceal. Nothing but what was influential on, and might, or did affect the Publick Interest would he expose to Publick View. Nothing that might be capable of candid Interpretation or Allay, would he severely cenfure. Nothing notoriously criminal, and fatal to the Common Good would he pass by without his just Remonstrations of it, and severe Reflections on it. As to his immediate Personal acquaintance with; or knowledge of the things reported by him, I know no further of that, than as he himself relates. As to what he received from others by Report, how far his Information was true or false, I know not. Indeed I wrote (with tender and affectionate respect and reverence to the Doctor's Name and Memory) to Madam Owen to desire her to send me what she could, well attested, in favour of the Doctor, that I might insert it in the Margent, where he is mentioned as having an hand in that Affair at Wallingford House; or that I might expunge that passage. But this offer being rejected with more contemptuously and smartness than my Civility deserved, I had no more to do than to let that pass upon Record: and to rely upon Mr. Baxter's report, and the concurrent Testimonies of such as knew the Intreagues of those Times. Yet that I might deal uprightly and upon the square, I have mention'd this (though obiter) to tell my Respects to him with whom I never was but once: but I was treated by him then with very great Civility indeed.

§ VIII.

I cannot deny but it would have been of great advantage to the acceptableness and usefulness of this Book, had it's Reverend Author himself reviv'd, compleated, and corrected it, and published it himself. I am sure it had mislaid more abundantly to my satisfaction: for I neither craved nor expected such a Truth and Legacy as his Manuscripts. Nor knew I any thing of this his kind purpose and will, till two or three days before he dyed. My Heart akes exceedingly at every remembrance of my incumbent Truth: and at the thoughts of my Account for all at last. I am deeply sensible of my inability for such Work; even to discouragement, and no small Conternation of Spirit. I want not apprehensions of the Pardon which I shall need from God, and Candour from Men, both which I humbly beg for as upon the knee. I know the heart and kindness and clemency of my God through Jesus Christ: But I know not yet what Men will think, speak, write concerning me. God speak to Men for me, or give me Grace and Wisdom to bear and to improve
The Preface to the Reader.

I had neither time nor strength to attend the Pref., so as to inspect the Impression sheet by sheet; and thereupon I trusted to the promised Care of the Book-sellers: but I found upon review the Errata to be more numerous and gross by far than ever I expected. But if the Candid Reader will correct the Errata, as they are rendered corrigible to his view, I shall think my self greatly obliged to him. But if the Reader’s first Historical Salute displeaſe him, as being much beneath his expected Entertainment, one hour’s reading I hope he will find to be the utmost Exercise of his Patience, from the meanness of the Matter at his Entrance into the Book.

II. As to the Author’s ordering and digesting of his own Memoirs, a Rhapsody it now appears; and as to method and equality of Style, somewhat below what curious Readers might expect; yea, and from what it had been, had it but passed the Author’s stricter Thoughts and View. Yet we shall find the History greatly useful, though not exactly uniform; nor is it so confused, as to be incapable of easie References and Reductions to such proper Order as may best please the Reader: if the Design be clear and worthy, viz. to let in open Light the degenerate Age he lived in: the magnanimitas of Grace and Providence as to himself: his Self-centurings on all occasions: Caution and Conduct unto others: and tracing all Events to their genuine Sources and Originals, the judicious Reader will improve such things. There were several Papers looſely laid, which could not easily be found, when needed. And the defectiveness of my very much declining Memory, made me forget (and the more because of hafte and busines) where I had laid them after I had found them. And some few Papers mention’d, and important here, are not yet found, though search’d after; which yet hereafter may be brought to light amongst some others, intended for the Publick View, if God permit. The Reverend Author wrote them at several times, as his other Work and Studies, and frequent Infirmities would admit of. And he was more intent upon the Matter than the Method: and finding his Evening Shadows growing long, as the Prefage of his own approaching and expected Change, he was willing (through the importunity of his Friends) to haften the compleating of his Works before he died. And he had rather that the Work was done somewhat imperfectly, than not at all. It is true indeed, that he hath left us nothing of the last Seven years of his Life, gave his Apology for his accused Paraphrase and Notes on the New Testament, for which he was so fiercely prosecuted, imprisioned, traduced and fined. And though some pressed me to draw up the Supplemental History of his Life, yet the wish that I could consult advised me to the contrary: and I did take their counsel to be right and good; for I well knew my self very unable to do that uniformly with the rest; and I was not inclined to obtrude upon the World what was not Mr. Baxter’s. Precarious Reputation I affect not. That Fame cannot be rightfully my own which is not deriv’d by me. And if this Preface and my subjoined Sermon be but candidly received, or moderately cenfur’d, and any way tributary to the Reader’s benefit, I shall rejoice therein, and not expect his undervelved Commendation.

III. I am well aware (and think it worth my while to take notice) of several Things which may awaken Prejudice, Cenſure, Difpleasure, and occasion (if not caufe) Objections and Offence, as to the Treatise and my self; which I would obviate and prevent (at leaft allay) if possible. I neither love to kindle Flames, nor to enrage them, nor to contribute the least breath or fwell to them. I am for Faithfulness and Truth in the foftest fitle and way confident with the Ends and Interest thereof. Flattering Titles and needleſs Pungencies I diflaft. What was the Author’s, is not mine. To publish is not always to affent. And if Modesty and Self-diffidence do make me refrain from Cenſures and Corrections and Explications, can that be esteemed culpable? Especially when it is vel fele Meridiano clarum, to both my self and every Man, how much my Knowledge, Parts, Judgment, Holiness and Advantages to know what he Reports and Cenſures, come short of what his were. Most of the Person (if not well nigh all) cenſured by him, were altogether unknown to me: Nor do I find them all, or many, mentioned by him as utterly ungodly or undone. But as far as Miscarriages or Neglects upon the Publick Stage did minifter to Supplication, and (to the prejudice thereof) affect the Publick Interest; so far they are remarke’d by him with repentment. If justly, the Equity will justify the Cenſure; and evidently shew how much the Interest of Church and State lay nearer to, and more upon his Heart than private Friendship or
or Concerns. But if unjustly, it is the undoubted right and duty of those that can, to clear the Cenured from all their undue Imputations and Aspersions; and could I do it for them, my Obligations to, and value for this quodam excellent Historian and Divine, should not prevent my utmost cordial Engagements in that matter, namely, to wipe of all Aspersions from the Innocent, or to abate and lessen them, as far as they are capable duly of Allays. But let me meet the Reader with these cautionary offers.

1. Perhaps it may be thought unmeet by some that a Divine should turn Historian. Anw. i. Why not as well as Grotius, Du Plessis, Laflitius, &c. yea, and King James the First meddle with writing about Sacred Things. (2.) Mr. Baxter was neither ignorant of, nor unconcerned in, nor unfit for such a Work as this; who knew him better than he knew himself? or did more intirely search into Affairs? or lay under greater Advantages for pious and just Informations? (3.) He had no Advantages, nor heart for Gain or Honour by this his Undertaking. It is known he hath reliev'd Preferment, even by King Charles the Second, but fought for none. (4.) Writing of Histories rather refer to Abilities than to Office. Men may not govern Kingdoms, Cities, nor Societies, till called thereto by Solemn Designation, nor they never so thoroughly qualified; nor can they administer in Publick Worship till called thereto by Solemn Ordination, or as Probationers in order to that Office. But Men may write for God and Common Good if they be able lo to do. For their Abilities, Opportunities, and Capacity for Publick Service, are a Call sufficiently and safely to be depended on. (5.) The Author's Modesty, Humility, and well known Self-denial, and evident Remonstrances from all Pragmatical and Affectation, may well prevent Suspicion of his Exorbitancy in this his Enterprise. And (6.) his great Ability and Concern to serve the Publick Interest, when as all possible help was needful, requisite and grateful, may well impel such bold Resolves upon his Undertaking. Who lays for a particular Commission to extinguish Flames, or to give needful Informations of inflant Dangers, or of necessary Conduct, when great Calamities or Miscarriages cannot otherwise be prevented?

2. It is not impossible that some will judge him too impudent and unworthy in branding Persons with such ungrateful Characters, as do so evidently expose the Memory of the Dead and Living, or their Puerilities, and intimate to disgrace. But (1.) Matters of Fact notoriously known are speaking things themselves; and their Approbation or Dislike from others should be as Publick as the Things themselves. Matters of Publick Evidence and Influence are as the Telts of Publick Sentiments, and of the prevailing temper of those Communities wherein such things were done. And can Civilities of Conversation, or Intelleil, or Personal Respectfulness and Tenderness, be an Equivalent with God, to what is expected by him from Bodies Politick, or from his faithful Servants in them. (2.) The Author blames himself as freely, and as publickly confeffeth, and blames his own Miscarriages, as he doth any other. (3.) He spares no Man nor Party, which he fhew culpable, and verily thought reprovable on just grounds. Nor is he sparing of his Commendations, nor of moderating his Reprehensions, where he saw the Cafe would bear it. (4.) He was far from Partiality, and addictedness to any Party. Good and Evil, Truth and Falldhood, Faithfulness and Perfidiousness, Wiltom and Folly, Considerateness and Temperance, &c. they were respectively commended or displeased wherever they were found. (5.) Though Oliver Cromwell, once Protector, Dr. Owen, and others, seem to be sharply cenfur'd by him, in the thoughts of those that valued them; yet let the affigned Reasons be confidered by the Reader, and let him fairly try his own strength in either difapproving the Matters of Fact, and to impeach the Truth of the History: or in justifying what was done, and to implead the Criminal Charge; or in allaying the Centlure by weighing well how much of their reported or arraigned Miscarriages may and ought to be ascribed to meer Infirnity or Miftake; or by preponderating their cenfur'd Crimes, with other worthy Deeds and Characters,juftly challenging Commendations. For as to Oliver Cromwell, what Apprehensions and Inducements governed him, and what hold they took upon his Confience, and how far he acted in faithfulness thereto, as in designed reference to God's Glory, to the Advancement of Religion, to the Redemption of the debauched Age, and to the Prefervation of these Kingdoms from Popery, Slavery, and Arbitrarines (the general Fear and Plea of these Kingdoms at that time,) whether without or with good ground, let others judge is not for me here to determine. I have heard much of his Personal and Family Strictness and Devotion:
Of his Appeals to God for the Sincerity of his Designs and Heart, from some who have heard him make them as they have credibly told me: Of his Encouragement of serious Godliness, and of the great Discouragement which Irreligion and Prophaneness and Debauchery ever met with from him. These Things were good and great. But from what Principles they came, and by what right from God and Man they were his Rectorial Province, and to what ultimate End he really did direct them; these Things require deeper Thoughts than mine, in order to a sober Judgment on them. It is more than I can do to vindicate his Right to Govern, and to beheld our King, and to keep out another——but I am always glad of any thing which may allay the Guilt of Men: though I had rather find no Guilt (nor any appearance or suspicion of it) that shall need Charity or Industry to extinguish or allay it. God grant these Kingdoms greater Care and Wisdom for time to come; and cause us to fit peaceably, orderly, obediently, submissively and thankfully under the gracious Government of King William our present rightful and lawful Sovereign, in so great a Mercy to these Kingdoms, whom may the most high God long preserve, conduct, and greatly prosper. (6.) As to the Relatives and under Agents of Oliver Cromwell, I offer these things: 1. The Author would not charge them with what they never did. 2. Their Disadvantages through the Exigencies, Influences, and Temptations of their Day ought to be well considered, lest otherwise Men be intemperate and excessive in their censorious Reflections on them. Things now appear (perhaps) in a far clearer Light than heretofore. 3. Inflant Necessities may admit of greater Pleas; and Men at a greater distance may not so fairly judge of present Duty or Expediency. And 4. there is undoubtedly such a thing as interpretative Faithfulness and Sincerity, which to far cheers Men's hearts, and spirit resolution and appeals to God, although the Principles which bear Men up herein may be, and frequently are erroneous, and but mere Miltakes. 5. We know not all that Men can say, when calmly heard and fairly dealt with, for their own cenured Actions, by way of Apology or Defence. 6. We must consider our own selves as in this World and Body; and as liable to equivalent (if not the same) Dangers and Temptations. The fence and provident reach of that Divine Advice, Gal. 6. 1. is vastly great, and greatly useful, and would prevent rigid Constructions if well attended to. 7. Oliver Cromwell's Progeny (those that are yet alive) are chargeable no further with his Crimes than they are approved by them: and this I never heard them charged with since 60. I know them not: but I have been told that they are serious, peaceable, useful, commendable Persons, and make a lovely Figure in their respective, though more private Stations. 8. As to Dr. Owen, 1. It is too well known (to need my proof) how great his Worth and Learning was. How soft and peaceable his Spirit, for many of his last years, if credible Fame bely him not. And 

The Preface to the Reader.
The Preface to the Reader.

impartial Debates about things controverted, addicted us to Self-Interest and Reputation with our respective Parties, impatience of severe Thoughts and Studies; and of impartial Consideration before we fix and pass our Judgment, taking things too much on Trutl, Prejudic against those whole Sentiments are different from our own, laying too great a weight upon eccentrical and meaner things, prying too boldly into, and talking too confidentially about things unrevealed, or but darkly hinted to us in the Sacred Text, and representing the Doctrine of our Christiainity in our own Artificial Terms and Schemes, and so confusing the Interest, Grace, and Heart of God and Christ to our respective Parties: as if we had forgot, or had never read Rom. 14. 17—19. Acts 10. 34, 35. Gal. 6. 14—16. and Eph. 4. 1—6. That Peron whom Thoughts, Heart and Life shall meet me in the Spirit and Reach of 2 Pet. 1. 1—11. shall have my hearty Love and Service, although he determine never to hear me Preach, or to Communicate with me all his days, through the Impression of his Education or Acquaintance; through the same time I should be lost that such a narrow Thought should be the Principle, Poise and Conduct of my Church Fellowship, Spirit, or Behaviour. God hath, I doubt not, his eminent and valuable Servants in all Parties and Persuasions amongst Christians. An heavenly mind and Life is all in all with me. I doubt not but that God hath many precious faithful Ones amongst the Men called Independent, Presbyterians, A. nabapists, Prelatical — And I humbly judge it reasonable that (1.) The Mifcarriages of former Parties be not imputed to succeeding Parties who own not, nor abet their Principles as productive of such practical Enormites. (2.) That the Misencarrages of some particular Persons be not charged on the rest, until they prove or manifest their Approbation of them. (3.) That what is repented of and pardoned, be not to received as to foment Divisions and Recriminations. (4.) That my trufl from Mr. Baxter, and faithfulness to him, and to Posterity, be not confruned as the Result of any Spleen in me against any Peron or Party mentioned in this following History. (5.) And that we all value that in one another, which God thinks lovely where he forms and finds it. And 6, O Utinam! that we form no other Telf and Canon of Christian Orthodoxy and Saving Soundness, and Christian Fellowship, than what the Sacred Scriptures give us as Explicatory of the Christian Baptifmal Creed and Covenant, as influencing us into an holy Life, and heavenly Hopes and Joys. I thought once to have given the World a faithful Abstract of Mr. Baxter’s Doctrines or Judgment, containing the Sence of what he held about Justification, Faith, Works, &c. and yet laying aside his Terms of Art: that hereby the Reader might discern the Conjonancy of it to the Sacred Text, and to the Doctrinal Confessions of the Reformed Churches; his Confinement with himself, and his nearer approach in Judgment to those from whom he seems to differ much, than the prejudiced Adversaries are aware of. But this must be a Work of Time, if not an Enterprize too great for me, as I jutly fear it is. But I will do by him as I would do by others, and have them do by me, viz. give him his owned Explication of the Baptifmal Creed and Covenant, as a fit Telf to try his Judgment by; and if his Doctrines in his other Treatises conftit herewith, others perhaps will fee more Caufe to think him Orthodox in the most weighty Articles, and lefs to be suspected, notwithstanding his different Modes of Speech.

The Things professedly believed by him (as may be seen in his Christian Concord) were,

T

Hat there is one only God: The Father, Infinite in Being, Wisdom, Goodness, and Power: the Maker, Preserver, and Disposer of all things; and the most just and merciful Lord of All.

That Mankind being fallen by Sin from God and Happiness, under the Wrath of God, the Curse of his Law, and the Power of the Devil, God so loved the World, that he gave his only Son to be their Redeemer: who, being God, and one with the Father, did take to him our Nature, and became Man, being conceived of the Holy Ghost in the Virgin Mary, and born of her, and named JESUS CHRIST: and having lived on Earth without Sin, and wrought many Miracles, for a witnesse of his Truth, he gave up himself a Sacrifice for our Sin, and a Ransom for us, in suffering Death on the Crois: and being buried, he is Lord of all in Glory with the Father. And having ordained that all that truly repent, and believe in him, and love him above all things, and sincerely obey him, and that so the
The Preface to the Reader.

Death shall be saved, and they that will not shall be damned, and commanded his Ministers to preach the Gospel to the World: He will come again and raise the Bodies of all Men from Death, and will see all the World before him to be judged, according to what they have done in the Body: and he will adjudge the Righteous to Life Everlasting, and the rest to Everlasting Punishment; which shall be executed accordingly.

That God the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of the Father and the Son, was sent from the Father by the Son, to inspire and guide the Prophets and Apostles, that they might fully reveal the Doctrine of Christ; and by multitudes of Evident Miracles, and wonderful Gifts to be the great Witness of Christ and of the Truth of his Holy Word: And also to dwell and work in all that are drawn to believe, that, being first joined to Christ their Head, and into one Church which is his Body, and so pardoned and made the Sons of God, they may be a peculiar People sanctified to Christ; and may mortify the Flesh, and overcome 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 Christ's Coming, and of Everlasting Life.

In the belief hereof the Things consented to were as followeth:

That he heartily took this one GOD, for his only G D, and his chief Good: and this J ESUS C RIST for his only Lord, Redeemer, and Saviour, and this HOLT GHOST for his Sanctifier: and the Doctrine by him revealed, and sealed by his Miracles, and now contained in the Holy Scriptures, be took for the Law of God; and the Rule of his Faith and Life: And repenting unfeignedly of his Sins, he did resolve, through the Grace of God, sincerely to obey him, both in Holiness to God, and Righteousness to Men, and in special Love to the Saints, and in Communion with them: against all the Temptations of the Devil, the World, and his own Flesh; and this to the Death.

If therefore these things were Believed and Consented to by him; and if these things do effectuate our Saving Christianity, and so be sufficient to make us all one in Christ, why should some different Modes and Forms of Speech, wherewith these great Substantials may and do conflict, obtain of Men to think him Heterodox, because he useth not their Terms? And why should such Difiances and Difcord be kept up amongst us, whilst we all of us own all the forementioned Articles, and are always ready (on all sides) to renounce whatever Opinions shall appear to overthrow or shake such Articles of Faith, and Coveningant Terms with God and Christ? And I cannot but believe that all Christians seriously bound for Heaven, and that are fixed upon these Truths, are nearer each to other in their Judgments than different Modes of Speech seem to represent them. Of such great Consequence is true Charity and Candour amongst Christians.

3. The Reverend Prelates, and the Ministers and Members of the Church of England, may possibly diffute his plainness with them, and think him too severe upon them: But 1. they are no Strangers to his professed and exemplified Moderation. Who valued their Worth and Learning more than he did? Who more endeavoured to keep up Church Communion with them, by Pen, Discourse and Practice, though not exclusively? Who more sharply handled, and more thoroughly wrote against, and reprehended total Separation from them than himself? And what Difterent from them ever made fairer and more noble Overtures, or more judicious Proposals for a large and lasting Comprehension with them, than they knew he did? And who more fairly warned them of the difmal Consequences and calamitous Effects of so narrowing the Church of England by the strict Acts procured and executed against so many peaceable Ministers, who thereby were silenced, imprisoned, discouraged and undone? And how many Souls and Families were ruined and scandalized by their imposed Terms, another (and that a solemn and great) Day will shew e're long. 2. Our Author never yet endeavoured to unchurch them, nor to eclipse their Worthies: nor did he ever charge their great Severities on them all. He ever would acknowledge (and he might truly do it) that they had great and excellent Men, and many such amongst them, both of their Laiy and Clergy. 3. He thought (what I am satisfied is true) that many of them little knew who and what was behind the Curtain, nor what designed nor great Services were doing to France and Rome hereby. 4. And his great Sufferings from them may well (even as other things) abate their Centuring (if not prevent too
The Preface to the Reader.

too keen Refentions) of these Historical Accounts of them. 5. And to leave these things out was more than Mr. Baxter would allow me, or admit of. Pardon one who acts by Order, not of Choice.

4. That such copious and prolix Discourses should be here inserted about Things faster for oblivion than to be remembered, may seem liable to Exceptions and Diftrust from some; viz. such Discourses as respect the Solemn League and Covenant, the Oxford Act, &c. Things now abandon'd and repealed by Act of Parliament for Liberty of Conscience. But 1. those preffing Acts are yet upon Record, and fo, exposed to the view of Men, from Age to Age. 2. They reprefent Diffenters as an intolerable Seed of Men. 3. All Readers will not readily discern what here is faid by way of Apology for thofe of whom fuch Acts took hold. 4. Hereby Diffenters will appear to all succeeding Generations, as a People worthy of nothing but National Severities and Restraints. Whence 5. their Enemies will be confirmed in their groundlefs Thoughts and Cenfures of them. 6. This will not lead to that Love and Concord amongst all Protestants which God's Laws, and the Publick Interêft and Welfare of Church and State require. 7. Those things abode fo long in force, and to fuch fatal dreadful purpofe, as that the Effects thereof are felt by many Families and Persons to this day. 8. And all this was but to difcharge fome, of no small Figure in their Day, from all Obligations to perform what had been Solemnly vowed to God. Surely fuch as never took that Covenant could only difclaim all Obligations on themselves to keep it, by virtue of any fuch Vow upon themselves: but to difcharge thofe that had taken it, from what therein they had vowed to God to do (till God himfelf discharge them, or that it be evident from the intrinsic unalterable Evil of the Matter vowed, that no fuch Vow fhall f tand is more than I dare undertake to prove at prefont, or to vindicate in the great Day. However, a Man's own Latitude of Pefervation cannot, as fuch, abufe another, nor eo nomine, be another's Rule or Law. But 9. if thefe long Discourses be needful, pertinent, clear, and strong, as to the State of that Affair, their length may be born with. 10. The Author thought it needful to have this fet in the clear open Light, to difabufe all that had been impoited on, by false, or partial and defective History in this Matter; and to remove, or prevent, or alay Scandal and Cenfure for time to come. 11. And if fuch things be also published to make our felves and others, fill more sensible of what we owe to God, and to our moft gracious King (and his late Sovereign Confort, and our then moft gracious Queen Mary, not to be paralleld in any History that I know of, by any of her Sex, for All truly Royal Excellencies) and to his Parliament, who have fo much obliged us with freeing us from thofe fo uncomfortable Bonds; what Fault can be imputed to the Publisher herein? Shall Gratitude be thought a Crime, though more copious in the Materials of it, than may every confift with the stricter Bounds of Accuracy? 12. I am apt to think (and not without cogent ground) that very many Readers (now and hereafter) would (with the Author) have thought me unfaithful to themfelves and him, had I not transmitted to Posterity what he left, and as he left it for theirufe. And I hope therefore that the Reader will not interpret this Publication as the Product of a Recriminating Spirit. God himfelf knows it to be no fuch Birth.

Thirdly, The Publication.

1. The Author wrote it for this End. 2. He left it with me to be published after his Death. 3. He left it to the Judgment of another and my felf only, by a Writing ordered to be given me after his Death, as my Directory about the Publication of his other Manuscripts, which are many, and of moment. And if the refit enfhrined with me about their being printed (one or two of which he ordered me to choose ad libitum, as fitly suppoing all might not be at leisure) shall think fit (of whole content I nothing doubt) you may expect a confiderable Volume of Letters by way of Epiftolar Intercourse betwixt him and Mr. Lawfon, Mr. Burgoft, Mr. Vines, Mr. Gataker, Mr. W. the Lord Chief Justice Hales, Mr. Samuel Jacobs, Mr. Dodwell, his dear Flock and Friends at Kidderminster, with feveval others. These Letters are Polemical, Caffiffical, and Practical. Some are Monitory and Reproving: but their Names forbidden to be mentioned. Which Order shall faithfully be by me observed; Non enim me minus obsequi quam illum consiliij primam. If we may find Encouragement, I doubt not of the Reader's confiderable Satisfaction and Advantage. But (to return to where I left) 4. He had neither
The Preface to the Reader.

neither Time nor Strength to finifh it; nor to correet it with his own Hand. Such therefore as it is, you have it. 5. He brought it down (not long before he died) to publish it, but upon second Thoughts he changed that purpose, as his Bookeller since his Death affured me. 6. I have reason to think that the Author had some thoughts to have made further Progres in this History, but that other Things divertted him therefrom, till his Death at last made that impossible.

Singula quid referam, nil non mortale tenemus;
Peculis, Exceptis ingeniiique, bonis.

Ovid. de Trift. Elig. vii.

Fourthly, As to my self.

When I came up to London, Anno Dom. 1671. I was brought into Acquaintance with Mr. Baxter, by my dear and intimate Friend Mr. Joseph Trueman ( 5 Maza-
ei-us ) who it seems, unknown to me, had told Mr. Baxter concerning me, more than I ever expected or desired. And so great was Mr. Trueman's Reputation with Mr. Baxter, as to conciliate that regard to his Character of me, which greatly promoted my Intimacy, and my more free and frequent Conversation with him ever after. Hereupon Mr. Baxter wrote to a worthy Perfon to seek me out, and to bring me ( a perfect Stranger in the City ) into Acquaintance and Employment: which accordingly was done. And some short time after Mr. Baxter and my self met together upon Miniflerial Employment somewhat frequently, to mutual Satis-
faction and reciprocal Endeavours; God speaking to his Heart for me. The Lord impuute not to me so small Improvement of that so great Advantage. I never was deny'd admission to him, when defired by me: And many Secrets he committed to me relating to his Soul and Secular Affairs, which have been, are, and shall be such God willing, whilst I live: for I take it to be finful to betray a Secret, unless Concealment be injurious to the Publick, or to another Perfon. And in that cafe I will never ( as I think I never have done to the bent of my remembrance ) promise Secrecy: for I think it safe, and no way capable of Vin-
dication, to serve one Friend so as unjustly and unworthily to differe another. At laft it pleased God to call my Lot upon Copartnership with him in Miniflerial Work in Charterhouse-yard, in my own Dwelling-house there; which he the rather complied with becaufe of the vicinity of our Refpective Habitations. He would not meddle with the Pastoral Work; but would stile himfelf ( when somewhat pleafant ) my Curate; but he would take no Money of me for his pains: but oft and freely profef his Satisfication in his Conjuncion with me, and in the ferior and moderate temper of my Flock. And I know none beyond them for Peace and Love and Candour. He was greatly solicitous about my Subfistence and Encouragement after his Death. And not long before his Exit he drew up a Pa-
per to have been read to the Congregation, to have procured me some generous Subscriptions from them for one year, besides what they usually allowed me An-
nually; and to excite others thereunto, he Subscribed Ten pounds for himfelf. He defigned it to have been propofed and effectedit when I was in the Country; but coming to the knowledge of it, I put it by; which he diffaflted not a little. However, I am for making the Gospel and my Miniftry as little chargeable as I can: for I feek not theirs, but theirs: and having Food and Raiment, I can be therewith Content. My Congregation is but small: but they are worthy of a far better Palfor than my felf. And they are kinde to me, rather beyond, than at the rate of their Ability. And I have found God's Blessing on what they have al-
low'd me. And I find my Labour not in vain amongt them.

§ IX.

No Man can justly wonder that he escaped not the Scourges of Tongues and Pens, and the bold Strokes of Calumny, who well considers Humane Degene-
racy, Satan's Malignity, the Dulness of some, the Rashnels of others, the Cre-
dulity of others, the Narrownels of others, the Imperfections of himfelf, and of all, the Entertainments of God's chioceft Favourites and Servants upon Record from
The Preface to the Reader.

from Age to Age; and the vast Reaches and Designs of Providence in all. Could I but peifwade the Reader to read and paufe upon fonie Inftances upon Record in Sacred Writ, as being lafit liable to Exception (though many might be produced from Ancient and Modern Histories) he might there by at leaft prevent considerably his being Scandalized by the many Obloquies that come from incon- fiderate and malignant Men. What Man of Worth could or did ever yet abso- lutely efcape being traduced by fome or other? See Jer. 15, 10. and 20. to. Neb. 2. 19. and 6. 6. 7. Gen. 39. 14. 1 Sam. 22. 9 — 15. 2 Sam. 16. 3. Amer 7. 10. 11. Matth. 26. 61. Acts 24. 5 — 9. and 18. 13. Rom. 3. 8. If greater Perfons (fuch as Joseph, Nebemia, Jeremiah, Daniel, Chrift, and his Apoftles, and David him- felf, Chrift's Royal Antitype) were traduced by the Sons of Belial, as guilty of what their Souls abhor'd fo intimately; what wonder is it to find this Reverend Perfon Mr. Baxter, mifreprefented by the malignity and obloquy of fome; and by the weaknels, credulity, and miffakes of others; and thofe perhaps excellent Per- fons otherwife, in manifold refpects?

Mr. Baxter is charged by fome as being againft King Charles the First in the first War, and too much a Fomener of it. To this you have his Replys in the Hiftory it felf; and thither I refer the Reader.

He has been alfo traduced by fome, as having kill'd a Man in cold Blood with his own hands. From which Scandalous Report he has alfo vindicated himfelf in the following Hiftory. But for the Reader's further Satisfadion, I will here subjoin a Letter from Dr. Alleftrce, which is not there inferred (that I remember). When a credible Perfon (Mr. J. H.) told Mr. Baxter that the Doctor had formerly laid the like to him; faying, That he could not think well of one that had kill'd a Man in cold Blood with his own hands; Mr. Baxter fufpeeting that the Doctor's Chair and Reputation might give credit to this flanderous Report, he wrote to the Doctor, defiring to know whether he reported this or not; alluring him in the fame Letter, that he never thuck any Man in anger, in all his Life, to his remembrance ——This Letter to the Doctor was dated London, Decemb. 8. 1679. Here- upon the Doctor returned him the following Answer:

SIR,

I Mult profef sincerely that I cannot recollect that ever I faid fuch words of you to Mr. H. as it feme he doth affirm I did. But yet I cannot but acknowledge it is very poifible that I related (and it may be to him) that I had heard you kill'd a Man in cold blood; fince I very well remember that above Thirty years fince, at the end of the War, I heard that publiquely spoke before Company, and with this furer Circumstance, that it was a Sol- dier who had been a Prisoner fome hours before. Now this Report relating to the Wars, in which I fear fuch things were no great Rarities; and from my very tender youth, I having not had the leaft Concern with you, nor likelindof any for the future, did not therefore apprehend at precent any concern or occafion of enquiring whether it were true, of which, upon that confident Affervation I did make no doubt. And I took fo little thought of laying up the Relation, that I proteft to you, as in the prefeuce of Almighty God, it is impofible for me, to recover who made up that Company in which I heard it, or from whom I heard it. And I wonder how it came into my mind to fay that I had heard it fo long after. But however, though it be fome eafe to me to believe that the late Difcourfes of it, do not come from my relating it fo long fince that I have heard it, neither are likely to receive any conformation from it, unless it be made more publick than I have made it; yet I do profef it is a great affedion to me to have spoken that, though but as a Report, which it feems was a flander (for fo I believe it upon your Affervation) and not having endeavoured to know whether it were true. And as I have begg'd God's forgiveness, so I heartily defire you will forgive me. And if I could direct my felf to any other way of Satisfadion, I would give it. This is the whole Account I can give of this Matter; To which I fhall only add that I am,

Eaton-Colledge,
Dec. 13. 1679.

SIR,

Your very affectionate Servant,

Richard Alleftrce.

Such
Such was the Exemplary Ingenuity and true Equity and Candour of this worthy Perfon.

But the boldest Stroke that ever I met with at the Reputation of this worthy Perfon Mr. Baxter, occurs in a Letter that I have lately received from a Perfon very credible (out of Worceftershire, Dated March the flift, 1694.) The Sum whereof is this:

Here is a Report in some Perfons mouths that Mr. Baxter, before he dyed, and fo till his Death, was in a great doubt and trouble about a Future State. It is suggested that he continued in fuch Doubt, or rather was inclining to think there was no Future State at all, and that he ended his Days under fuch a Perfwafion; which occafioned no small trouble to him, be having written fo many things to perfuade Perfons to believe there was.

This Report is related to me as brought down from London by no mean Man; by one of great Repute in his Faculty, and well known through the Nation, frequently an Hearer of Mr. Baxter, and an honourable Perfon. And I am further informed by the fame Hand, That it is there reported that many of his Friends, Perfons of Quality about London, know the truth of it.

1. Audax facinus! What will degenerate Man flock at! We know nothing here that could in the leaft minifter to fuch a Report as this. I that was with him all along, have ever heard him triumphing in his heavenly Expectation, and ever speaking like one that could never have thought it worth a Man's while to be, were it not for the great Intereft and Ends of Godlinefs. He told me that he doubted not, but that it would be best for him when he had left this Life, and was translated to the heavenly Regions.

2. He own'd what he had written, with reference to the Things of God, to the very laft. He advised thole that came near him, carefully to mind their Soul Concerns. The brevity of Time, the infancy of Eternity, the worth of Souls, the greatness of God, the riches of the Grace of Chrift, and the excellency and impor tagious of an heavenly Mind and Life, and the great usefulness of the Word and Means of Grace pertinent to Eternal Purpo f esse, they ever lay prefling upon his own Heart, and exerted from him very useful Directions and Encouragements to all that came near him, even to the laft. Infomuch, as that it a Polcmical o. Cau tulous Point, or any Speculation in Philosophy or Divinity, had been but of f ered to him for his Resolution, after the cleareft and briefeff Representation of his Mind, which the Propofers Satisfaction call'd for, he prefently and moft delightfully fell into Conversation about what related to our Christian Hope and Work.

3. Had he thought that there had been no Future State for Man to be Concern'd about, why was he fo delighted in a hopeful Race of young Minifters and Chriftians? to my knowledge he greatly valued young Divines, and hopeful Candidates for the Miniftiy: He was moft liberal of Counfel and Encouragement to them, and moft inquisitive after, and pleased with their growthful Numbers and Improvement: And he told me, and fpake it in my hearing, That he had the greateff Hopes and Expectations from the succeding Generation of them: And he pleafed himfelf with the Hopes and Expectations of this, that they would do God's Work much better than we had done before, and cleafe our Errors and Defects.

4. Any Man that reads his laft Will may eafily fee that his Apprehensions and Diʃpo{- sion did not favour of fuch Scepticifm as the Report intimates. That part thereof which may Confirm the Reader that Mr. Baxter had no fuch Thoughts abiding in him, I fhall here for the Reader's Satisfaction lay before him; which is as followeth:

Richard Baxter of London Clerk, unworthy Servant of Jeſus Chrift, drawing to the End of this Tranfitory Life, having through God's great Mercy the free use of my Understanding, do make this my laſt Will and Testament——My Spirit I commit, with Truth and Hope of the Heavenly Felicity, into the Hands of Jeſus my glorified Redeemer and Interferor; and by his Mediation into the hands of God my reconciled Father, the Infinite,
The Preface to the Reader.

Infinite, Eternal Spirit, Life, Light and Love, most great and wise and good, the God of Nature, Grace, and Glory: of whom, and through whom, and to whom are all things: My absolute Owner, Ruler, and Benefactor: whose I am, and whom (though imperfectly) I serve, seek, and trust; to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

To him I render most humble thanks that he hath filled up my life with abundance of Mercy, pardoned my Sins by the Merits of Christ, and vouchsafed by his Spirit to renew and seal me as his own; and to moderate and bless me in my long Sufferings in the Flesh, and at last to sweeten them by his own Interest and comforting Approbation, who taketh the Cause of Love and Concord at his own.

Now let the Reader judge whether any thing in all this can in the least infer his Doubting or Denial of a Future State; or any Repentance of the Pains he took to establish others in the Belief and Hopes of what the Gospel tells us of as future. It is strange to see how Men can trifle in their Soul-affairs, and how easily they can receive whatever may mortifie the Life and Joy of Christian Godliness: But we read of some that have been led Captive by the Devil at his will. But this we may believe, and all shall find that the Hell which they gave no credit to the report of, they shall sorely feel, and that they shall never reach that Heaven which they would never believe Existent, and worth their serious looking after. Were it but a meer probability, or possibility, who will have the better of it? When we reach Heaven, we shall be in a Capacity of Inflicting over Infidels: But if there be no Future State, they can never live to upbraid us. And it is but folly, madness, and a voluntary cheating of themselves, for Men to think that Honour, Parts, or Learning, or Interests, or Poffeffions can ever skreen them from the Wrath of a neglected and provoked God. And one would think that such a Spirit that can so boldly traduce and aperfe Men, is much below what has acted a Pagan Romm; for even one of them, could say,

Compositum ius falarque animi, Sanctisque recellus:
Mensis, & incendium generofo peclus benequo
Ds, ced

Perf.

How little of this Spirit was in the Author and Promoter of this A fperifion, I leave to his own and others Thoughts to pause on; who he is I know not: But for the fake of his Honour, Soul, and Faculty, I must and will request of God that he may have those latter Remorfs in his own Spirit in due lesion, which may pre- venter a Smarter Cenfure from the universal, awful Judge; and that he wou'd soberly pause upon what that great Judge has uttered, and left upon record in Matth. 12. 36, 37. for it is what that Judge will abide and try us by.

I can easily foresee that Readers of different sorts are likely to receive this Work, with different Sentiments.

1. The Interested Reader, in things related here, will judge of and relish what he reads as he finds himself concerned therein: He may possibly look upon himself as either commended or expofed, blamed or justified: whether juftly or unjustly he may beft know. But I would hope that his Concernedness for the Interest of Equity and Truth, and for the Publick Good, will rather make him candid than zeve.

2. The Impartial Reader is for knowing Truth in its due and useful Evidence, and for considering himfelf as liable to Imperfections if engaged in fuch work as this: and thus he will allow for others Weakneffes, as he would have his own allowed for.

3. Should any Reader be cenforious, and ftretch Expreffions and Reports beyond their determined Line and Reach, fober and clear Conviction in this Cafe may be their Cure.

4. As to the Judicious Reader, he loves, I know, to fee things in their Nature, Order, Evidence and Utifulnefs: and if he find Materials, he can difpofe them eafily, and phrase them to his own Satisfaction, and at the fame time pity the injudicialnefs of a Publisher, and the imperfections of the Author.

5. As to the weak Reader (for judgment is not every sober Perfon's Lot) it will be harder to convince him beyond his ability of differencing things in their differentnefs, truth and strength.

6. As to the byaffed Reader, it is hoped that his second serious Thoughts may cure him of his Partiality.
The Preface to the Reader.

7. As to the selfish Reader, it is bold for any Man to think himself superior to the rest of Men, and that all must be a Sacrifice to his own Concerns and Humour: A narrow Soul is a great Infelicity, both to itself, to others, and the Publick Interest.

8. The Publick Spirited Reader is more concerned for Truth than for any Thing that Rivals it: his Thoughts and Motto is Magna est veritas & praevalebit; and he will think himself most gratified when Publick Expectations and Concerns are answered and secured.

9. Those that are perfectly ignorant of what the History is most concerned in will be glad of better Informations; and the Things recorded will be (as being Novel) most grateful to him.

10. As to those that were acquainted mostly with the Things here mentioned, they will have their Memories refreshed, and meet with some Additions to their useful Knowledge.

11. And as to myself, if there be any thing untrue, injurious, or unfit, as to either Publick or Personal Concerns, the Publisher hopes that the Reader will not look upon him as obliged to justify or espouse whatever the Author may have misrepresented, through his own Personal Infirmities or Mistakes; for all Men are imperfect, and my Work was to publish the Author's Sentiments and Reports, rather than my own: Nor will I vouch for every Thing in this History, nor in any meer Humane Treatise, beyond its Evidence or Credibility. But let the Reader assure himself that I am his, in the best of Bonds and Services, whilst

1696.

I am

M. S.
A BREVIAIE OF THE CONTENTS OF THE Ensuing Narrative: Which was written by Parts, at different Times.

PART I.

Written for the most part in 1664.

For a brief Narrative of his Birth and Parentage, and large one of his Schoolemasters, Mr. Baxter proceeds to an Account of the means of his coming to a serious sense of Religion, and of his perplexing Doubts and their Solutions, to page 9. of his bodily weakness and indispositions, to p. 11. of several remarkable Deliverances he met with: viz. from the Temptations of a Court Life; from being run over by a Wagon; in a fall from a Horse; and from Gaming, p. 11, 12. His applying himself to the Ministry, Ordination by the Bishop of Worcester, and Settlement in Dudley School as Master, p. 12, 13. His studying the Matter of Conformity, and Judgment about it at that time, p. 13, 14. His removal from Dudley to Bridgnorth, and Success there, p. 14, 15. Of the coming out of the Ecclesiastical Oath, and his further studying the point of Episcopacy upon that occasion, p. 15, 16. Upon occasion of this Ecclesiastical Oath, he passeth to the Dissatisfactions in Scotland on the account of the imposition of the English Ceremonies, thence to Ship-money in England, thence to the Scots first coming hither, and so to the opening of the Long Parliament, p. 16, 17. After an Account of their Proceedings silk such time as a Committee was chosen to hear Petitions against Scandalous Ministers, he shows how by that means he came to be settled in the Town of Kidderminster as Lecturer to a scandalous Incumbent, against whom a Petition had been presented to that Committee, had he not confented to his Settlement under him, p. 18, &c. a sort of a Prediction of his in a Funeral Sermon preach'd afterwards at Bridgnorth, p. 20. His Temptations to Infidelity, and to question the Truth of the Scriptures, &c. with the means of his being extricated out of them, p. 21, &c. a remarkable story of a false Accusation of one Mr. Cross a poor Minister in the Neighbourhood of Kidderminster, as if he were attempted to ravish a Woman, with its detection, p. 24. A return to the Proceedings of the Parliament and Account of the springs and rise of the Civil War, to p. 29. The Case of the Country stated about the Civil Differences between King and Parliament, and the Ecclesiastical Differences between the Prelatical, and the Antiprelatical Party, from p. 30. to p. 38. His own sense of, and judgment about this matter, p. 39. Here he returns to the series of his own Life, and relates a remarkable story of his preservation from the fury of the rabble at Kidderminster, who were enraged upon the Churchwardens going to remove a Crucifix according to order of Parliament, p. 40. upon the Peoples tumultuons he retired to Gloucester,
The Contents.

celler, where he first met with some of the Anabaptists, p.49, 5. then he returns to Kidderminster, where a little after, some of Elyfex's Army quarter'd: but they retiring before a part of the King's Army, and being found the Rabbles furious thought not his stay safe, and so went with the Elyfexians to Worcefter, p. 42. October the 23d, 1640. the day of Edge-hill fight was preach'd at Alcester; and the next day went to see the place of Battle, p.47. after this he went to Coventry, where he continued a year, preaching to the Town and Garrifon, p.44. he went with some Country Gentlemen to Wenim and other places, designing to leave Coventry; but soon return'd thither again; and stay'd there another year, having much trouble from Separatists, Anabaptists, and Antinomians, p. 45. Of the laying the Earl of Elyfex aside, and the new modeling the Army, p. 47. Of the Scotch Covenant. How far Prelacy was abjur'd in it as it was explain'd by the Assembly of Divines, p. 48. of Cromwell's Interregnum, in the new model'd Army, and the change of the old Garfons, p.49. the Fight at Nateby and its Consequences, p.50. An Account of his first coming into the Army presently after that Fight; the Principles and Temper he then found prevail amongst them, p. 59, 61. How he became a Chaplin to Col. Whalley's Regiment, and upon what grounds and considerations, p.52. how strenuously he set himself to oppose the Sectaries in the Army, p.53. An Account of the several Marches and most remarkable Actions of the Army, while he continued in it, from p.54. to p.58. [An Account of a Dispute he maintain'd for an whole day together with some of the Sectaries of the Army, in the Church at Agmondefham in Buckinghamshire, p. 56.] His sickness for'd him to withdraw from the Army; retiring from which, he after severall removes, returns to Kidderminster, p. 58. A further Account of the Proceedings of the Sectaries after he left the Army, and of Oliver's Intreaties, p.59. An Account of the King's treatment after his delivering himself to the Scots, till he was for'd to fly to the Isle of Wight, p. 60, 61. of the Treaty that was on foot with the King while he was confin'd there; and the Dispute between the King's and Parliaments Divines concerning the Point of Episcopacy, and his Judgment about it, p.62. What followed afterwards till the King's Tryall and Execution, p.63. Of the Engagement; his Judgment of it and Preaching against it, p.64. What hindered Cromwell's advancement after the taking off the King, p. 65. Of King Charles the Second his being for'd by the Scots to take the Covenant, before they would admit him to the Succession; and his Judgment thereupon, p. 66. Of the Order of the Rump for all Ministers upon pain of Sequestration to pray to God for success for the Army advancing against the Scots, and to return Thanks for their Victory; and his Practice about it, p.66. Of the trouble of the Presbyterian Ministers in London on account of their adherence to the King; and Mr. Love's Tryall, p. 67. of Cromwell's march into Scotland, and his Victory there; the King's march into England, and the Fight at Worcefter, p. 68, 69. of what follow'd after, till Cromwell became Proteécor: and the Judgment of the generality of the Ministers as to the point of Submission to him, p.70, 71. Of the Triers of Ministers chosen by Cromwell, p. 72. of the Assembly at Westminifter, p. 73. Of the several Sects which sprang up in those times. Of the Vanities. Sir Henry Vane Character, p.74, 75. Of the Seekers and Ranters, p. 76. of the Quakers and Behmenists, p. 77. Of other Stil-Matters, as Dr. Gell, Mr. Parker, Dr. Gibbon, etc. p. 78. From publick he then pass'd to his own personal Affairs. And gives a full Account of the Sequestration of the Living of Kidderminster, p. 79. An Account of his illness after his return thither, and of several Answers of Prayer with reference thereto; as also with reference to others, p.80, 81, 82. A particular account of his laborious work and diligent improvement of his time to the best advantage in his Master's service while at Kidderminster, p.83. the great success of his Ministerial Labours amongst that People, p.84, 85. His great advantages in order to, and in all his service, p.86, 87, 88, 89, 90. The Church Discipline kept up there, p.91, etc. the difference that arose between him and Mr. Tombs, and their publick Dispute at Bewdley, p. 96. Cromwell's Death and Character, p. 89. Of the setting up and deposing of Richard Cromwell; with a Conjurare upon it, p.100, 101. on which occasion a general Account is given of the Sectarian Party then grown rampant, p.102, etc. Of Monk's coming to restore the King, p.103, etc.

A large account of his several Books and Writings. The occasions of them, and the opposition made against them, from p.106. to p.124.
A general Conjurare of his own Works, p.124. a Comparison between his younger and his ripper years; an Account of his Sentiments about Controversial Writings; his Temptations and Difficulties; most considerable improvements; and remaining defects, from p.124. to p.136. a penitent Confession of his Faults, p.137.

PART
The Contents.

PART II.

Written in 1665.

He begins with the Differences and Debates about Church Government in the late times; and gives his Judgment about the several Principles of the Erafians, Prelatsifs, Presbyterian, Independants, and Anabaptists; shews what he approved and disliked in each; mentions the many impediments on all hands to charitable consulatory endeavours; and yet gives an Account how he resolved to set upon revising work, in order whereunto the Worchester Agreement was form'd, which was not altogether without its success, from p. 139. to p. 150. Nineteen Queries about Ecclesiastical Cases, drawn up by an Episcopal man in the late Times, and conveyed to him by Sir Ralph Clare, with his Answer to them, from p. 151. to p. 157. A Letter of his in answer to Sir Ralph Clare his Parishioner, who would not Communicate with him, unless he might receive kensling, and on a definite day, and not with those who received sitting, p. 157 &c. A Letter from the associated Ministers in Cumberland and Wiltmoreland, to the associated Ministers in Worchester, p. 162. An Answer to it, p. 164. Many other Counties begin to associate for Church Discipline: The Articles agreed to by the Ministers in Wildhur, p. 167. A Letter from the associated Churches in Ireland, to Mr. Baxter and the associated Ministers in Worchester, p. 169. The Answer to it, p. 170. A second Letter from the Irish Ministers, p. 171. A Letter of Mr. Baxter's to Bishop Brownrigg, about an Agreement between the Presbyterian and Episcopal Party, p. 172. The Bishops Reply to it; containing his Judgment about Church Government, p. 174, 175 &c. Mr. Baxter's Notes on the Bishop's Answer, p. 178. After this, be upon occasion of the passing of Letters between him and Mr. Lamb and Mr. Allen, two Anabaptist Preachers, to dissuade them from separation, proposals and answers to some Quesions; whether be it our duty to seek peace with the Anabaptists; and proposes a method of managing a pacificatory attempt with them, p. 181. &c. A personal Treatise of his with Mr. Nye about an Agreement with the Independants, and a Long Letter to him about that affair, p. 188, &c. Proposals made by him in Cromwell's time, for a general holy Communion, Peace, and Concord, between the Churches in these Nations, without any wrong to the Congregations or Liberties of Presbyterian, Congregational, Episcopal; or any other Christians, p. 191, &c. The occasion of choosing a Committee of Divines, to make a Collection of Fundamentals; of which Mr. Baxter was one, p. 197. His own Judgment of Fundamentals, ib. and p. 198. The proceedings of the Divines in this matter, p. 199. Papers deliver'd in by Mr. Baxter to them, on points wherein be differ'd from them, p. 200 &c.

An Account of his preaching before Cromwell; and personal Conference with him afterwards in private; and a second Conference with him in his Privy Council, p. 205. of what past between him and Dr. Nich. Gibbon,ibid. Of his Acquaintance and Conversation with Archbishops Usher, while he continued at my Lord Brogill's: where a particular account is given of the Learned Primates Judgment about Universal Redemption; about Mr. Baxter's terms of Concord; and about the validity of Presbyters Ordination, p. 206. Of the Carriage of the Anabaptists after the Death of Cromwell, p. 206. and the general Confusion of the Nation, p. 207. New Proposals be made to Dr. Hammond about an Agreement with the Episcopal Party, by Sir Ralph Clare's means, p. 208. Dr. Hammond's Answer, and Mr. Baxter's Reply, p. 210.

Of General Monk's March to London; and the common sentiments and expectations of people at that time, p. 214. of his preaching before the Parliament the day before they voted the King back, p. 217. of his Conference with Dr. Gauden and Dr. Morley, p. 218. What past between one William Johnlon, a Papist, and Mr. Baxter; in particular with reference to the Lady Anne Lindley, daughter of the Countess of Barcarles, whom he had seduced and afterwards stole away and conveyed into France, p. 218, &c. Two Letters of Mr. Baxter's to this young lady; one before she was stole away; and the other while she was in a Nunnery in France, p. 221, &c.

Of people's various expectations upon the King's return, p. 229. Of some of the Presbyterian Ministers being made the King's Chaplains; and Mr. Baxter among the Refr ibid. Several of them together wait on his Majesty. The Sum of Mr. Baxter's Speech to the King, p. 230. the King receives them graciously, and orders them to bring in Proposals in order to an Agreement about Church Government, p. 231. whereupon they daily meet at Sion College for Consultation, p. 232.

Their first Address and Proposals to his Majesty about Concord, p. 232, &c. the brief Sum of their Judgment and debates about Church Government, p. 237. Bishop Usher's Model of Government to which they all agreed to adhere, p. 238. Five Requests made to the King by
The Contents.

by word of mouth, suitmg the Circumstances of Affairs at that time, p.241. The Answtr of the Bishops to the first Proposals of the London Minifiers, p.242. the Minifiers defence of their fore-mentioned Proposals, p.248. His Majesty's Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, as it was first drawn up, and shown to the Minifiers, by the Lord Chancellour, p.259. The Minifiers Petition to the King, upon their flight of the first draught of this Declaration, p.265. the Alterations of the Declaration which they offer'd, p.275. a Conference between severall Divines of each side, about the fore-mentioned Declaration, before the King at the Lord Chancellours, and the effects of it, p.276. of the coming out of the Declaration with amendments, p.279. Of Mr. Baxter's preaching before the King, and printing his Sermon, and the false accusation of him by Dr. Pierce on that occasion, p.279. a Character of Dr. Pierce, and Account of his enmity against Mr. Baxter, p.280. of the offer of a Billet orick made to Mr. Baxter with some others, who joyntly denur'd aht the acceptance, p.281. Mr. Baxter refuses to accept the terms proped in the fore-mentioned Declaration; and sends a Letter to the Lord Chancellor containing his Reasons, p.282. Dr. Regnolds accepts a Billetterickick: other Preferences offer'd to other Presbyterian who refus'd them, p.283. An Address of Thanks to the King from the London Minifiers, for his Declaration, p.284. a Cndnference of this Declaration, p.286. How well this Declaration was put in Execution, p.287. Mr. Crofton's writing for the Covenant, and imprisonment in the Tower, p.288. a false report spread about Mr. Baxter, by Mr. Horton, Chaplain to the Earl of Manchester, p.289. an account of Mr. Baxter's transactions with the Lord Chancellor, about the Affairs of New-England, p.290. a Letter to Mr. Baxter from the Court and Government of New-England, p.291. another from Mr. Horton, p.292. another from Mr. Elliot, p.293. Mr. Baxter's answer to Mr. Elliot, p.295. Mr. Baxter's endeavours to be resolv'd to the People of Kidderminster, from whom he was seaperated upon the return of the sequestred Minifiers to their Livings, p.298. A Letter of my Lord Channellours to Sir Ralph Clare about Mr. Baxter's return to Kidderminster, p.299. Of the Rising of the Fifth Monarchy men under Venner, about this time, p.301. of his publick Ministry in London, p.301. His going to the Archbishop to beg a Licence, p.302. His Majesty's Commission for the Savoy Conference, p.303. an Account of what pass at the Conference, p.305. Exceptions that Mr. Baxter drew up against the Common Prayer at that time, p.308. the Exceptions against the Book of Common Prayer that were deliver'd in to the Commissioners, p.316, &c. Of the choice of the Convocation, and of Mr. Calamy, and Mr. Baxter for London, p.333. a further account of the Conference, p.334, &c. a Paper then offer'd by Dr. Cosins, about a way to terminate the differences; with an Answer to it, p.341, &c.

An Account of the Diffpute mung'd in Writing at that time, between Dr. Piersbn, Dr. Gunning, Dr. Sparrow, and Dr. Pierce; and Dr. Bates, Dr. Jacomb, and Mr. Baxter, who were deput'd for that purpose, p.346, &c. A Reply to the Bishops Questions which was not answer'd, p.370. a Continuation of the Conference, p.376. a Copy of the Part of the Bishops Divines in the Disputation, p.378. A Conference of this Conference, and Account of the Managers of it, p.363 of the Minifiers going up to the King after the Conference, p.365. the Petition they presented to his Majesty on that occasion, p.366. to which (by reason of their Affinity) is annex'd a Copy of the Conciliations that were made by Bishop Usher, Bishop Williams, Bishop Moreton, Bishop Holdsworth, and many others in a Committee at Wettminister 1641. p.369.

Books written against Mr. Baxter by Mr. Nanfen, Dr. Tompkins, and others, p.373. He goes to Kidderminster, to try if he might be permitted to preach there, p.374. Bishop Hooipby and his Dean, endeavour to set the people there against him, p.375, &c. B. Morley and Dr. Boardman write against him, p.377. Mr. Bagghaw writes against the Bishop, p.378. Of the perilous publication of the Savoy Conference, p.379. other affairs that Mr. Baxter met with, p.380. a false report mung'd of him by Dr. Earls, p.381. a Letter of Mr. Baxter's to him on that occasion, with his answer to it, p.382. Divers Minifiers imprisoned particularly in Worceffershire, on occasion of a pretended Conspiracy, p.383. Of BLACK BAK-Choldew Dap 1663. wherein so many Minifiers were silenced, p.384. Of the sad confessions of that day, p.385. Mr. Calamy's imprisonment for preaching occasionally after the silence, p.386. the state of the Conformists and Non-conformists in England at that time, p.386. the sum of their several Causes, and the Reasons of their several ways, p.387, &c.

Of the King's Declaration, Dec.26.1662.p.430. Old Mr. Almoss Death and Character, ibid. Mr. James Nalton's Death and Character, p.431. How Mr. Baxter and Mr. Bates had like to have been apprehended for going to pray with a sick person, p.431. of the imprisonment of divers Minifiers about the Country, p.442. Strange Judgments of God, about this time turn'd by the Devil to his own advantage, ibid. Much talk about an Indulgence or a Compenfation in 1663, p.433. An Answer (sent in a Letter to an honourable Person at that time) to this Question, Whether the way of Comprehension or Indulgence be more desirable,
The Contents.

Of the Plague in the year 1665, p. 1. during the Sickness some of the ejected Ministers preach in the City Churches, p. 2. at the same time the Five-mile Act was fram'd at Oxford, ibid. A Confession of the Act, p. 3. the reasons of men's refusal to take the Oath imposed by that Act, p. 5. Queries upon the Oxford Oath, p. 7. further Reflections on it, p. 10. Twenty Nonconforming Ministers take this Oath, p. 15. A Letter from Dr. Bates to Mr. Baxter about that affair, p. 14. of the Dutch War, p. 16. of the Fire of London, ibid. of the Infruments of the Fire, p. 18. The Nonconformists set up separate publick Meetings, p. 19. of the burning of our Ships at Chatham by the Dutch, p. 20. the disgrace and dishonour of my Lord Chancellor Hide, ibid. Sir Orlando Bridgman made Lord Keeper, p. 22. the Nonconformists connived at their Meeting, ibid. Mr. Baxter sent for to the Lord Keeper about a Toleration and Comprehension, p. 23. Proposals then offer'd by Mr. Baxter and others, p. 24. the Lord Keeper's Proposals, p. 25. Alterations made by Mr. Baxter and his Associates in his Proposals, p. 27. [fally pag'd 35.] Reasons of these Alterations, p. 28. [fally pag'd 36.] Alterations of the Liturgy, &c. then offer'd, p. 31. [fally pag'd 39.] two new Proposals added, and accepted with alterations, p. 34. An Address of some Presbyterians to the King, with a Letter of Dr. Manton to Mr. Baxter about it, p. 36. great talk of Liberty at this time, but none ensued, p. 38. Of the Book call'd A Friendly Debate, p. 39. of Parker's Ecclesiastical Policy, p. 41. of Dr. Owen's Answer, and Parker's Reply, p. 42. An Apologue or two, familiarly representing the Heads and Feuds of these times, p. 43. &c. Mr. Baxter's further account of himself, white he remain'd at Aeton, p. 46. of his acquaintance with worthy Sir Math. Hale, p. 47. of the disturbance he receiv'd at Aeton, p. 48. he is sent to New Prifon, p. 49. a Narrative of his Cafe at that time, p. 51. the Errors of his Mitinum, with an Explanation of the Oxford Act, p. 56. His Reflections during his imprisonment, p. 58. His Release and perplexity thereupon, p. 60. His Benefactions while in prifon, ibid. His bodily Weaknes, ibid. An Account of his Writings since 1665, p. 61. an Account of a Treaty between him and Dr. Owen, about an Agreement between the Presbyterians and the Independents, p. 61. a Letter of Dr. Owen's to Mr. Baxter about that matter, p. 63. Mr. Baxter's Reply to it, p. 64. bow it was dropp'd, p. 69. of his Methodus Theologic, ibid. and some other Writings, p. 70. the state of some of his old people at Kidderminster, p. 73. the recall of the Act against Conventicles, p. 74. Dr. Manton's imprisonment, ibid. Great offers made to Mr. Baxter by the Earl of Lauderdale, if he would go with him into Scotland Mr. Baxter's Letter to him upon that occasion, p. 75. Another Letter of his to the Earl of Lauderdale, p. 77. [fally pag'd 93.] a Letter of his to Sir Robert Murray, about a Body of Church Disciplines for Scotland, what was sent to him for his judgment about it, p. 78. the affair of the Marquis of Antrim, with reference to his Commission from K. Charles I. p. 83. of Du Moulin's Jugulum Caerus; and two Books of Dr. Fowler's, p. 85. of Serjeant Fountain's kindness to him, p. 86. of Major Blood, and his fleeing the Crown, p. 88. of the flushing up the Exchequer, by which Mr. Baxter lost a thousand pounds, which he had devoted to charitable uses, p. 89. of Fowlis's History of Remniff Trefons, p. 90. Characters of many of the famed Ministers, of Worceftershire, Warwickshire, in and about London &c. from p. 90 to p. 98. the second Dutch War, and the Declaration for Liberty of Conference thereupon, p. 99. the different Sentiments of People about the deplorable effects of either an established Toleration, or a Comprehension, p. 100. Mr. Baxter gets a License, p. 102. the Merchants Leiturie let up at Pinners-Hall; and Mr. Baxter's Accusations for his Sermons there, p. 103. Malicious Writings and Accusations of Parker and others, ibid. a private Conference between Mr. Baxter and Bp. Gunning, p. 104. the Parliament jealous of the growth of Popery, p. 106. a private Conference of Mr. Baxter's with Edward Wray, Esq. about the Popish Concerner, p. 107. Mr. Falkner writes for Conformity, p. 108. a Letter of Mr. Baxter's to the Earl of Orrey, about a general Union of all Protestants against Popery, with Proposals for that purpose, p. 109. &c. the Strictures return'd upon these Proposals, with the Answers to them, from p. 113 to 140. More bitter and malignant Writings against
The Contents.

The Nonconformists, p. 141. A Paper of Mr. John Humphreys, for Comprehension with Indulgence, that was distributed among the Parliament men, p. 143, &c. A great change of Affairs in Scotland, p. 147. A Character of Mr. Thomas Gouge the sanc'd Minister of St. Sepulchres, p. 147, A Letter of Mr. Baxter's to Dr. Good Master of Batal College in Oxford, about some passages in a Book he had lately published, p. 148. fresh Accusations whereby Mr. Baxter was assailed, p. 155: A Deliversance whereof he was preaching over St. James's Market-boune, p. 152. his success while he preach's there; and his opposition, p. 153. A Proclamation published to call in the Licentiae, and require the Execution of the Laws against the Nonconformists, ibid. false Reports about his preaching at Pinners Hall, p. 174. Mr. Baxter apprehended as a Conventicler, p. 155. A difference at Court on occasion of Mr. Baxter's Sufferings, p. 156. A private Treaty between Dr. Stillingfleet, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, Mr. Baxter, and Mr. Pool, about an Act for Union and Comprehension, p. 157. An Act for the Healing and Concord of his Majest's Subjects in matter of Religion, then agreed upon among them, p. 158. Petitions, Mr. Baxter was then put upon drawing up, which were never presented, 160. the Cafe of the City as to the Prosecution of Diffenters, p. 165. [fally said] 160. an account of his trouble with Sir Thomas Davis, ibid. great Debates about the Telt in Parliament, p. 167. a Confes of it, p. 168. a penitent Confession of one of the Informers who had given Mr. Baxter much trouble, p. 171. further troubles that he met with, and weakness, p. 172. a further Account of Sir Matthew Hale, p. 175. of Mr. Read's impression, p. 176.

Of the Additions of the years 1675, 1676, 1677, 1678, &c.

O F Monsiour Le Blank's Theset, p. 177. of Dr. Jane's Sermon before my Lord Mayor, and his Charge against Mr. Baxter, ibid. further troubles he met with, p. 178. a passage between the Bp. of Exeter and Mr. Sangar, ibid. an horrid Lie reported of Mr. Baxter in a Coffee-house about his killing a Tinker, the Reporter whereof was brou'th openly to confess his fault, p. 179. Mr. Holingworth's Sermon against the Nonconformists, p. 180. a farther passage of Sir Math. Hale, p. 181. Dr. Manton's death, p. 182. about the Controversie of Pre-determination started amongst the Nonconformists; by a Book of Mr. How's, ib. of the Popish Plot and Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's murder, &c. p. 183. of several of Mr. Baxter's Writings, p. 185. of the Writings of Dr. Stillingfleet, Mr. Hinkley, Mr. Dodwell, and others, against the Nonconformists, p. 187. 188. of the deaths of many of his dear Friends, p. 189. some further account of Mr. Thomas Gouge, p. 190. of his new apprehension and sickness, p. 191. an Account of his Cafe at that time, p. 192. the Judgment of Saunders and Pollittin about it, p. 195. of some other of his Writings, p. 196. of a Legacy of 600 l. left by Mr. Robert Mayor of Oxon, to be distributed by Mr. Baxter among Sixty ejected Ministers, p. 198. a further Account of his sufferings and weakness, ibid. & p. 199.

The Appendix contains thefe several Pieces following.

Numb.I. A Reply to some Exceptions against the Worcefteshire Agreement, (a large Account whereof is given at the beginning of the second Part of this Narrative) and Mr. Baxter's Christian Concord, written by a nameless Author, [supposed to be Dr. Gunning] and sent by Dr. Warmeftry, p. 1.

Numb.II. Several Letters that pass'd between Mr. Baxter and Mr. Martin Johnfon, about the Point of Ordination; and particularly the neceflity of a conftant uninterrupted Succession, in order to the validity of Ministerial Fumifions, p. 18.

Numb.III. Several Letters between Mr. Baxter and Mr. Lamb, p. 51.

Numb.IV. Letters and Papers between Mr. Baxter and Mr. Allen, p. 67.

Numb.V. A Letter of Mr. Baxter's, to Mr. Long of Exeter, p. 108.

Numb.VI. A Relation of this Cafe; What's to be done when the Law of the Land commands precent to go to their Parish Church, and Parents require to go to private Meetings? p. 111.

Numb.VII. A Letter of Mr. Baxter's about the Cafe of Neville Symmons Bookseller, p. 117.

Numb.VIII. Mr. Baxter's general Defence, of his accused Writings, called Seditions and Schismatical, p. 119.


Be pleased (Candid Reader) to correct these Errors in the beginning thus:

Page 1 line 25, for and read one; and after reft. read. p. 2 line 12, alter elect. in the, and. 127. d. c. and. p. 3: 135, for being. bringing me. p. 4, p. 28. d. c. of. and. 140. after knowledge r. vis. 142, for wonder. r. wondered. p. 177, that part of Physick. p. 4, 139. p. 4. p. 194. for e. r. 134. for refjictions. r. objections. The rest as they occur inter legemum; for I could not attend the Pref and prevent the Errata.

THE
§ 1. My Father’s Name was Richard (the Son of Richard) Baxter: His Habitation and Estate at a Village called Eaton-Confan-
tine, a mile from the Wrekin-Hill, and above half a mile from Severn River, and five miles from Shrewsbury in Shrop-
sire: A Village most pleasantly and healthfully situate.

My Mother’s Name was Beatrice the Daughter of Richard Adeney of Rowton, a Village near High-Ercall, the Lord New-
port’s Seat, in the same County: There I was born A.D. 1615. on the 12th of November, being the Lord’s Day, in the Morning at the time of Divine Worship; and Baptized at High-Ercall the 19th day following: And there I lived from my Parents with my Grandfather till I was near Ten years of Age, and then was taken home.

My Father had only the Competent Estate of a Freeholder, free from the Tem-
pitations of Poverty and Riches: but having been addicted to Gaming in his Youth, and his Father before him, it was so entangled by Debts, that it occasioned some excess of worldly Cares before it was freed.

We lived in a Country that had but little Preaching at all: In the Village where I was born there was four Readers successively in Six years time, ignorant Men, and two of them immoral in their lives; who were all my School-masters. In the Village where my Father lived, there was a Reader of about Eighty years of Age that never preached, and had two Churches about Twenty miles distant: His Eye-
sight failing him, he said Common-Prayer without Book; but for the Reading of the Psalms and Chapters, he got a Common Thresher and Day-Labourer one year, and a Taylor another year: (for the Clerk could not read well): And at last he had a Kinsman of his own, (the excellentest Stage-player in all the Country, and a good Gamester and good Fellow) that got Orders and supplied one of his Places! After him another younger Kinsman, that could write and read, got Orders: And at the same time another Neighbour’s Son that had been a while at School turned Minifter, and who would needs go further than the rest, ventured to preach (and after got a Living in Staffordshire) and when he had been a Preacher about Twelve or Sixteen years, he was fain to give over, it being discovered that his Orders were forged by the said ingenious Stage-Player. After him another Neighbour’s Son took Orders, when he had been a while an Attorney’s Clerk, and a common Drum-
head, and tipp’d himself into so great Poverty that he had no other way to live: It was
was feared that he and more of them came by their Orders the same way with the
forementioned Person: These were the Schoolmasters of my Youth (except two of
them;) who read Common Prayer on Sundays and Holy-days, and taught School and
tipped on the Week-days; and whipt the Boys when they were drunk, so that we
changed them very oft. Within a few miles about us, were near a dozen more Mi-
nisters that were near Eighty years old apiece, and never preached: poor ignorant
Readers, and most of them of Scandalous Lives: only three or four constant com-
petent Preachers lived near us, and those (though Conformable all save one;) were
the common Marks of the People's Obloquy and Reproach, and any that had but
gone to hear them, when he had no Preaching at home, was made the Derision of
the Vulgar Rabble, under the odious Name of a Puritan.

But though we had no better Teachers, it pleased God to instruct and change
my Father, by the bare reading of the Scriptures in private, without either Preach-
ing, or Godly Company, or any other Books but the Bible: And God made him
the Instrument of my first Convictions, and Approbation of a Holy Life, as well
as of my Restraint from the grogger fort of Lives. When I was very young, his
serious Speeches of God and the Life to come, possessed me with a fear of fin-
ing! When I was but near Ten years of Age, being at School at High-Escall, we
had leave to play on the Day of the King's Coronation; and at Two of the Clock
afternoon on that Day there happened an Earthquake, which put all the People
into a tear, and somewhat possessed them with awful thoughts of the Dreadful God.
(I make no Commentary on the Time; nor do I know certainly whether it were
in other Countries.)

At first my Father let me to read the Historical part of the Scripture, which suit-
ing with my Natures greatly delighted me; and though all that time I neither un-
derstood nor relished much the Doctrinal Part, and Mystery of Redemption, yet it
did me good by acquainting me with the Matters of Fact, and drawing me on to
love the Bible, and to search by degrees into the rest.

But though my Conscience would trouble me when I finned, yet divers sins I
was addicted to, and oft committed against my Conscience; which for the warn-
ing of others I will confesse here to my shame.

1. I was much addicted when I feared Correction to lie, that I might escape.
2. I was much addicted to the excessive gluttonous eating of Apples and Pears:
which I think laid the foundation of that Imbecility and Flatulency of my Stomach,
which caused the Bodily Calamities of my Life.
3. To this end, and to concur with naughty Boys that gloried in evil, I have oft
gone into other men's Orchards, and stolen their Fruit, when I had enough at
home.
4. I was somewhat excessively addicted to play, and that with covetousness for
Money.
5. I was extremly bewitched with a Love of Romances, Fables and old Tales,
which corrupted my Affections and loft my Time.
6. I was guilty of much idle foolish Chat, and imitation of Boys in luridous
foolish Words and Actions (though I durst not swear).
7. I was too proud of my Master's Commendations for Learning, who all of them
led me pride, making me Seven or Eight years the highest in the School, and
boasting of me to others, which though it furthered my Learning, yet helped not
my Humility.
8. I was too bold and unrespective towards my Parents.
Theirs were my Sins which in my Childhood Conscience troubled me for a
great while before they were overcome.

In the Village where I lived the Reader read the Common-Prayer briefly, and
the rest of the Day even till dark Night almost, except Eating time, was spent in
Dancing under a May-Pole and a great Tree, not far from my Father's Door; where
too the Town did meet together: And though one of my Father's own Tenants
was the Piper, he could not restrain him, nor break the Sport: So that we could
not read the Scripture in our Family without the great disturbance of the Taber
and Pipe and Knifes in the Street! Many times my Mind was inclined to be among
them, and sometimes I broke loose from Conscience, and joined with them; and
the more I did it the more I was inclined to it: But when I heard them call my
Father Puritan, it did much to cure me and alienate me from them: for I con-
idered that my Father's Exercise of Reading the Scripture, was better than theirs,
and would surely be better thought on by all men at the last; and I considered
what it was for that he and others were thus derided. When I heard them speak
earnestly.
I. Puritans

The Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Bornfully of others as Puritans whom I never knew, I was at first apt to believe all the Lies and Slanders wherewith they loaded them: But when I heard my own Father so reproached, and perceived the Drunkards were the forwardest in the reproach, I perceived that it was mere Malice: For my Father never scrupled Common-Prayer or Ceremonies, nor spake against Bishops, nor ever so much as prayed but by a Book or Form, being not ever acquainted with any that did otherwise: But only for reading Scripture when the rest were Dancing on the Lord's Day, and for praying (by a Form out of the end of the Common-Prayer Book) in his House, and for reproving Drunkards and Swearers, and for talking sometimes a few words of Scripture and the Life to come, he was reviled commonly by the Name of Puritan, Precifian and Hypocrite: And so were the Godly Conformable Ministers that lived any where in the Country near us, not only by our Neighbours, but by the common talk of the Vulgar Rabble of all about us. By this Experience I was fully convinced that Godly People were the best, and those that despised them and lived in Sin and Pleasure, were a malignant unhappy sort of People: and this kept me out of their Company, except now and then when the Love of Sports and Play enticed me.

§ 2. The chiefest help that I had for all my Learning in the Country Schools, was with Mr. John Owen School-maister at the Free-School at Wrexeter, to whom I went next, who lived in Sr Richard Newport's House (afterward Lord Newport) at Eynon, and taught School at that ancient Uriconium, (where the Ruins and old Coin confirm those Histories, which make it an ancient City in the Romans Times.)

The present Lord Newport and his Brother were then my School-fellows, in a lower Form, and Dr. Richard Allefree now Dr. of the Chair in Oxford, Canon of Christ's-Church, and Provost of Eaton-Colledge: of whom I remember that when my Master set him up into the lower end of the highest Form, where I had long been Chief, I took it to ill, that I talked of leaving the School: whereupon my Master gravely, but very tenderly, rebuked my pride, and gave me for my Theme, Nemius utra crepidam.

§ 3. About that time it pleased God of his wonderful Mercy to open my Eyes with a clearer insight into the Concerns and Cafe of my own Soul, and to touch my heart with a livelier feeling of things Spiritual than ever I had found before: And it was by the means and in the order following; stirring up my Conscience more against me, by robbing an Orchard or two with rude Boys, than it was before: And being under some more Conviction for my Sin, a poor Day-Labourer in the Town (be that I before-mentioned that was wont to read in the Church for the old Parfon) had an old torn Book which he lent my Father, which was called Bunny's Resolution, (being written by Parfon's the Jeuff, and corrected by Edm. Bunny.) I had before heard some Sermons, and read a good Book or two, which made me more love and honour Godliness in the General; but I had never felt any other change by them on my heart. Whether it were that till now I came not to that maturity of Nature, which made me capable of discerning; or whether it were that this was God's appointed time, or both together, I had no lively fight and sense of what I read till now. And in the reading of this Book (when I was about Fifteen years of Age) it pleased God to awaken my Soul, and shew me the folly of Sinning, and the misery of the Wicked, and the unexpressible weight of things Eternal, and the necessity of resolving on a Holy Life, more than I was ever acquainted with before. The same things which I knew before came now in another manner, with Light, and Sense; and Seriously to my Heart.

This cast me first into tears of my Condition; and those drove me to Sorrow and Confession and Prayer, and so to some resolution for another kind of Life: And many a day I went with a throbbing Conscience, and saw that I had other Matters to mind, and another Work to do in the World, than ever I had minded well before.

Yet whether sincere Conversion began now, or before, or after, I was never able to this day to know: for I had before had some Love to the Things and People which were good, and a restraint from other Sins except those forementioned; and so much from those that I seldom committed most of them, and when I did, it was with great reluctancy. And both now and formerly I knew that Christ was the only Mediator by whom we must have Pardon, Justification, and Life: But even at that time, I had little lively sense of the Love of God in Christ to the World or me, nor of my special need of him: for Pardons and all Papists almost are too short upon this Subject.

And about that time it pleased God that a poor Pedlar came to the Door that
had Ballads and some good Books: And my Father bought of him Dr. Sibb's bru-

sed Reed. This also I read, and found it suited to my state, and so far so good for me; which opened more the Love of God to me, and gave me a livelier apprehension of the Mystery of Redemption, and how much I was beholden to Jesus Christ.

All this while neither my Father nor I had any Acquaintance or Familiarity with any that had any Understanding in Matters of Religion, nor ever heard any pray ex tempore: But my Prayers were the Confession in the Common-Prayer Book, and sometime one of Mr. Bradford's Prayers, (in a Book called his Prayers and Me-
ditations) and sometime a Prayer out of another Prayer-Book which we had.

After this we had a Servant that had a little Piece of Mr. Perkins's Works (of Re-

pentance, and the right Art of Living and Dying well, and the Government of the Tongue): And the reading of that did further inform me, and confirm me. And thus (without any means but Books) was God pleased to resolve me for himself.

§ 4. When I was ready for the Univercity, my Master drew me into another way which kept me thence, where were my vehement desires. He had a Friend at Ludlow, Chaplin to the Council there, called Mr. Richard Wickstead; whose Place having allowance from the King (who maintained the House) for one to attend him, he told my Master that he was purposed to have a Scholar fit for the Un-

iversity; and having but one, would be better to him than any Tutor in the Un-

iversity could be: whereupon my Master persuaded me to accept the offer, and told me it would be better than the University to me: I believed him as knowing no bet-

ter my self; and it suited well with my Parents minds, who were willing to have me as near to them as possible (having no Children but my self): And so I left my School-

master for a supposed Tutor: But when I had tried him I found my self deceived; his business was to please the Great Ones, and seek Preferment in the World; and to that end found it necessary sometimess to give the Puritans a flirt, and call them unlearned, and speak much for Learning, being but a Superficial Scholar of himself: He never read to me, nor used any favour. Diftcurfe of God-

linefs; only he loved me, and allowed me Books and Time enough: So that as I had no confiderable helps from him in my Studies, so had I no confiderable hinderance.

And though the House was great (there being four Judges, the King's Attorney, the Secretary, the Clerk of the Pines, with all their Servants, and all the Lord Pre-

sident's Servants, and many more) and though the Town was full of Temptations, through the multitude of Pulpits, (Counsellors, Attorneys, Officers, and Clerks) and much given to osling and excels, it pleased God not only to keep me from them, but also to give me one intimate Companion, who was the greatesf help to my Serioufness in Religion, that ever I had before, and was a daily Watchman over my Soul! We walk'd together, we read together, we prayed together, and when we could we lay together: And having been brought out of great Diftreb to Pro-

sperity, and his Affections being fervent, though his Knowledge not great, he would be always tifting me up to Zeal and Diligence, and even in the Night would rise up to Prayer and Thanking to God, and wonder that I could sleepp to it, that the thoughts of God's Mercy did not make me all to do as he did! He was unwearied in reading all ferior Practical Books of Divinity; especially Per-

kins, Bolton, Dr. Preston, Elton, Dr. Taylor, Whately, Harris, &c. He was the firft that ever I heard pray Ex tempore (out of the Pulpit) and that taught me fo to pray: And his Charity and liberality was equal to his Zeal; fo that God made him a great means of my good, who had more knowledge than he, but a colder heart.

Yet before we had been Two years acquainted, he fell once and a second time by the power of Temptation into a degree of Drunkennels, which fo terrified him upon the review (especially after the second time) that he was near to De-
lpair; and went to good Ministers with sad Confessions: And when I had left the House and his Company, he fell into it again and again fo oft, that at last his Con-

science could have no Relief or Ease but in changing his Judgment, and disowning the Teachers and Doctrines which had restrained him. And he did it on this manner: One of his Superiors, on whom he had dependance, was a man of great Sobriety and Temperance, and of much Devotion in his way; but very zea-
lous against the Nonconformists, ordinarily talking most bitterly against them, and reading almost only such Books as encouraged him in this way: By converses with this Man, my Friend was first drawn to abate his Charity to Nonconformists; and then to think and speak reproachfully of them; and next that to dislike all those that came near them, and to say that such as Bolton were too severe, and enough to make men mad: And the last I heard of him was, that he was grown a Fudler, and Railer at thievicn men. But whether God recovered him, or what became of him I cannot tell.

§ 5. From
§ 5. From Ludlow Castle, after a year and half, I returned to my Father's House, and by that time my old School-master, Mr. John Owen, was sick of a Consumption (which was his Death:) and the Lord Newport desired me to teach that School till he either recovered or died, (refolving to take his Brother after him if he died:) which I did about a quarter of a year, or more.

After that old Mr. Francis Garbett (the faithful, learned Minister at Wroxster) for about a Month read Logick to me, and provoked me to a closer Courfe of Study; which yet was greatly interrupted by my bodily weakness, and the troubled Condition of my Soul. For being in expectation of Death, by a violent Cough, with Spitting of Blood, &c. of two years continuance, supposed to be a deep degree of a Consumption, I was yet more awakened to be serious, and licentious about my Soul's everlasting State: And I came fo short of that fensible and feroioufsness, which a Matter of fuch infinite weight required, that I was in many years doubt of my Sincerity, and thought I had no Spiritual Life at all. I wondered at the fensible hardness of my heart, that could think and talk of Sin and Hell, and Chrift and Grace, of God and Heaven, with no more feeling: I cried out from day to day to God for Grace against this fensible Deadnefs; I called my felf the moft hard hearted Sinner, that could feel nothing of all that I knew and talk of: I was not then fensible of the incomparably Excellency of Holy Love, and Delight in God, nor much employed in Thanksgiving and Praife: But all my Groans were for more Contrition, and a broken Heart, and I prayed moly for Tears and Tendernefs.

And thus I complained for many Years to God and Man, and between the Expectations of Death, and the Doubs of my own Sincerity in Grace, I was kept in some more care of my Salvation, than my Nature (too flupid and too far from Melancholy) was eafily brought to.

At this time I remember, the reading of Mr. Ezek. Culverwell's Treatife of Faith did me much good, and many other excellent Books, were made my Teachers and Comforfors: And the use of God made of Books, above Ministers, to the beneft of my Soul, made me somewhat exceffively in love with good Books; fo that I thought I had never know, but I fcarp'd up as great a Treasure of them as I could.

Thus was I long kept with the Calls of approaching Death at one Ear, and the Questionings of a doubtful Confcience at the other! and fince then I have found that this method of God's was very wise, and no other was fo like to have tended to my good. These Benefts of it I fensible perceived.

1. It made me wise and loathfome to my felf, and made Pride one of the hatefull Sins in the World to me! I thought of my felf as I now think of a defeatable Sinner, and my Enemy, that is, with a Love of Benevolence, willing them well, but with little Love of Complacency at all: And the long continuance of it, tendered the more efectually to a habit.

2. It much restrained me from that sportful Levity and Vanity which my Nature and Youthfullnes did much incline me to, and caufed me to meet Temptations to Senfuality with the greatest fear, and made them lefs effectual againft me.

3. It made the Doctrine of Redemption the more favoury to me, and my thoughts of Chrift to be more feriouf and regardful, than before they were. I reember in the beginning how favoury my reading was Mr. Perkins's short Treatife of the Right Knowledge of Chrift crucified, and his Exposition of the Creed; because they taught me how to live by Faith on Chrift.

4. It made the World feem to me as a Carkafe that had neither Life nor Loveliness: And it defroyed thofe Ambitious defires after Literate Fame, which was the Sin of my Childhood! I had a desire before to have attained the higheft Academical Degrees and Reputation of Learning, and to have chosen out my Studies accordingly; but Sickness and Solitude for my doubting Soul did shame away all thefe Thoughts as Fooleries and Children's Plays.

5. It let me upon that Method of my Studies, which since then I have found the benefit of, though at the time I was not fatisfied with my felf. It caufed me first to feeke God's Kingdom and his Righteousnes, and moft to mind the One thing needful; and to determine firft of my Ultimate End; by which I was engaged to choose out and profeccure all other Studies, but as moft to that end: Therefore Divinity was not only carried on with the reft of my Studies with an equal hand, but always had the firft and chiefefl place! And it caufed me to study Pratical Divinity firft, in the moft Pratical Books, in a Pratical Order; doing all purposely for the informing and reforming of my own Soul. So that I had read a multitude of our Englifh Pratical Treatifes, before I had ever read any other Bodies of Divinity, than Urfsine and Amelines, or two or three more.

By
By which means my Affection was carried on with my Judgment: And by that means I profected all my Studies with unweariedness and delight; And by that means all that I read did stick the better in my memory: and also lost of my time was lost by lazy intermissions: but my bodily Infirmities always cau’d me to loze (or spend) much of it in Motion and Corporal Exercises; which was sometimes by Walking, and sometimes at the Plow, and such Country Labours.

But one lost I had by this Method, which hath proved irreparable; That I miss that part of Learning which flood at the greatest distance (in my thoughts) from my Ultimate End, (though no doubt but remotely it may be a valuable means), and I could never since find time to get it. Besides the Latin Tongue, and but a mediocrity in Greek (with an inconsiderable trial at the Hebrew long after) I had no great skill in Languages: Though I saw that an accurateness and thorow insight in the Greek and Hebrew were very deliraible; but I was so eagerly carried after the Knowledge of Things, that I too much neglected the Study of Words.

And for the Mathematics, I was an utter stranger to them, and never could find in my heart to divert any Studies that way. But in order to the Knowledge of Divinity my inclination was most to Logic and Metaphysics, with that part Physics which treateth of the Soul, contenting my self at first with a lighter study of the ref: And there had my Labour and Delight. Which occasioned me (perhaps too soon) to plunge my self very early into the Study of Controversies; and to read all the School-men I could get; (for next Practical Divinity, no Books so suited with my Disposition as Aquinas, Scotus, Durandus, Ockam, and their Disciples; because I thought they narrowly searched after Truth, and brought Things out of the darknes of Confusion:} For I could never from my first Studies endure Confusion! Till Equivoques were explained, and Definition and Difinition led the way, I had rather hold my Tongue than speak! and was never more weary of Learned Mens Discourses, than when I heard them long wrangling about unexpounded Words or Things, and eagerly Disputing before they understood each others Minds; and vehemently allerting Modes and Consequences and Adjuncts, before they considered of the Quod fit, the Quod fit, or the Quotuplex. I never thought I understood any thing till I could anatomize it, and fee the parts distinctly, and the Conjinition of the parts as they make up the whole. Difinition and Method seemed to me of that necessity, that without them I could not befaid to know; and the Duples which forook them, or obufed them, feem but as incoherent Dreams.

§ 6. And as for those Doubts of my own Salvation, which exercis’d me many years, the chiefest Caufes of them were thefe:

1. Because I could not distinctly trace the Workings of the Spirit upon my heart in that method which Mr. Halton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Regent, and other Divines decribe: nor knew the Time of my Conversion, being wrought on by the forementioned Degrees. But since then I understand that the Soul is in too dark and passionare a plight at first, to be able to keep an exact account of the order of its own Operations; and that preparatory Grace being sometimes longer and sometimes shorter, and the first degree of Special Grace being infinitely small, it is not possible that one of very many should be able to give any true account of the juft Time when Special Grace began, and advanced him above the State of Preparation.

2. My second Doubt was as aforesaid, because of the hardnes of my heart, or want of such lively Apprehensions of Things Spiritual, which I had about Things Corporal. And though I still groan under this as my sin and want, yet I now perceive that a Soul in Flesh doth work so much after the manner of the Flesh, that it much defirith fenfible Apprehensions; but Things Spiritual and Diftant are not fo apt to work upon them, and to flir the Passions, as Things present and fenfible are; especially being known so darkly as the State and operations of Separated Souls, are known to us who are in the Body: And that the Rational Operations of the higher Faculties (the Intellect and Will) may without so much passion, set God and Things Spiritual highest within us, and give them the preheminence, and subject all Carnal Interest to them, and give them the Government of the Heart and Life: and that this is the ordinary State of a Believer.

3. My next Doubt was, left Education and Fear had done all that ever was done upon my Soul, and Regeneration and Love were yet to seek: because I had found Convictions from my Childhood, and found more Fear than Love in all my Duties and Restraunts.
But I afterward perceived that Education is God's ordinary way for the Conveyance of his Grace, and ought no more to be fet in opposition to the Spirit, than the preaching of the Word; and that it was the great Mercy of God to begin with me so soon, and to prevent such sins as else might have been my shame and sorrow while I lived; and that Repentance is good, but Prevention and Innocence is better; which though we cannot attain in perfection, yet the more the better. And I understood, that though Fear without Love be not a state of Saving Grace, and greater Love to the World than to God be not consistent with Sincerity; yet a little predominant Love (prevailing against worldly Love.) conjunct with a far greater measure of Fear, may be a state of Special Grace! And that Fear being an easier and irrefrangible Passion, doth oft obscure that measure of Love which is indeed within us! And that the Soul of a Believer groweth up by degrees, from the more troublesome (but safe) Operations of Fear, to the more high and excellent Operations of Complacient Love; even as it hath more of the ftemp of the Love of God in Christ, and belief of the Heavenly Life which it approacheth: And that it is long before Love be sensibly predominant in respect of Fear (that is, of Self-love and Self-preference), though at the first it is predominant against Worldly Love. And I found that my hearty Love of the Word of God, and of the Servants of God, and my desires to be more holy, and especially the hatred of my Heart for loving God no more, and my Love to love him, and being pleasing to him, was not without some Love to himself, though it worketh more sensibly on his nearer Image.

4. Another of my Doubts was because my Grief and Humiliation was no greater, and because I could weep no more for this.

But I understood at last that God breaketh not all Mens hearts alike, and that the gradual proceedings of his Grace might be one cause, and my Nature not apt to weep for other Things another: And that the Change of our Heart from Sin to God, is true Repentance; and a loathing of our selves is true Humiliation! and that he that had rather leave his Sin, than have leave to keep it, and had rather be the most holy, than have leave to be unholy or less holy, is neither without true Repentance, nor the Love of God.

5. Another of my Doubts was, because I had after my Change committed some Sins deliberately and knowingly: And be they never so small, I thought he that could sin upon knowledge and deliberation had no true Grace, and that if I had but had as strong Temptations to Fornication, Drunkenness, Fraud, or other more heinous Sins, I might also have committed them! And if these proved that I had then no Saving Grace, after all that I had felt, I thought it unlikely that ever I should have any.

This ftruck with me longer than any of the rest; and the more, because that every Sin which I knowingly did renew it; And the terms on which I receive Confutation against it are these: (Not as those that think every Sin against Knowledge doth nullifie all our former Grace and Unregenerate us; and that every time we Repent of such, we have a new Regeneration: but)

1. All Saving Grace doth indeed put the Soul into a state of Enmity to Sin as Sin, and consequently to every known Sin.

2. This Enmity must shew it itself in Victory; for bare striving, when we are overcome, and yielding to sin when we have a while striven against it, proveth not the Soul to be sincere.

3. Yet do not God's Children always overcome; for then they should not sin at all! But be that faith be hath no sin deceiveth himself.

4. God's Children always overcome the Tempations which would draw them to a wicked unholy state of Life, and would unregenerate them and change their state, and turn them back from God to a filthy worldly Life; and also to any particular Sin which proveth such a state, and signifyeth a Heart which hath more habitual Love to the World than unto God (which may well be called a Mortal Sin, as proving the Sinner in a state of Death; as others may be called Venial Sins, which are consistent with Spiritual Life and a Justified State).

5. Therefore whenever a justified Person sinneth, the Temptation at that time prevaileth against the Spirit, and the Love of God! not to the Extinction of the Love of God, nor to the Destruction of the Habit, nor the setting up of the contrary Habit in predominancy; as setting up the habitual Love of any Sin above the habitual Love of God! The inclination of the Soul is still more to God; And he esteemeth him most, and preferreth him in the adherence of his Will, in the main bent and course of Heart and Life; only he is overcome, and so far abateth the actual
actual Love and Obedience to God, as to commit this particular Act of Sin, and remit or omit that Act of Love.

6. And this it is possible for a justified Person to do upon some deliberation: For as Grace may strive one instant only in one Act, and then be suddenly overcome; so it may strive longer, and keep the Mind on Considerations of restraining Motives, and yet be overcome.

7. For it is not the mere Length of Consideration which is enough to excite the Heart against Sin, but there must be clearness of Light, and levelling in those Considerations: And sometimes a sudden Conviction is to clear, and great, and sensible, that in an instant it filleth up the Soul to an utter abhorrence of the Temptation, when the same Man at another time may have all the same thoughts, in so steeply a degree as shall not prevail. And sometimes the weaknesses of Grace as much apperceive by making no resistance at all, by causing deliberation (even in Sins of Pation and Surprise) as at other times it doth, by yielding after dull deliberations.

8. And though a little Sin must be hated, and universal Obedience must prove our Sincerity, and no one Sin must be wilfully continued in; yet it is certain that God's Servants do not oft commit Sins materially great and heinous (as Fornication, Drunkenness, Perjury, Oppression, Deceit, &c.) and yet that they often commit some lesser Sins, (as idle thoughts, and idle words, and dulness in holy Duties, defectiveness in the Love of God, and omission of holy Thoughts and Words, &c.) And that the Tempter oft getteth advantage even with them, by telling them that the Sin is small, and such as God's Servants ordinarily commit; and that naturally we fly with greater fear from a great danger than from a less; from a wound at the heart than a cut finger! And therefore one reason why idle words and foolish thoughts are even deliberately offered committed than most heinous Sins, is because the Soul is not subdued so much by fear and care to make resistance: And Love needeth the help of fear in this our weak condition.

9. And it is certain that usefully the Servants of God, being men of most knowledge, do therefore sin against more knowledge than others do; for there are but few Sins, which they know not to be Sins: They know that idle Thoughts and Words, and the omissions of the contrary, are their sins.

10. There are some Sins of such difficulty to avoid, (as the disorder or omission of holy Thoughts, and the defects of Love to God, &c.) and some Temptations so strong, and the Soul in so sluggish a state to resist, that good Thoughts which are in deliberation used against them, are borne down at first, and are left effectual.

11. And our present flock of Habitual Grace is never efficient of itself, without Co-operating Grace from Christ: And therefore, when we provoke him to withhold his help, no wonder if we shew our weaknesses, so far as to stumble in the way to Heaven, or to step out into some by-path, or break over the hedge, and sometimes to look back, and yet never to turn back, and go again from God to the World.

12. And because no full of a Saint, which is Finite, an Infirmity, consistent with Grace, doth either destroy the habit of Love and Grace, or set up a contrary habit above it, nor yet pervert the scope and bent of the Conversation, but only prevails to a particular Act, it therefore followeth, that the Soul riseth up from such a Sin by true Repentance, and that the new Nature or Habit of Love within us, will work out the Sin as soon as it hath advantage: As the Needle in the Compass will return to its proper Point, when the force that moved it doth cease; and as a running Stream will turn clear again, when the force that muddied it is past. And this Repentance will do much to increase our hatred of the Sin, and fortify us against the next Temptation: So that though there be some Sins, which through our great Infirmity we daily commit, as we daily repent of them (as disorderly Thoughts, defects of Love, neglect of God, &c.) yet it will not be so with those Sins which a willing, faster, habituated Person hath more in his power to cast out.

13. And yet when all is done, Sin will have fear, and the more, by how much the more deliberate and useful it is: And the best way to keep under Doubts and Fears, and to keep up Comfort, is to keep up Actual Obedience, and quickly and penitently return when we have sinned. This much I thought meet to say for the sake of others who may fall into the same Temptations and Perplexities.
§ 7. The Means by which God was pleased to give me some Peace and Comfort, were,

1. The Reading of many Confolation Books.
2. The obervation of other Men's Condition: When I heard many make the very fame Complaints that I did, who were People of whom I had the belt esteem, for the uprightness and holines of their Lives, it much abated my fears and troubles. And in particular it much comforted me, to read him whom I loved as one of the holieft of all the Martyrs, Mr. John Bradford, ftubfcribing himself fo often, [The hard-hearted fiomer; and the miferable hard-hearted finner] even as I was used to do my felf.

3. And it much increafed my peace when God's Providence did come to the conforting of many others that had the fame Complaints: While I anfwered their Doubts, I anfwered my own; and the Charity which I was conftantly exercifed for them refounded to my felf, and intenfibly abated my Fears, and procured me an increaf of quiennes of Mind.

And yet after all, I was glad of Probabilities instead of full un doubted Certainties; and to this very day, though I have no fuch degree of Doubtfulness as is any great trouble to my Soul, or procured any great dilqui feting Fears, yet cannot I lay that I have fuch a certainty of my own fiucner in Grace, as excluded all Doubts and Fears of the contrary.

§ 8. At that time also God was pleased much to comfort and ftete me by the acquaintance of fome Reverend peaceable Divine; Mr. Garfet (aforefaid) and Mr. George Baxter of Little Wenlock, (very holy men and peaceable, who laboured faithfully with little fucces till they were above fourfcore years of Age afpecke; efppecially old Mr. Samuel Smith, fome time of Prittlewell in Efife, but then of Croifedge in Shropfibre, (who hath written on the 6th of Heifa, the 23d Pfalm, the 5th Pfalm, the 90th Pfalm, the Eunuch's Conversion, Noah's Dove, the Great Affijice, and other Books: This good Man was one of my moft familiar Friends, in whom Converfe I took very much delight; who was buried but this Winter 1664, at his Native place at Danby in Worcefteshire.

§ 9. And becaufe the Cafe of my Body had a great Operation upon my Soul, and the History of it is fomewha: neceffary to the right understanding of the reft, and yet it is not a Matter worthy to be oit mentioned, Ihall here together give you a brief Account of the moft of my Afflications of that kind, referring the mention of fome particular Deliverances to the proper place.

I was naturally of a found Conftitution, but very thin and lean and weak, and efpecially of a very defibility of the Nerves. At seven years old I had the Meafsles, and at fourteen the Small-pox: I too fon after them went into the cold, and after (in a Leaffnes) went into a River or Brook to wafh me; and I eat raw Apples and Pears and Plumbs in great quantities for many years: All which together brought me into a violent Catarrh and Cough, which would not let me fleep quietly in the Night. When this had continued about two years, my Body being very thin, and Consumptions then common in the Country, I was much afraid of a Consumption: And ftrft I did eat great fount of raw Garlick, which took off fome part of my Cough, but put an Acrimony into my Blood, which natu rally was acrimonious.

After this the Spitting of Blood increafed my fears: After that Sir Henry Herbert advised me to take the Flower of Brimfone, which I continued till I had taken seven Ounces; which took off moft of the remainder of my Cough, but increafed the Acrimony of my Blood.

Then an unskillful Phyfician perfwaded me that I had a Heafick, and to cure that I took much Milk from the Cow, and other pitifious cooling things, and constant ly anointed my Stomach and Reins with refrigerating Oils of Violets and Rofes; and was utterly refrained from my utiful Exercife! By this time I had an extreme chillines without, and yet a ftange fiar about my Tongue, with a conftant extream defire of ftretching, that I thought I could almoft have endured a Rack; and an incredible fluidity at the Stomach, and a bleeding at the Nofe.

The next Phyfician (an Aged and Experinced Doctor) was confident the Scurvy was my chief Diftemper, and thereupon prefhed me more Acrimonious Medicaments, Scurvy-graft, Horfe-radift, Multard, Wormwood, &c. which ab inutably increafed my bleeding at the Nofe; infomuch as I bled many times half a Pint or a Pint a day, and it continuing long, I was much weakened: Yet under this fear of the Scurvy I continued two years taking excessive quantities of Acrimonious
monious Things; eating abundance of Mustard at every Meal, and drinking only
Wormwood-beer, &c. and using some Exercise, as much as time would give me
leave.

By this time divers eminent Physicians agreed that my Disease was the Hypo-
condriack Melancholy, and not the Scurvy.

To recite a Catalogue of my Symptoms and Pains, from Head to Feet, would
be a tedious interruption to the Reader: I shall therefore only lay this, that the
Symptoms and Effects of my General Indiposition were very terrible; such as
a flatulent Stomach, that turn'd all things into Wind; a Rheumatick head to a ve-
ry great degree; and great sharpness in my Blood, which occasioned me no slight
trouble by the excitation of my Fingers ends, which upon any heat I used, or Aro-
matick thing I took, would be raw and bloody: and every Spring and Fall, or by
any kind of heating, my Nofe flied fell a bleeding, and that with such a great vio-
lence, and in such excessive quantities, as often threatened my Life: which I then
ascribed to such Caufes as I have since liv'd to fee my felf mistaken in; for I am
now fully satisfied that all proceeded from Latent Stones in my Reins, occasioned
by unfuitable Diet in my Youth.

And yet two wonderful Mercies I had from God:

1. That I was never overwhelm'd with real Melancholy. My Diflemer never
went fo far as to poffefs me with any inordinate Fancies, or damp me with finking
Sadnefs, although the Physicians call'd it the Hypochondriack Melancholy. I had at
several times the Advice of no lefs than Six and thirty Physicians, by whole order
I had Druggs without number almoft, which God thought not fit to make suc-
feful for a Cure: and indeed all Authors that I read, acquainted me that my
Disease was incurable; whereupon I at laft forook the Doctors for the moft part,
except when the urgency of a Symptom, or Pain, contrained me to seek some
prelent care.

2. The second Mercy which I met with, was, that my Pains, though daily and
almost continual, did not very much disable me from my Duty; but I could Study,
and Preach, and Walk almoft as well if I had been free: (of which more anon.)

At laft falling into a fudden and great decay and debility, I went to Sir Theodore
Mayerne, who kept me in a long Courfe of Phyfic, which did me fome good for
the prefent; and after that, riding much in the Army did me more good than any thing:
But having one Symptom on me (the conftant excitation of my three
formoft Fingers ends on both Hands to the raw flied) he fent me to Tunbridge-
Waters, where I ftaid three Weeks; and after that my Difluctions and Agitation
of the Serous Matter, much encreafed, (though the Excitation ceafed at that
time;) and baffned my greater ruine. Especially one Error of his did me hurt: He vehemently pronoufcd me to the eating of Apples, which of all things in the
World had ever been my moft deadly Enemies; fo that when it was too late, Dr.
Mayerne perceived that though Arcretion dilipated the matter, yet meer flatyufry
pumped up the Blood, and was the moft immediate Caufe of the Hemorrhages.
Having taken cold with riding thin clothed in the Snow, and having but two
days eaten Apples before Meat, as he pronounced me, I fell into fuch a bleeding as
continued fi.x days, with fome fets of intermiffion; for that about a Gallon of Blood
that we noted was left, and what more I know not: Upon this both he and other
Physicians gave me up as hopelefs, through the weakness thereby occasioned, and
concluding that all would end in a Drofife, (for my Leggs began to fwell;) By
a Friend's revifion I wrote to Dr. George Bates, (Archiateer to King Charles the
Second, as Sir Theodore Mayerne was to King Charles the Firft) who confurmed me
exactly in all points with Dr. Mayerne, as if they had confulted, (the Cafe and the
Medicaments prefcribed being unual,) that I marvelfled at their Concord: and
by both their Counfels (though neither of them had any considerable hopes of
my Life,) I was not affifted, besides other Remedies, to be oit in purging, for all
my weakness, to prevent a Drofife. Within a quarter of a year I was able weak-
ly to Preach again; but continued divers years in languishing Pains and Weak-
neffes, double or fountfold to what I had before: So that besides all my former In-
firmities, even after this bleeding my chief Disease is a Pneumonia Senfuta, through
the great Diminution of Nature's Stock: And till the fame Symptoms as molt
men have about Four-score years of Age, are added to thofe which I had be-
fore.

In some Fleming Necessities my later Physicians, after all this, did four or five
times take some Blood from me; and once a spoonial in about seven Ounces of Se-
rum, did coagulate; but at no other time would one jot of it ever coagulate or co-
here,
here, but was a meer putrilage fine fibris, like thin Ink or Saw-pit Water.
To keep this Blood in the relaxed Vessels was now all my Cares, which daily shed abroad upon my Eyes, and Teeth, and Jaws, and Joynts, so that I had scarce rest night or day: (of some of the Effects, and my Remedy which God blessed to my eafe, I shall speak more afterward.) With such Blood, in a kind of Atroplie, which hath caused a very troublesome Drowsinesse to seize upon and follow me, I have lived now these many years, and wrote all the Books that ever I wrote, and done the greatest part of my Service: My chiefest Remedies are,
1. Temperance as to quantity and quality of Food: for every bit or spoonful too much, and all that is not exceeding ease of digestion, and all that is flatulent, do turn all to Wind, and disorder my Head.
2. Exercise till I sweat: For if I walk not hard with almost all my strength, an hour before Dinner, and an hour before Supper, till I sweat well, I am not able to digest two Meals; and cannot expect to live when I am disabled for Exercise, being perfectly overwheimed with chillinesse, flatulency, and ferocity.
3. A constant Extrinsicke Heat, by a great Fire, which may keep me till near to a Sweat, if not in it: (for I am seldom well at ease but in a Sweat).
4. Beer as hot as my Throat will endure, drunk all at once, to make me Sweat.
These are the Means which God hath used to draw out my days, and give me ease (with one Herb inwardly taken): which I write for the sake of any Students that may be near the same Distemper; but almost all Physick did me harm: And no Aromaticall Thing now can I taste, but it fetteth my Nose a bleeding, though since I bled a Gallon I am not so prone to it as before.
I have cast in all this here together, that the Reader may better understand other things, and may not too oft be troubled with such Matters. But now at the Age of near Seventy years, what Changes and Fad Days and Nights I undergo, I after tell.
§ 10. About the Eighteenth year of my Age Mr. Wickhead, with whom I had lived at Ludlow, had almost persuadewith to lay by all my Preparations for the Ministr}' and to go to London, and get acquaintance at Court, and get some Office, as being the only rising way. I had no mind of his Counsel who had helped me no better before; yet because that they knew that he loved me, and they had no great inclination to my being a Minifler, my Parents accepted of his Motion: He told them that if I would go up and live a while with Sir Henry Herbert, then Master of the Revels, he would quickly set me in a rising way.
I would not be disobedient, but went up, and stayed at Whitehall with Sir H. H. about a month: But I had quickly enough of the Court; when I saw a Stage-Play instead of a Sermon on the Lord's days in the Afternoon, and saw what Court was there in fashion, and heard little Preaching, but what was as to one part against the Puritians, I was glad to be gone: And at the same time it pleased God that my Mother fell sick, and desired my return; and so I resolved to bid farewell to dike kind of Employments and Expectations.
While I was in London I fell into Acquaintance with a sober, godly, understanding Apprentice of Mr. Philemon Stephens the Bookkeller, whose Name was Humphrey Bloeden (who is since turned an extraordinary Chymist, and got Jacob Behem his Books translated and printed), whom I very much loved, and who by his Confolatory Letters and Directions for Books, did afterwards do me the Offices of an useful Friend.
§ 11. When I was going home again into the Country about Christmas-day, the greatest Snow began that hath been in this Age, which continued thence till Ew. As. 1634, at which some places had it many yards deep; and before it was a very hard Frost, which necessitated me to Frost-nail my Horfe twice or thrice a day. On the Road I met a Waggon loaded, where I had no Passage by, but on the side of a bank, which as I passed over, all my Horfes feet flipp'd from under him, and all the Girshs brake, and so I was cast just before the Waggon Wheel, which had gone over me, but that it pleased God, that suddenly the Horfes flolpt, without any discernible cause, till I was recovered: which commanded me to observe the Mercy of my Protector.
§ 12. This minished me of some other Dangers and Deliverances which I past over. At Seventeen years of Age, as I rode out on a great unruly Horfe for pleasure, which was wont on a sudden to get the Bit in his Teeth, and run as flying as I was in a Field of high Ground, there being on the other side a Quick-fer Hedge, a very deep narrow Lane, about a Stories height below me; suddenly the Horfe got
got the Bridle as aforesaid, and set on running; and in the midst of his running unexpectedly turned aside, and leapt over the top of the Hedge into that deep Lane: I was somewhat before him at the Ground, and as the Mire lowered me from the hurt beneath, so it pleased God that the Horse never touched me, but he light with two feet on one side of me, and two on the other; though the place made it marvellous, how his feet could fall besides me.

§ 13. While I look back to this, it maketh me remember how God at that time did cure my inclination to Gaming: About Seventeen years of Age being at Ludlow Castle, where many idle Gentlemen had little else to do, I had a mind to learn to play at Tables; and the best Gamer there in the House undertook to teach me! As I remember, the first or second Game, when he had to much the better that it was an hundred to one, besides the difference of our skills, the standers by laughed at me, as well as he, for not giving it up, and told me the Game was lost: I knew no more but that it was not lost till all my Table-men were left, and would not give it over till then. He told me, that he would lay me an hundred to one of it, and in good earnest laid me down ten shillings to my fix pence: As soon as ever the Money was down, whereas he told me that there was no possibility of my Game, but by one Call often, I had every Call the fame I wished, and he had every one according to my desire, so that he might one could go four or five times about the Room his Game was gone, which put him in so great an admiration, that I took the hint, and believed that the Devil had the ruling of the Dice, and did it to entice me on to be a Gamer. And so I gave him his Ten shillings again, and resolved I would never more play at Tables whilst I lived.

§ 14. But to return to the place where I left: When I came home from London, I found my Mother in extremity of Pain, and spent that Winter in the hearing of her; Heart-piercing Groans, (that up in the great Snow, which many that went abroad did perish in) till on May the 20th died.

At Kidderminster, the Town being in want of fire, went all to shovel the way over the Heath to Stone-bridge, from whence their Coals come; and so great and hidden a Storm of Snow fell, as overwhelmed them; so that some perished in it, and others left their Lives by getting into a little Cleft that standeth on the Heath, and others escaped home with much ado.

§ 15. Above a year after the Death of my Mother, my Father married a Woman of great Sincerity in the Fear of God, Mary the Daughter of Sir Tho. Hawkes: whose Holiness, Mortification, Contempt of the World, and fervent Prayer (in which she spent a great part of her Life:) have been so exceedingly Exemplary, as made her a Special Blessing to our Family, an Honour to Religion, and an honourable Pattern to those that knew her. She lived to be 96 years old.

§ 16. From the Age of 21 till near 23, my Weakness was so great, that I expected not to live above a year; and my own Soul being under the most affur-}

page 12

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.

The LIFE of the

L I B. I.
PART I. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

§ 17. Till this time I was satisfied in the Matter of Conformity: Whilft I was young I had never been acquainted with any that were against it; or that questioned it. I had joyed with the Common-Prayer with as hearty fervency as afterward I did with other Prayers! As long as I had no Prejudice against it, I had no stop in my Devotions from any of its Imperfections.

At last at about 20 years of Age, I became acquainted with Mr. Simonds, Mr. Cradock, and other very zealous godly Nonconformists in Shrewsbury, and the adjoining parts, whose fervent Prayers and favoury Conference and holy Lives did profit me much. And when I understood that they were People persecuted by the Bishops, I found much prejudice arise in my heart against those that perfected them, and thought those that silenced and troubled such Men could not be the genuine Followers of the Lord of Love.

But yet I resolved that I would study the Point, as well as I was able, before I would be confident on either side: And it prejudiced me against the Nonconformists, because we had but one of them near us, (one Mr. Barnel of Uphinton,) who, though he was a very honest blameless Man, yet was reputed to be but a mean Scholar; when Mr. Garber, and some other Nonconformists, were more Learned Men: And withal, the Books of the Nonconformists were then so scarce, and hard to be got (because of the danger) that I could not come to know their reasons. Whereas on the contrary side, Mr. Garber and Mr. Samuel Smith, did send me Downhams, Sprits, Dr. Burger, and others of the strongest that had wrote against the Nonconformists; upon the reading of which I could not see but the Cause of the Conformists was very justifiable, and the reasoning of the Nonconformists weak.

Hereupon when I thought of Ordination, I had no Scruple at all against Subscription: And yet so precipitant and rash was I, that I had never once read over the Book of Ordination, which was one to which I was to Subscribe; nor half read over the Book of Homilies, nor exactly weighed the Book of Common-Prayer, nor was I of sufficient Understanding to determine confidently in some Controversed Points in the 39 Articles. But my Teachers and my Books having cau sed me in general to think the Conformists had the better Cause, I kept out all particular Scruples by that Opinion.

§ 18. At that time old Mr. Richard Foley of Stourbridge in Worcestershire, had recovered some alienated Lands at Dudley, which had been left to Charitable Uses, and added something of his own, and built a convenient new School-House, and was to choose his first School-Master and Usher: By the means of James Berry (who lived in the House with me, and had lived with him) he desired me to accept it. I thought it an inconvenient Condition for my Entrance, because I might also Preach up and down in Places that were most ignorant, before I presumed to take a Pastoral Charge (to which I had no inclination). So to Dudley I went, and Mr. Foley and James Berry going with me to Worcester, at the Time of Ordination, I was Ordained by the Bishop, and had a Licence to teach School; for which (being Examined) I Subscribed.

§ 19. Being settled (with an Usher) in the new School at Dudley, and living in the House of Mr. Richard Foley Junior, I there preached my first Publick Sermon in the upper Parish Church; and afterwards Preached in the Villages about; and there had occasion to fall afield upon the study of Conformity: For there were many private Christians thereabouts that were Nonconformists, and one in the House with me. And that excellent Man, Mr. William Femner, had lately lived two miles off at Sedgley, who by defending Conformity, and honouring it by a wonderfully powerful and successful way of Preaching, Conference, and holy Living, had stirred up the Nonconformists the more to a vehement pleading of their Cause; And though they were there generally godly honest People, yet very censorious, and made Conformity no small fault: And they lent me Manuscripts and Books which I never saw before; whereupon I thought it my Duty to set upon a serious impartial Trial of the whole Cause.

The Cause of Epifcopacy Bilhop Downham had much satisfied me in before; and I had not then a sufficient Understanding of the difference betwixt the Arguments for an Epifcopacy in general, and for our Englishe Diocesans in particular. The Cause of Kneeling at the Sacrament I studied next: and Mr. Payldy fully satisfied me for Conformity in that. I turned over Cartwright and Whitgift, and others; but having lately procured Dr. Ames fresh Site, I thought it my belt way to study throughly Dr. Burger (his Father-in-law) and him, as the likeliest means to avoid dilution among a multitude of Writers, and not to lose the Truth in crowds.
The LIFE of the

crowds of Words; seeing these two were reputed the strongest on each side. So I borrowed Amens his Freib Suit, &c. and because I could not keep it, I transcribed the strength of it the broad Margin of Dr. Burgess his Rejoyn'd, over against each Paragraph which he replied to. And I spent a considerable time in the strictest Examination of both which I could perform.

And the result of all my Studies was as followeth: Kneeling I thought lawful, and all near Circumstances determined by the Magistrate, which God in Nature or Scripture hath determined of only in the General. The Surplice I more doubted of; but more inclined to think it lawful: And though I purposed, while I doubted, to forbear till necessity lay upon me, yet could I not have justified the forsaking of my Ministr'y for it; (though I never wore it to this day). The Ring in Marriage I made no Scruple about. The Cross in Baptism I thought Dr. Ames proved unlawful; and though I was not without some doubting in the Point, yet because I most inclined to judge it unlawful, never once used it to this day. A Form of Prayer and Liturgy I judged to be lawful, and in some Cafes lawfully imposed: Our Liturgy in particular, I judged to have much disorder and deservings in it, but nothing which should make the use of it, in the ordinary Publick Worship, to be unlawful to them that have not Liberty to do better. Discipline I wanted in the Church, and saw the bad Effects of its neglect: But I did not then understand that the very Frame of Diocesan Prelacy excluded it, but thought it had been only the Bishops personal neglects. Subscription I began to judge unlawful, and saw that I finned by temerity in what I did: For though I could still use the Common Prayer, and was not yet against Diocesan, yet to Subscribe, Ex Ammon, That there is nothing in the three Books contrary to the Word of God, was that, which if it had been to do again, I durst not do. So that Subscription, and the Cross in Baptism, and the promiscuous giving of the Lord's Supper to all Drunkards, Swears, Fornicators, Scorners at Godliness, &c. that are not Excommunicate by a Bishop or Chancellor that is out of their Acquaintance. These three were all that I now became a Nonconformist to.

But most of this I kept to my self. I daily disputed against the Nonconformists; for I found their Conformities and Inclinations towards Separation, (in the weaker sort of them) to be a Threatening Evil, and contrary to Christian Charity on one side, as Persecution is on the other. Some of them that pretended to much learning, engaged me in Writing to dispute the Case of Kneeling at the Sacra-

ments; which I followed till they gave it over. I laboured continually to repulse their Conformities, and the boldness and bitterness of their Language against the Bishops, and to reduce them to greater Patience and Charity. But I found that their Sufferings from the Bishops were the great impediment of my Success, and that he that will blow the Coals must not wonder if some Sparks do fly in his face; and that to persecute Men, and then call them to Charity, is like whipping Children to make them give over crying. The stronger sort of Christians can bear Maltises and Imprisonments and Reproaches for obeying God and Confidence, without abating their Charity or their Weakness to their Persecutors but to expect this from all the weak and injudicious, the young and passionate, is against all Reason and Experience: I saw that he that will be loved, must love; and he that rather choose to be more feared than loved, must expect to be hated, or loved but diminutively: And he that will have Children, must be a Father: and he that will be a Tyrant must be contented with Slaves.

§ 20. In this Town of Dudley I lived (not a Twelve-month) in much comfort, amongst a poor tractable People, lately famous for Drunkenness, but commonly more ready to bear God's Word with satisfaction and reformation, than most Places where I have come: So that having since the Wars set up a Monthly Lecture there, the Church was usually as much crowded within, and at the Windows, as ever I saw any London Congregations: (Partly through the great willingness of the People, and partly by the exceeding population of the Country, where the Woods and Commons are planted with Natives, Scots and Smiths, and other Iron-Workers, like a continued Village).

And here in my weakness I was obliged to thankfulnes to God, for a convenient Habituation, and the tender care of Mr. R. Foly's Wife, a Gentlewoman of such extraordinary thankfulness and Patience, with sincere Piety, as will not easily be believed by those that knew her not, who died about two years after.

§ 21. When I had been but three quarters of a year at Dudley, I was by God's very gracious Providence invited to Bridgewater, the second Town of Shropshire, to preach there as Assistant to the worthy Pastor of that place. As soon as I heard the
the place described, I perceived it was the fittest for me; for there was just such Employment as I desired, and could submit to, without that which I scrupled, and with some probability of peace and quietness.

The Minister of the place was Mr. William Madird, a grave and severe Ancient Divine, very honest and conscionable, and an excellent Preacher, but somewhat afflicted with want of Maintenance, and much more with a dead-hearted unprofitable People. The Town Maintenance being inconsiderable, he took the Patronage of Oldbury near the Town, a Village of scarce twenty Houses, and he desired me to be one half day in the Town, and the other at the Village; but my Lot after fell out to be mostly in the Town. The place is priviledged from all Episcopall Jurisdiction, except the Archbishops’s Triennial Visitation. There are six Parishes together, two in the Town, and four in the Country, that have all this Privilege. At Bridgnorth they have an Ordinary of their own, who, as an Officer, keepeth a constant Ecclesiastical Court, having the Jurisdiction of those six Parishes. This reverend and good man, Mr. Madird, was both Pastor and Official, the Place usually going along with that of the Preacher of that Town (though separable): By which means I had a very full Congregation to preach to, and a freedom from all those things which I scrupled or thought unlawful. I often read the Common Prayer before I preached, both on the Lord’s-days and Holy-days; but I never administered the Lord’s Supper, nor ever Baptized any Child with the Sign of the Cross, nor ever wore the surplice, nor was ever put to appear at any Bishop’s Court.

But the People proved a very ignorant, dead-hearted People, (the Town containing too much of Inns and Aholous, and having no general Trade to employ the Inhabitants in, which is the undoing of great Towns): so that though through the great Mercy of God, my first Labours were not without Success, to the Conversion of some ignorant careless Sinners unto God, and were over-valued by those that were already regardful of the Concernments of their Souls, yet were they not so successful as they proved afterwards in other Places. Though I was in the fervour of my Affections, and never any where preached with more vehement desires of Mens Conversion (and I account my Liberty with such success of Success which I there had, to be a Mercy which I can never be sufficiently thankful for) yet with the generality an Applause of the Preacher was most of the successes of the Sermon which I could hear of; and their tiping and ill company and dead-heartedness quickly drowned all.

§ 22. Whist I here exercised the first Labours of my Ministry, two several Affairs did threaten my Expulsion: The one was a new Oath, which was made by the Convocation, commonly called The Et cetera Oath: For it was to swear us all, That we would never Consent to the Alteration of the present Government of the Church, by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Arch-deacons, &c. This cast the Ministers throughout England into a Division, and new Disputes. Some would take the Oath, and some would not.

Thofe that were for it, said, That Episcopacy was fure Divino, and also ratified by a Law, and therefore if the Sovereign Power required it, we might well swear that we would never consent to alter it; and the King’s Apprehension of these Canons made them sufficiently obligatory unto us.

Thofe that were against it, said, 1. That Episcopacy was either contra jus Divinum, or at best not fure Divino, and therefore mutable when the King and Parliament pleased.

2. Or at leaft that it was undeniable, That Archbishops, and Deans, and Chapters, and Arch-deacons, &c. were not all fure Divino: say, that the English frame of Diocesans having many hundred Parish Churches under one Bishop in fum gradu, was not only against the Word of God, but destructive of all the Episcopacy which was known in the Church at leaft for 200 years.

3. They said that it was intolerable to swear to a blind Et cetera; for literally it included all the Officers of the Ecclesiastical Courts that are now in Exercise of the Government; Lay-Chancellors (that use the Keys for Excommunication and Absolution) Surrogates, Commisaries, Officials, and the rest. And was it ever known that all the Clergy was sworn to such an Anomalous Rabble?

4. They said that for ought they knew this Government in whole, or in some part, might be altered by the King and Parliament by a Law: And to tie up our selves by an Oath that we would never obey such a Law, nor consent to that which the King might command us, this they thought was a Bond of Disobedience, next to a Rebellion.
5. They said that it was against the Subjects Liberty; which alloweth them freely to Petition the King and Parliament for a Redress of any Grievance.

And if now a Lay-Chancellor's life of the Keys, e.g. were no burden to the People, we know not how God may make such Alterations by his Providence, as may make that a Grievance which now is none.

6. And they said it was against the Priviledges of Parliament, that such an Oath should be devised and imposed upon the Subjects, without a Law, or the Parliaments consent.

Thefe and other Reasons were pleaded against it: (And afterward when the Parliament took it into consideration, it was Condemned on these and other Accounts). The Ministers of the Country met together at Bridgnorth to Debate this Business, that they might have no Division: and some few were for the Oath, but more against it. This put me upon deeper Thoughts of the Point of Epifcopacy, and of the English frame of Church Government than ever I had before: and now I had the Opportunity of reading some Books, which I never had before. My very dear Friend, Mr. William Rowley, (a Gentleman of Shrewsbury) sent me Geffanus Buccaneers his Difcours of Gehuration Ecclesiae, and Didacliches Altare Domineum; and shortly after I had Parker de Pofit. Ecclefl. and Beneficiarum, and I received Bishop Downham, and compared his Reasons with Euceri, Didacliches, &c. And though I found not sufficient Evidence to prove all kind of Epifcopacy unlawful, yet I was much satisfied that the English Diocesan frame, was guilty of the Corruption of Churches and Miniftry, and of the ruine of the true Church Discipline, and Substituting an heterogeneal thing in its stead.

And thus the Et eatera Oath, which was imposed on us for the unalterable subjecting of us to Diocesans, was a chief means to alienate me, and many others from it. For now our doubts concerning that Subject were taken off by their violence; and we thought it best to follow our Business, and live in quietness, and let the Bishops alone, were roused by the terrours of an Oath to look about us, and understand what we did.

§ 23. This Oath also stirred up the differing Parties (who before were all one Party, even quiet Conformity) to speak more bitterly against one another than heretofore: And the differing Party began to think bitter of the Cause of Nonconformity, and to honour the Nonconformists more than they had done. And it fell out that at the time when we were thus roused up in England, or a little before, the Scots were also awakened in Scotland: For when all was quiet there under a more moderate Episcopacy than we had then in England, (though that Nation had been used to Presbyterian, a new Common Prayer Book (that is, the English one with some few Alterations) was framed, and imposed on the People of Scotland; who having not been used to that way of Worship, one Woman in Edinburghe cried out in the Church, Popery, Popery, and threw her Stool at the Priest; and others imitated her presently, and drove him out of the Church; and this little Spark for all Scotland quickly in a Flame. Insomuch that other Places taking as much disfaste at the Common Prayer, and at the Bishops also for its fake, and for fear of the Silencing of their Minifters, and some Minifters increasing their diffafte, the Lords presently were divided also; insomuch that the King was fain to instruct the Earl of Rochtire, as his Commissioner, to suppress the Malecontents: But in a short time the number of them to encrease, that the King's Commissioners could do no good on them, but they got the power of all the Land, because the far greater part of the Nobility with the Miniftry were conjoin'd. Hereupon they all entered into a National Covenant, to the fame purpofe as formerly that Nation had done, but they did it without the King's Authority. The Oath or Covenant was against Popery and Priacy, and to uphold the Gospel and Reformation. The Aberdeen Doctors diftineed from the Covenant, and many Writings paff on both fides between the Covenanters and them; till at laft the enfuing Wars did turn the Debates to another Strat.
And they said that the King having long diffused Parliaments upon Displeasure against them, because they curbed Monopolies, and corrected Abuses of Officers, &c., had no way to lay them by for ever, but to invade the Subjects Propriety, and to allure the power of laying Taxes and raising Moneys without them; and that if thus Parliaments and Propriety were destroyed, the Government was dissolved or altered, and no Man had any Security of Estate or Liberty or Life, but the Pleasure of the King, whose Will would be the only Law. They said also, that those that counsell'd him to this were Enemies to the Commonwealth, and unfit to counsel him than Parliaments, who are his highest Court and Council.

The poor Plowmen understood but little of these Matters; but a little would stir up their Discontent when Money was demanded: But it was the more intelligent part of the Nation that were the great Complainers. Infomuch that some of them denied to pay the Ship-money, and put the Sheriffs to constrain; the Sheriffs, though afraid of a future Parliament, yet did it in obedience to the King. Mr. Hampden and the Lord Say brought it to a Suit; where Mr. Oliver St. John and other Lawyers boldly pleaded the Peoples Cause. The King had before called all the Judges to give their Opinions, Whether in a Cafe of need he might impose such a Tax, or not. And all of them gave their Opinion for the Affirmative, except Judge Hatton and Judge Crook. The Judgment passed for the King against Mr. Hampden: But this made the Matter much more talk of throughout the Land, and considered of by those that thought not much of the Importance of it before.

§ 23. Some suspected that many of the Nobility of England did secretly Confermate with the Scots, so far as to encourage them to come into England; thinking that there was no other way to cause the Calling of a Parliament, which was the thing that now they bent their minds to as the Remedy of these things. The Earl of Essex, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Clare, the Earl of Bulingbrook, the Earl of Middleton, the Earl of Holland, the Lord Say, the Lord Brook, and I know not how many more, were paid to be of this Confederacy. But Hylton himself hath more truly given you the History of this, That the Scots, after they came in, did pervert the Men of their own danger in England, if Arbitrary Government went on, and so they petitioned the King for a Parliament, which was all their Confederacy; and this was after their second Coming into England.

The Scots came with an Army, and the King's Army met them near Newcastle; An.1639 but the Scots came on till an Agreement was made, and a Parliament called; and the Scots went home again.

But shortly after, this Parliament fo displeased the King that he Dissolved it, and the War against the Scots was again undertaken, (to which, besides others, the Papists by the Queen means did voluntarily contribute;) whereupon the Scots complain of evil Counsels and Papists as the cause of their renewed dangers, and again raise an Army and come into England. And the English at York petition the King for a Parliament, and once more it is resolved on, and an Agreement made, but neither the Scots nor English Army disbanded. And thus began the Long Parliament as it was after called.

§ 26. The Esatera Oath was the first thing that threatened me at Bridgworth; and the second was the paffage of the Earl of Bridgewater, Lord President of the Marches of Wales, through the Town in his Journey from Ludlow to the King in the North: For his coming being on Saturday Evening, the most malicious persons of the Town went to him, and told him that Mr. Madeford and I did not sign with the Crofs, nor wear the Surplice, nor pray against the Scots (who were then upon their Entrance into England;) and for which we had no Command from the King, but a primed Form of Prayer from the Bishops.) The Lord President told them, That he would himself come to Church on the morrow, and see whether we would do these things or not. Mr. Madeford went away, and left Mr. Swain (the Reader) and myself in the danger. But after he had spoken for his Dinner, and was ready to go to Church, the Lord President suddenly changed his purpose, and went away on the Lord's Day as far as Liebfield; requiring the Accusers and the Bailiffs to send after him to inform him what we did. On the Lord's Day at Evening they sent after him to Liebfield to tell him that we did not conform: but though they boasted of no less than the hanging of us, they received no other Answer from him, but that he had not the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and therefore could not meddle with us; but if he had, he should take such order in the business as were fit: And the Bailiffs and Accusers had no more wit than to read his Letter.
The LIFE of the L I B. I.

Letter to me, that I might know how they were baffled. Thus I continued in my Liberty of preaching the Gospel at Bridgenorth about a year and three quarters, where I took my Liberty (though with very little Maintenance) to be a very great mercy to me in those troublesome times.

§ 27. The Parliament being late, did presently fall on that which they accounted Reformation of Church and State, and which greatly displeased the King as well as the Bishops. They made many long and vehement Speeches against the Ship-money, and against the Judges that gave their Judgment for it, and against the Ex cathela Oath, and the Bishops and Convocation that were the formers of it; but especially against the Lord Thomas Wentworth Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Dr. Land Archbishop of Canterbury, as the evil Counsellors, who were said to be the Cause of all. These Speeches were many of them printed, and greedily bought up throughout the Land, especially the Lord Falkland, the Lord Digby, Mr. Grimstone, Mr. Pinsi, Mr. Nath. Fiennes, &c. which greatly increased the Peoples apprehension of their Danger, and inclined them to think hardly of the King's Proceedings, but especially of the Bishops. Particular Articles of Accusation were brought in against the Lord Deputy, the Archbishop, the Judges, Bishop Wren, Bishop Pierce, and divers others.

The Concord of this Parliament consisted not in the Unanimity of the Perfons (for they were of several Tempers as to Matters of Religion), but in the Complication of the Interest of those Causes which they severally did most concern themselves in. For as the King had at ones imposed the Ship-money on the Commonwealth, and permitted the Bishops to impose upon the Church their displeasing Articles, and bowing towards the Altar, and the Book for Dancing on the Lord's Day, and the Liturgy on Scotland, &c. and to suspend or Silence abundance of Ministers that were conformable, for want of this Super-canonical Conformity; so accordingly the Parliament consisted of two forts of Men, who by the Conjunction of these Causes were united in their Vores and Endeavours for a Reformation: One Party made no great matter of these Alterations in the Church; but they said, That if Parliaments were once down, and our Propriety gone, and Arbitrary Government set up, and Law subjected to the Princess Will, we were then all Slaves, and this they made a thing intolerable; for the remedying of which, they said, every true English Man could think no price to dear: These the People called Good Commonwealth's Men. The other fort were the more Religious Men, who were also sensible of all these things, but were much more sensible of the Interest of Religion; and those most invoved against the Innovations in the Church, the bowing to Altars, the Book for Sports on Sundays, the Calling out of Ministers, the troubling of the People by the High-Conmiision Court, the Pilloring and Cutting off Mens Ears, (Mr. Burton, Mr. Pinsi, and Dr. Bawwerks) for speaking against the Bishops, the putting down Lectures, and Afternoon Sermons and Explications on the Lord's Days, with such other things, which they thought of greater weight than Ship-money. But because these later agreed with the former in the Vindication of the Peoples Propriety and Liberties, the former did the califiuer concur with them against the Proceedings of the Bishops and High Commision Court.

And as soon as their Inclination was known to the People, all Countreys sent in their Complaints and Petitions. It was presently known how many Ministers BishoP Wren (and others of them) had suspended and silenced; how many thousand Families had been driven to flee into Holland, and how many thousand into New-England: Scarce a Minister had been silenced, that was alive, but it was put into a Petition. Mr. Peter Sowar of Durham, and Dr. Layton (a Scotch Physician, who wrote a Book called Ser's Plea against the Prelates) were released out of their long Imprisonment: Mr. Burton, Mr. Pinsi, and Dr. Bawwerks, who (as is laid) had been pillor'd, and their Ears cut off, and they sent into a (supposed) perpetual Imprisonment into the distant Cafles of Carnis, Jersey, and Carreford, were all let free, and Damages voted them for their wrong: And when they came back to London, they were met out of the City by abundance of the Citizens, with such Acclamations as could not but seem a great Affront to the King, and he much displeasing to him. The Lord Keeper Finch and Secretary Windebek fled beyond Sea, and lived themselves: The guilty Judges were deeply accursed, and some of them imprisoned for the Cause of Ship-money. But the great Displeasure was against the Lord Deputy Wentworth, and Archbishop Land: Both these were sent to the Tower, and a Charge drawn up against them, and managed presently against the Lord Deputy, by the above Lawyers and Gentlemen of the Houte. This held them work
a considerable time: The King was exceeding unwilling to consent unto his death; and therefore used all his skill to have drawn off the Parliament from to hot a Pro-
secution of him.

And now began the first Breach among themselves: For the Lord Falkland, the Lord Digby, and divers other able Men, were for the sparing of his Life, and grat-
ying the King, and not putting him on a thing so much displeasing to him. The rest said, if after the Attempt of Subverting the Fundamental Laws and Liberties, no one Man shall suffer Death, it will encourage others hereafter to the like. The Leaders petitioned for Justice: And too great numbers of Apprentices and others, (being inimodown by the Proceedings of the Parliament, and not fore-knowing what a Fire the Sparks of their temerity would kindle) did too triumphingly and disorderly urge the Parliament, crying Justice, Justice. And it is not unlikely that some of the Parliament-men did encourage them to this, as thinking that some backward Members would be quickned by Popular Applaus: And withal, to work on the Members alfo by disgrace. Some infectious Painter did (secretly) draw the Pictures of the chief of them that were for faving the Lord Deputy, and called them the Straffordians (he being Earl of Strafford) and hang'd them with their Heels upward on the Exchange. Though it cannot be expected that in fo great a City there should be no Perfons to indifferenc to as to commit such disorderly Actions as thefe, yet no fober Men should countenance them, or take part with them, whatever ends might be pretended or intended. The King called thefe Tumults: the Parliament called them the Cities Petitioning: Thofe that connived at them were glad to fee the People of their mind in the main, and thought it would do much to facilitate their Work, and hold the looser Members to their Caufe: For though the Houfe was unanimous enough in condemning Ship-money, and the Etcetera Oath, and the Bifhops Innovations, &c. yet it was long doubtful which Side would have the major Vote in the matter of the Earl of Strafford's Death, and fuch other Acts as were most highly displeasing to the King. But disorderly means do generally bring forth more Disorders, and seldom attain any good end for which they are used.

§ 28. The Parliament alfo had procured the King to confent to feveral Acts which were of great importance, and embodied the People by confirming their Authority: As an Act against the High Commiffion Court, and Church-mens Secular or Civil Power; and an Act that this Parliament fhould not be difolved till its own Convene, (alleging that the difsolving of Parliament embodied Delinquents, and that Debts and Diforders were fo great that they could not be overcome by them in a little time): Alfo an Act for Triennial Parliaments. And the People being confident that all these were signed by the King, ful for againft his will, and that he abhorred what was done, did think that the Parliament which had con-
strained him to this much, could carry it still in what they pleased, and do grew much more regardful of the Parliament, and fided with them not only for their Caufe, and their own Intereff, but alfo as supposing them the stronger Side (which the Vulgar are still apt to follow).

§ 29. But to return to my own matters: This Parliament, among other parts of their Reformation, refolved to reform the corrupted Clergy, and appointed a Committee to receive Petitions and Complaints againft them; which was no fooner underfoot, but multitudes in all Countries came up with Petitions against their Mi-
ifiers. The King and Parliament were not yet divided, but concurred, and fo no partaking in their Differences was any part of the Accufation of thefe Minis-
ters, till long after when the Wars had given the occasion; and then that alfo came into their Articles: but before it was only matter of Insufficiency, fable Doctrine, illegal Innovations, or Scandal, that was brought in againft them.

Mr. John White being the Chair-man of the Committee for Scandalous Miniflers (as it was called) published in print one Century firft of Scandalous Miniflers, with their Names, Places, and the Articles proved againft them: where fo much ignorance, insufficiency, drunkenness, filthines, &c. was charged on them, that many moderate men could have withf that their Nakedness had been rather hid, and not expo'd to the Worlds derifion, and that they had remembred that the Papifts did stand by, and would make fport of it. Another Century also was after pub-
lifhed.

Among all these Complainers, the Town of Redeminfier in Worceftershire, drew up a Petition againft their Miniflers: The Vicar of the place they Articleed againft as one that was utterly insufficient for the Miniftry, prefented by a Papift un-
learned, preached but once a quarter, which was fo weakly, as exposed him re-
a laughter.
laughter, and persuaded them that he understood not the very Subtantial Articles of Christianity; that he frequented Alehouses, and had sometimes been drunk; that he turned the Table Alter-wise, &c. with more such as this. The Vicar had a Curate under him in the Town whom they also accused; and a Curate at a Chapel in the Parish, a common Tippler and a Drunkard, a railing Quarrelleier, an ignorant insufficient Man, who (as I found by Examining him) understood not the common Points of the Childrens Catechism, but said some good words to them sometimes out of Mufcurn's Common Places in English, which was almost the only Book he had; and his Trade in the Week-days was unlawful Marriages. The People put their Petition into the Hands of Sir Henry Herbert Burges for Bewdley, a Town two miles distant. The Vicar knowing his insufficiency, and hearing how two others in his Cafe had fped, desired to compound the Business with them; and by the mediation of Sir Henry Herbert, and others, it was brought to this, That he should instead of his present Curate in the Town, allow 60 l. per Annum to a Preacher whom fourteen of them nominated, should choose; and that he should not hinder this Preacher from preaching whenever he pleased, and that he himself should read Common Prayer, and do all else that was to be done: and so they preferred not their Petition against him, nor against his Curates, but he kept his Place, which was worth to him near 200 l. per Ann. allowing that 60 l. out of it to their Lecturer. To perform this he gave a Bond of 500 l.

These things being thus finished, some of them defired old Mr. Lapthorn (a famous Man, turned from Nonconformity by King James) to come and preach with them on trial to be their Lecturer: Mr. Lapthorn's roughnefs and great immethodicalnefs, and digreffions, fo offended the intelligent leading Party, that they rejected him somewhat uncivilly, to his great difpleasure.

Hereupon they invited me to them from Bridgnorth: The Bailiff of the Town, and all the Peofeces defired me to preach with them, in order to a full determination. My mind was much to the place as soon as it was defcribed to me; because it was a full Congregation, and most convenient Temple; an ignorant, rude and revelling People for the greater part, who had need of preaching; and yet had among them a small Company of Convers, who were humble, godly, and of good Conversation, and not much hated by the reft, and therefore the fitter to affift their Teacher; but above all, because they had hardly ever had any lively, fervious preaching among them: For Bridgnorth had made me relolve that I would never more go among a People that had been hardened in unprofitablenefs under an awakening Miniftry; but either to fuch as never had any convincing Preacher, or to fuch as had profited by him. As soon as I came to Kidermlngfter, and had preached there one day, I was chosen Nemine contradicente, (for though fourteen only had the power of choosing, they defired to pleafe the reft). And thus I was brought by the gracious Providence of God, to that place which had the chiefeft of my Labours, and yielded me the greaftest Fruits of Comfort. And I noted the mercy of God in this, that I never went to any place in my Life, among all my Changes, which I had before defired, designed or thought of, (much less fought); but only to thole that I never thought of, till the sudden Invitation did surprize me.

§ 30. When I had been here a while, in the beginning of July, the two Families which I had latt lived in, at Dudley and Bridgnorth, were at once vifited with SICKNESS, and they both fent for me (upon a conceit of my skill in Phvifick), but being from home I went to neither of them; and it proved a most contagious malignant Fever next the Plague; Mrs. Foley and some of her Family died: and Mr. Madefard, his Wife, and a Gentlewoman that lived with them, died within a day or two each of other. Being with my old Friend Mr. William Rowley, the sad Meflage came to us (Mr. Madefard being his Kinman) and I went with him to the Parifler, and preached his Funeral Sermon in fo deep a fenne of the milofy of that unprofitable People, and the deep groans which I have heard from their faithfull Pfalter, for their obduratefee, that I could not forbear to tell them my fears of some heavy Judgment to come upon that place, which they were more capable of laying to heart than their Pfalter's death. I had never before (nor ever did I since) perceive upon fuch kind of Predictions, (nor did I fpeak that with any pretence of Prophecy) but the expression of that fear I could not then fuppreff: My Text was Ezek. 53.33. And when this cometh to poff (see it will come) then fhall they know that a Prophet hath been among them. And when the War began, the Town (being againft the Parliament) was a Garrison for the King, kept by the Neighbofr Gentlemen of the Country; who fortified the Castle, and when the
Parliament's Forces came to take the Town, they call such effectual Fire-works from the Catife as burnt down the Town to the Ground, and burnt alfo the great Church where I preached that Sermon, and where Mr. Madfard was interred: So that the Inhabitants were undone, and fain to lye under Hedges, till the Com-panion of others afforded them Entertainment and Habitation. And as for their Church, it was a great while before it was rebuilt, and that after two general Collections for it. The firft time that I came among them when the Wars were paffed, I chose the fame Text again to preach on, to call their fins againft their faithful Pastor to remembrance: But they and I were fo much interrupted with Tears, that (with fome Pawfes) I had much ado to proceed on to the end.

§ 31. Whilft I continued at Kedermifber, it pleafed God to give me much En-couragement by the Succes of my weak but hearty Labours: As when I was young, I used to keep a daily Catalogue of my daily Mercies and Sins, but when I grew elder I found that I coufe had its Inconveniences, and took up too much time, and therefore I only recorded thofe which were extraordinary; even fo when I firft entered upon my Labours in the Miniftry, I took special notice of every one that was humbled, reformed or converted; but when I had laboured long, it pleafed God that the Converts were fo many, that I could not afford time for fuch particular Observations about every one of them, left I fhou'd omit fome greater Work; but was fain to leave that to their companionate familiar Neighbours, and take notice my felf of Families and confiderable Numbers at once, that came in and grew up I fcarce knew how.

§ 32. All this forementioned time of my Miniftry was paffed under my fore-determined Weakneffes, which were fo great as made me live and preach in fome continual expectation of Death, fupposing till that I had not long to live. And this I found through all my Life to be an unvaluable mercy to me: For,

1. It greatly weakened Temptations.
2. It kept me in a great Contempt of the World.
3. It taught me highly to eleflem of time; fo that if any of it paff away in idle-ness or unprofitableneff, it was fo long a pain and burden to my mind! So that I muft pay to the Priafe of my moft wife Conductor, that time hath fihl femeen'd to me much more precious than Gold or any Earthly Gain, and its Minutes have not been defpifed, nor have I been much tempted to any of the Sins, which go under the name of Paffime, since I underftood my Work.
4. It made me study and preach things neceffary, and a little fhirred up my fuggish heart, to fpeak to Sinners with fome Companionship, as a dying Man to dying Men.

These, with the reft which I mentioned before when I fpoke of my Infirmities, were the Benjamin which God afforded me by Affilition! I humbly blefs his gracious Providence, who gave me his Treasure in an Earthen Veffel, and trained me up in the School of Affilition, and taught me the Graft of Christ to foon, that I might be rather Theologia Crucis, as Luther fpeaketh, than Theologia Gloria; and a Graft-bearer, than a Graft-maker or Impofor.

§ 33. At one time above all the reft, being under a new and unusual Diftemper, which put me upon the prefent Expectations of my Change, and going for Com-fort to the Promifes as I was used, the Tempter ftrongly affaulted my Faith, and would have drawn me towards Infidelity it felf. Till I was ready to enter into the Miniftry, all my Troubles had been rafed, by the hardnefs of my heart, and the doubtings of my own Sincerity; but now all thefe began to vanifh, and never much returned to this day: And instead of thefe, I was now affaulted with more pernicious Temptations; efpicially to quef tion the certain Truth of the Sacred Scriptures; and alfo the Life to come, and Immortality of the Soul. And thefe Temptations affaulted me not as they do the Melancholy, with horrid vexing Impor-tunity; but by preence of Iober Reafon, they would have drawn me to a fettled doubting of Christianity.

And here I found my own Mifcarriage, and the great Mercy of God. My Mif-carriage, in that I had fo long neglected the well fetting of my Foundations, while I had belowe'd fo much time in the Superstructures and the Applicatory part! For having taken it for an intolerable Evil, once to quef tion the Truth of Scriptures and the Life to come, I had either taken it for a Certainty upon Truth, or taken up with Common Reafons of it, which I had never well considered, digefted, or made mine own. Infomuch as when this Temptation came, it feemed at firft to anfwer and ennervate all the former Reafons of my feele Faith, which made me take the Scriptures for the Word of God; and it set before me fuch Mountains of Difficulty
Difficulty in the Incarnation, the Person of Christ, his Undertaking and Performance with the Scripture Chronology, Histories and Stile, &c. which had failed and overwhelmed me, if God had not been my strength. And here I saw much of the Mercy of God, that he let not out these terrible and dangerous Temptations upon me, while I was weak and in the infancy of my Faith; for then I had never been able to withstand them. But Faith is like a Tree, whose Top is small while the Root is young and shawlow: and therefore as then it hath but small rooting, so is it not liable to the shaking Winds and Tempelts as the big and high-grown Trees are: But as the top growth higher, so the root at once grows greater, and deeper fixed, to cause it to endure its greater Assaules.

Though formerly I was wont when any such Temptation came, to cast it aside, as fitter to be abhorred than considered of, yet now this would not give me satisfaction; but I was fain to dig to the very Foundations, and seriously to Examine the Reasons of Chrifitianity, and to give a hearing to all that could be said against it, that so my Faith might be indeed my own. And at last I found that *Nil tam certum quamquod ex abibo certum*; Nothing is so firmly believed, as that which hath been sometime doubted of.

§ 34. In the form of this Temptation, I questioned a while whether I were indeed a Chriftian or an Infidel, and whether Faith could conflict with such Doubts as I was conscious of: For I had read in many Papills and Protestants, that Faith had Certainty, and was more than an Opinion; and that if a Man should live a godly Life, from the bare apprehensions of the Probability of the Truth of Scripture, and the Life to come, it would not fave him, as being no true Godliness or Faith. But my Judgment closed with the Reason of Dr. *Jackson's Determination of this Case*, which supported me much, that as in the very Allenting Act of Faith there may be fuch weakness, as may make us cry, *Lord increase our Faith: We believe, Lord help our belief*; fo when Faith and Unbelief are in their Conflict, it is the Effect which must fwe the us which of them is victorious. And that he that hath so much Faith as will caufe him to deny himself, take up his Cross, and fcrife all the Promises, Honours, and Pleafures of this World, for the fake of Chrift, the Love of God, and the hope of Glory, hath a living Faith, how weak fheer: For God cannot condemn the Soul that truly loveth and fceketh him: And those that Chrift bringeth to persevere in the Love of God, he bringeth to Salvation. And there were divers Things that in this Affaule proved great Affinities to my Faith.

1. That the Being and Attributes of God were fo clear to me, that he was to my Intelet what the Son is to my Eye, by which I fee it felf and all Things: And he feemed mad to me that questioned whether there were a God: that any Man should dream that the World was made by a Conflux of Irrational Atoms, and Reafon came from that which had no Reafon, or that Man, or any Inferiour Being was independent; or that all the being, Power, Wisdom, and Goodness which we conversed with, had not a Caufe which in Being, Power, Wisdom and Goodness, did excel all that which it had caufed in the World, and had not all that formaliter vel eminenter in it felf which it communicated to all the Creatures. Thefe, and all the Suppofitions of the Atheift, have ever since been fo visibly foolish and shameful to my Apprehenfion, that I fcarce fnd a Capacity in my felf of doubting of them; and whenever the Temper hath joyned any thing againft thefe, with the reft of his Temptations, the reft have been the eafier overcome, becaufe of the overwhelming cogent Evidences of a Deity,which are always before the Eyes of my Soul.

2. And it helped me much to discern that this God muft needs be related to us as our Owner, our Governor, and our Benefactor, in that he is related to us as our Creator; and that therefore we are related to him as his own, his Subjects, and his Beneficiaries; which as they all proceed by undeniable refultancy from our Creation and Nature, fo thence do our Duties arise which belong to us in thofe Relations, by as undeniable refultancy; and that no shew of Reafon can be brought by any Infidel in the World to excuse the Rational Creature from Loving his Maker, with all his heart and soul and might, and devoting himself and all his Faculties to him from whom he did receive them, and making him his ultimate End who is his felf Efficient Caufe. So that Godliness is a Duty fo undeniable required in the Law of Nature, and fo discernable by Reafon it felf, that nothing but unreasonableffenefs can contradict it.

3. And then it seemed utterly improbable to me that this God should fee us to be Lollis by our Love and Duty to him, and that our Duty should be made to be our Snares, or make us the more miserable by how much the more faithfully we perform
perform it! And I saw that the very Possibility or Probability of a Life to come, would make it the Duty of a Reasonable Creature to seek it, though with the lots of all below.

4. And I saw by undeniable Experience, a strange Universal Enmity between the Heavenly and the Earthly Mind, the Godly and the Wicked, as fulfilling the Prediction Gen. 3. 15. The War between the Woman's and the Serpent's Seed, being the daily Business of all the World. And I saw that the wicked and haters of Godliness are so commonly the greatest and most powerful and numerous, as well as cruel, that ordinarily there is no living according to the Precepts of Nature and undeniable Reaion, without being made the Derision and Contempt of Men (if we can escape so easily).

5. And I saw that there is no other Religion in the World which can stand in competition with Christianity: Heathenism and Mahometanism are kept up by Tyranny, and Blindly Ignorance, and blithely to stand at the Bar of Reason: And Judaism is but Christianity in the Egg or Bed. And mere Debris, which is the most plausible Competitor, is so turned out of almost all the whole World, as if Nature made its own Confession, that without a Mediator it cannot come to God.

6. And I perceived that all other Religions leave the People in their worldly, sensual, and ungodly state; even their Zeal and Devotion in them, being commonly the Servants of their Flealhy Interest: And the Nations where Christianity is not, being drowned in Ignorance and Earthly mindedness, so as to be the shame of Nature.

7. And I saw that Christ did bring up all his serious and sincere Disciples to real Holiness and to Heavenly mindedness, and made them new Creatures, and set their Hearts and Desires and Hopes upon another Life; and brought their Senses into subjection to their Reason, and taught them to resign themselves to God, and to love him above all the World. And it is not like that God will make use of a Deceiver for this real visible Recovery and Reformation of the Nature of Man; or that any thing but his own Zeal can imprint his Image.

8. And here I saw an admirable Fuitableness in the Office and Design of Christ, to the Ends of God, and the Felicity of Man: and how excellently these Supernatural Revelations do fall in, and take their place in subferviency to Natural Virtues; and how wonderfully Faith is fitted to bring Men to the Love of God; when it is nothing else but the beholding of his amiable attractive Love and Goodness in the Face of Christ, and the Promises of Heaven, as in a Glass, till we see his Glory.

9. And I had felt much of the Power of his Word and Spirit on my self; doing that which Reason now tell me must be done: And I shall question my Physician when he hath done so much of the Cure, and recovered my depraved Soul so much to God.

10. And as I saw these Assurances to my Faith, so I perceived that whatever the Tempter had to say against it, was grounded upon the Advantages which he took from my Ignorance, and my Distance from the Times and Places of the Matters of the Sacred History, and such like things which every Novice meeteth with in almost all other Sciences at the first, and which wise well-studied Men can see through.

§ 35. All these Assurances were at hand before I came to the immediate Evidences of Credibility in the Sacred Oracles themselves. And when I set my self to search for those, I found more in the Doctrine, the Predictions, the Miracles, precedent, concomitant, frequent, than ever I before took notice of: which I shall not here go far digress as to let down, having partly done it in several Treatises; as The Saints Refl. Part 2. The Unreasonableness of Infidelity; A Saint or a Bruit, in my Christian Directory; and finc more fully in a Treatise, called, The Reasons of the Christian Religion; my Life of Faith, &c.

§ 36. From this Affault I was forced to take notice, That it is our Belief of the Truth of the Word of God, and the Life to come, which is the Spring that sets all Grace on work, and with which it riles or falls, flourishes or decays, is actuated or stands still. And that there is more of this secret Unbelief at the Root than most of us are aware of; and that our love of the World, our boldness with Sin, our neglect of Duty are caused hence. I observed easily in my self, that if at any time Satan did more than at other times weaken my Belief of Scripture, and the Life to come, my Zeal in every Religious Duty abated with it, and I grew more indifferent in Religion than before; I was more inclined to Conformity in those Points which
which I had taken to be sinful, and was ready to think, why should I be singular and offend the Bishops and other Superiors, and make my self contemptible in the World, and expulse my self to Censures, Scorns, and Sufferings, and all for such little things as these, when the Foundations themselves have to great difficulties, as I am unable to overcome. But when Faith revived, then none of the Parts or Concernments of Religion seemed small, and then Man seemed nothing, and the World a shadow, and God was all.

In the beginning I doubted not of the truth of the Holy Scriptures, or of the Life to come, because I saw not the Difficulties which might cause doubting: After that I saw them and I doubted, because I saw not that which should satisfy the mind against them: Since that, having seen both Difficulties and Evidences, though I am not so unmeasur'd as at the first, yet is my Faith I hope much stronger, and far better able to repel the Temptations of Satan, and the Sophisms of Infidels than before; But yet it is my daily Prayer, That God would increase my Faith, and give my Soul a clear sight of the Evidences of His Truth, and of himself, and of the invisible World.

§ 37. Whilt I was thus employed between outward Labours and inward Trials, Satan stirred up a little incon siderable rage of wicked men against me. The Town having been formerly eminent for Vanity, had yearly a Show, in which they brought forth the painted forms of Giants, and such like foolery, to walk about the Streets with; and though I said nothing against them, as being not simply evil, yet on every one of those Days of Riot, the Rabble of the more vicious sort had still some spleen to vent against me, as one part of their Game. And once the ignorant Rour were raging mad against me for preaching the Doctrine of Original Sin to them, and telling them that Infants before Regeneration, had so much Guilt and Corruption, as made them load-dome in the Eyes of God: whereupon they vented it abroad in the Country, That I preached that God hated, or loathed Infants; so that they railed at me as I palled through the Streets. The next Lord's Day I cleared and confirmed it, and showed them that if this were not true, their Infants had no need of Christ, of Baptism, or of Renewing by the Holy Ghost. And I ask them whether they durst lay that their Children were saved without a Saviour, and were no Christians, and why they baptized them, with much more to that purpose; and afterward they were ashamed and as mute as fihers.

Once one of the drunken Beggars of the Town railed a slander of me, That I was under a Tree with a Woman (an ill-fam'd Beggar of the Town): All the Drunkards had got it in their mouths, before I could find out the Original. I got three or four of them bound to the Good Behaviour, and the Sir himself that railed the Slander, confessed before the Court that he saw me in a rainy day on Horfback stand under an Oak which grew in a thick Hedge, and the Woman afore said standing for shelter on the other side the Hedge under the same Tree, and that he believed that we saw not one another; but he spake it as a Jelt, and the Company were glad of the occasion to feed their Malice. So they all ask me forgive nes, and I desired the Magistrate immediately to release them all.

There lived at Kidwec an ancient, prudent, Reverend Divine, Mr. John Cross, (who died since, Pastor of Matthew's Friday-street in London): This godly Man had the chief means of the good which was done in Kidderminster before my coming thither; when I came, I got him to take every second day in a Weekly Lecture. It came to pass once, that a Woman defamed him at Kidderminster openly, and told the People that he would have ravished her. Mr. Cross being a wise Man, sent one before to defire the Bailiff and Justice to call her to Examination, and he came after and sate in a common dark coloured Coat, among many others, in the Bailiff's Parlour, as if he had been one of the Magistrates. The Bailiff called her in, and the Sdow impudently to the Accusation: The Bailiff ask her whether she knew the Man if she saw him; which she confidently affirm ed. He ask her, Is it this Man, or that Man, or the other Man, or any there? And the said, O no, God forbid that she should accuse any of them. Mr. Cross said, Am not I the Man; and the said, No, she knew the Man well enough. And when they had told her that this was Mr. Cross, she fell down on her knees, and ask him forgiveness, and confess that one of his Neighbours (who was his great Accuser at the Bishops Courts) had hired her to report it. But the Good Man forgave them all.

§ 38. And here I must return to the Proceedings of the Parliament, because the raft will not be well understood without connecting the Occasions of them which were administered. When the Londoners cried to the House for Justice, and honour ed
ed those Members who were for the punishment of Delinquents, and dihonoured those that pleased the King, a Breach began to be made among themselves: And the Lord Digby, the Lord Falkland, and divers others, from that time forward joined with the King; being so to immoveable as many of the rest, whom neither hope nor fear nor discontent would alienate from the Cause which they thought well of. Yet others were tried with the offer of Preferments: The Lord Say was made one of the Privy Council; Mr. Oliver St. John was made the King’s Solicitor, &c. But as this did not alter them, so others of them would accept of no Preferment, left they should be thought to seek themselves, or set their Fidelity to Sale. When the Earl of Strafford was Condemned, and the King desired to sign the Bill, many Bishops were called to give him their Advice, and it is commonly reported, that Archbishop Usher and divers others told him, that he might lawfully concur with the Judgment of his Parliament proceeding according to Law, though his own Judgment were that their Sentence was unjust: But Dr. Juxon, the Bishop of London, advised him to do nothing against his Conscience: and others would give no Advice at all. When the King had Subscribed, and Strafford was beheaded, he much repented it, even to the last, as his Speeches at his Death express. And the Judgments of the Members of the Parliament were different about these Proceedings.

Some thought that the King should not at all be displeased and provoked, and that they were not bound to do any other Justice, or attempt any other Reformations but what they could procure the King to be willing to. And they said, When you have displeased and provoked him to the utmost, he will be your friend; and when you have dealt the longest, you must be dissolved at last: you have no power over his Person, though you have power over Delinquent Subjects: And if he protect them by Arms, you must either be ruined yourselves by his displeasure, or be engaged in a War: Displeasing him is but exasperating him; and would you be ruled by a King that hatest you? Princes have great Minds, which cannot easily suffer Contradiction and Rebuffs: The more you offend him, the less you can trust him; and when mutual Confidence is gone, a War is beginning: And if it come to a War, either you will conquer or be conquered, or come to Agreement. If you are conquered, you and the Commonwealth are ruined, and he will be absolute, and subdue Parliaments, and Govern as he pleareth. If you come to an Agreement, it will be either such as you force him to, or as he is willing of: If the latter, it may be easier and cheaper done before a War than after: If the former, it will much weaken it: And if you conquer him, what the better are you? He will still be King: You can but force him to an Agreement; and how quickly will he have power and advantage to violate that which he is forced to; and to be avenged on you all for the displeasure you have done him: He is ignorant of the Advantages of a King that cannot foresee this. These were the Reasons of many that were for pleasing the King.

But on the other side there were Men of divers tempers: Some did not look far before them, but did what they thought was best at present: whether any designed the subduing of the King, and the change of Government, at that time, I cannot tell: For I then heard of no notable Sedition in the House but young Sir Henry Vane, (whole Testimony was the Death of the Earl of Strafford, when other Evidence was wanting, and of whom I shall say more anon). But the leading and prevailing part of the House were for the Execution of Strafford, and for punishing some Delinquents, though it did displease the King; and their Reasons (as their Companions tell us) were such as these: They said, If that be your Principle that the King is not to be displeased, or provoked, then this Parliament should never have been called, which you know he was forced to against his Will; and then the Ship-money should have gone on, and the Subjects Propriety, and Parliaments, have been overthrown: And then the Church Innovations should not have been contrived, nor any stop to the Subverters of our Government and Liberties attempted: then no Members should speak freely against any of these in the House; for you know that all these are very displeasing: And then what do we here? Could not the King have pleased himself without us? Or do we come to be his Instruments, to give away the Peoples Liberties, and set up that which was begun? Either it is our Duty to reform, and to recover our Liberties, and relieve our Country, and punish Delinquents, or it is not? If it be not, let us go home again: If it be, let us do it and trust God: For if the fears of foreseen Oppositions shall make us betray our Country and Polity, we are perfidious to them, and Enemies to our selves, and may well be said to be worse than Infidels, much
rather than they that provide not for their Families; when Infidels have not thought their Lives too good to save the Commonwealth. And as for a War, the danger of it may be avoided: It is a thing uncertain, and therefore a present certain Ruine, and that by our own hand, is not to be chosen to avoid it. The King may see the danger of it as well as we, and avoid it on better Terms: Or if he were willing, he may not be able to do any great harm: Do you think that the People of England are so mad, as to fight against those whom they have chosen to represent them? to destroy themselves, and the hopes of their Polity? Do they not know that if Parliaments be destroyed, their Lives and Estates are meerly at the Will and Mercy of the Conquerour? And do you not see that the People are every where for the Parliament? And for Revenge; what need we fear it when the Parliament may continue till it consent to its Dissolution? And sure they will not consent till they see themselves out of the danger of Revenge. Such as these were the Reasonings of that Party which prevailed.

But others told them, That those that adhered to the Bishops, and were offended at the Parliaments Church Reformations, would be many; and the King will never want Nobility and Gentry to adhere to him; and the Common People will follow their Landlords, and be on the stronger side: and the intelligent part, who understand their own Interests, are but few: And when you begin a War, you know not what you do. Thus were Mens minds then in a Division: but some unhappy means fell out to unite them fo as to cause them to proceed to a War.

§ 39. The things that heightened former Difficulties to a miserable War were such as follow, on both Parts: On the Parliaments part were principally, 1. The Peoples indiscretion that adhered to them; 2. The imprudence and violence of some Members of the Houfe, who went too high: 3. The great Diffidence they had of the King when they had provoked him.

On the other side it was hastened, 1. By the Calling up of the Northern Army. 2. By the King's imposing a Guard upon the Houfe. 3. By his entering the Houfe to accuse some Members. 4. By the miscarriage of the Lord Digby and other of the King's Adherents. 5. But above all by the terrible Maffacre in Ireland, and the Threatnings of the Rebels to invade England. A little of every one of these.

§ 40. Those that desired the Parliaments Prosperity were of divers forts. Some were calm and temperate, and waited for the Fruits of their Endeavours in their fea- son: And some were fo glad of the hopes of a Reformation, and afraid lest their Hearts and Hands should fall for want of Encouragement, that they too much bbolded them, and applauded them: which mult needs offend the King, to see the People rejoice in others as their Deliverers, and as faving them from him; and to fo ffee them preferred in Love and Honour before him. But some were yet more indifferent: the remnant of the old Separatists and Anabaptists in London was then very small, and scarce considerable; but they were enough to stir up the younger and inexperienced fort of Religious People, to speak too vehemently and intemperately against the Bishops and the Church and Ceremonies, and to jeer and deride at the Common Prayer, and all that was against their minds: (For the young and raw force of Christians are usually prone to this kind of Sin, to be self-conceited, petulant, wilful, censorious, and injudicious in all their management of their Differences in Religion, and in all their Attempts of Reformation,) Earnest and clamouring at that which they think evil, they usually judge a warrantable Course: And it is hard finding any fort of People in the World, where many of the more unexperienced are not indifferenl, and proud and passionate.

These stir'd up the Apprentices to join with them in Petitions, and to go in great numbers to Westminster to present them: And as they went they met with some of the Bishops in their Coaches going to the Houfe; and (as is usual with the passionate and indifferenee when they are in great Companies) they too much forgot Civility, and cried out, No Bishops; which either put them really into a fear, or at least so displeased them, as gave them occasion to meet together, and draw up a Protestation against any Law which in their Abfence should be passed in the Parliament, as having themselves a place there, and being, as they laid, deterred from coming thither by those Clamours and Tumults.

This Protestation was fo ill taken by the Parliament, as that the Subscribers of it were voted Delinquents, and sent to Prison, as going about to destroy the power of Parliaments; (and among them even Bishop Hall himself).
These numerous Petitioners also were very offensive to the King, insomuch that once some of his Cavaliers came out upon them armed as they palled by Whitehall, and catch some of them, and cut off their Ears; and Sir Richard Wiviman leading them, there was some fray about Westminster-Abbey between the Cavaliers and them, and Sir Richard Wiviman was slain by a Stone from off the Abbey Walls. And when at last the King forsook the City, these tumults were the principal Caufe alleged by him, as if he himself had not been fafe. Thus rash Attempts of Head-Strong People, do work against the good Ends which they themselves intend; and the Zeal which hath cemenfious Strife and Envy, doth tend to Confusion, and every evil Work: And Overdoing is the ordinary way of Undoing.

§ 41. 2. And some Members of the Houfe did cherish these Disorders; and because their Liberty have liberty to Petition, therefore they made use of this their Liberty in a disorderly way. When they had disgrac'd Ship-money, and the E. cetera Oath, and Bowing towards Altars, and such things as were against Law, they loft not there, but let themselves to call out the Bifhops and the Liturgy which were jeered at Law. And though Parliaments may draw up Bills for repealing Laws, yet hath the King his Negative Voice, and without his Consent they cannot do it; which though they acknowledged, yet did they too easily admit of Petitions against the Epifcopacy and Liturgy, and connived at all the Glamours and Papers which were against them.

Had they only endeavoured the Ejecution of Lay Chancellors, and the reducing of the Diocesses to a narrower compass, or the setting up of a Subordinate Discipline, and only the Correcting and Reforming of the Liturgy, perhaps it might have been borne more patient; but some particular Members concurred with the Difires of the imprudent Reformers, who were for no lefs than the utter Extirpation of Bifhops and Liturgy: To which purpose the Lord Brook wrote his Book against Epifcopacy. And in the Houfe of Commons Sir Henry Vane endeavoured to draw all up to the highest Resolutions, and by his Parts and Converse drew many (fo far and more) to his mind. And also the fende of the younger lefs experienced fort of the Minifters and private Chrifians in the Country, was much against amend the Bifhops and Liturgy, and thought this was but to gild over our Danger, and lose our Opportunity; but they were for an utter Extirpation. Though none of all this was the Senec of the Parliament, yet those Members which were of this Opinion did much to encourage the Petitioners, who in a disorderly manner labour'd to effect it.

The Bifhops themfelves who were accounted moft moderate (Usher, Williams, Morton) and many other Epifcopal Divines with them, had before this in a Committee at Westminster, agreed upon certain Points of Reformation, which I will give you afterward, though out of the proper place, when we come to our Propofsals at the King's Return 1660. But when the fame Men saw that greater Things were aimed at, and Epifcopacy it felf in danger, or their Grandeur and Riches at the leaft, moft of them turned againft the Parliament, and were almoft as much displeased as others.

§ 42. 3. And the great diftrust which the Parliament had of the King, was another thing which happen'd the War: For they were confident that he was unmoveable as to his Judgment and Affections, and that whatever he granted them, was but in design to get his advantage utterly to deftoy them; and that he did but watch for such an Opportunity: They supposed that he utterly abhorred the Parliament, and their Actions against his Ship-money, his Judges, Bifhops, &c. and therefore whatever he promised them, they believed him not, nor durft take his word: which they were hardened in by thofe former Actions of his, which they called, The Breach of his former Promife.

§ 43. And the Things on the other fide, which occasioned their Diffidence, and cauled the War, were thefe following especially above all the reft: r. The Armies of the Scots and English did long continue in the North undisbanded, in their Quarters, till the Parliament fhould provide their Pay. Some fay other Bufines cauf'd the delay, and fome fay that the Parliament was not willing that they fhould be fo long disbanded; but the Army of the English wanting pay, was eafeftly discontented: And the Parliament fay that the Court drew them into a Plot againft the Houfe, to march suddenly upwards towards London, and to Mafter the Parliament: Diuers of the Chief Officers were Examined, (Sir Jacob Aslley, O Neale, Sir Fulk Huncs (my Mother-in-Law's Brother) and many others; and they almost all confefled fome fuch thing, that fome near the King (but not he himfelf) had treated with them about bringing up the Army, but none of them talk'd of defroying or

E. 2 forcing
forcing the Parliament. These Examinations and Depositions were published by
the Parliament, which did very much to persuade abundance of People that the
King did but watch while he quenched them with Promises, to Murther them by Force,
and use them at his Pleasure. And this Action was one of the greatest Causes of
the dangerous Difidence of the King.
§ 44. Another was this: When the Parliament had set a Guard upon their
own House, (which they took to be their Priviledge) the King discharged them,
and set another Guard upon them of his choosing; which made them seem as much
afraid, as if he had made them Prisoners, and would at some time or other com-
mand that Guard to Execute his Wrath upon them; whereupon they dismiffed
them, and called for a Guard of the City Regiments. This also did increas
the Difidence.
§ 45. Another great Cause of the Difidence and War was this: The King
was advised no longer to stand by, and see the Parliament affront him, and do
what they listed; but to take a licentueous Company with him, and to go suddenly
in Person to the House, and there to demand some of the Leading Members to be
delivered up to Justice, and tried as Traitors: Whereupon he went to the Houfe
of Commons with a Company of Cavaliers with Swords and Pistols, to have
charged five of the Members of that Houfe, and one of the Lords Houfe, with
High Treafon; viz. Mr. Pitt, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Seward, and Sir Ar-
ther Hecfbrigge, and the Lord Kimbolton (after Earl of Manechefer and Lord Cham-
berlain) of the Lords: But the King was not fo fecret or fpedy in this Action,
but the Members had notice of it before his coming, and abfented themselves (be-
ing together at an inner Houfe in Red-Lyon Court in Watlingstreet near Breadstreet
in London) And fo the King and his Company laid hands on none, but went their
ways. Had the five Members been there, the rift supposed they would have taken
them away by violence.
When the King was gone, this Alarm did caft the Houfe into fuch Apprehen-
sions, as if one after another, their Liberties or Lives muft be affaulted by the
Sword if they pleaded not the Court: So that they prefently voted it a Breach of
their Priviledges, and an Effect of the King's evil Counfellors, and publifhed
their Votes; to awaken the People to refceu them, as if they were in apparent
Danger.
The King being disappointed, publifhed a Paper in which he chargeth the
Members with Treafon, as flattering the Apprentices to tumultuous Petitioning,
&c. But confellled his Error in violating their Priviledges.
§ 46. And another thing which happened the War, was, that the Lord Dig-
by and fome other Cavaliers, attempted at Kingfion upon Thames, to have sudden-
ly got together a Body of Horfe; which the Parliament took as the beginning of
a War, or an Infurrection and Rebellion: But the Party was difipated before they
could grow to any great Strength; and the Parliament voted him a Delinquent,
and fent to apprehend him and bring him to Justice, with his Partakers: But he
fled into France; and when he was there, the Parliament intercepted fonne of his
Letters to the King, advising him to get away from London, to fome place of
Strength, where his Friends might come to him; which they took as an Advife
to him to begin a War. Thus one thing after another blew the Coals.
§ 47. But of all the rift, there was nothing that with the People wrought fo
much, as the Irish Maffacre and Rebellion: The Irish Papifts did by an unexpect-
ed Infurrection, rife all over Ireland at once, and feized upon almost all the
Strengths of the whole Land, and Dublin wonderfully efcapecl (a Servant of Sir
John Clowesworth's discovering the Plot) which was to have been surprifed with
the rift, Octob. 23. 1641. Two hundred thousand Perfons they murdered, (as you
may feen in the Earl of Orans Anfwer to a Petition, and in Dr. Jones's Narrative
of the Examinations, and Sir John Temple's History, who was one of the resident
Judges) Men, Women and Children were molt cruelly ufed; the Women riped
up, and freely ufed when they killed them, and the Infants ufed like Toads or
Vermin: Thousands of thofe that efcapecl, came Hipt and almofi Liftimated to
Dublin, and afterwards into England to beg their Bread. Multitudes of them were
driven together into Rivers, and call over Bridges and drowned: Many Witne-
fixes swore before the Lords Judges, that at Portland-bridge a Vifion every Day
appeared to the Passengers of naked Perfons hanging up to the middle in the River,
and crying out, Revenge, Revenge! In a word, I charge any Hiftory mentioneth
the like barbarous Cruelty as this was: The French Maffacre murdered but Thirty, or
Fifty Thoufand; but Two Hundred Thoufand was a Number which altnuished thofs
that heard it.
This
This filled all England with a Fear both of the Irish, and of the Papists at home; for they supposed that the Priests and the Interest of their Religion were the Cause: In so much, that when the Rumour of a Plot was occasioned at London, the poor People, all the Countries over, were ready either to run to Arms, or hide themselves, thinking that the Papists were ready to rise and cut their Throats: And when they saw the English Papists join with the King against the Parliament, it was the greatest thing that ever alienated them from the King.

Hereupon, the Parliament was solicitous to send help to Dublin, left that also should be lost. The King was so forward to that Service, that he prelent the Parliament that he might go over himself: The Parliament liked that worst of all, as if they had been confident that ill Counsellors advised him to it, that he might get at the Head of two Armies, and unite them both against the Parliament, and by his Absence make a Break, and hinder the Proceedings of the Houfe.

That came out of Ireland represent the wild Cafe of it, and the direful Ulage of the Protestants, so as provoked the People to think that it was impossible that any Danger to them could be greater than their Participation of the like. The few that were left at Dublin got into Armes, but complained of their Neceffities, and the multitude of their Enemies! So that an Hundred were used to fight against a Thousand: And to increase the Flame, some Irish Rebels told them, that they had the King's Commission for what they did; which though the lighter part could not believe, yet the credulous timorous vulgar were many of them ready to believe it: And the English Soldiers (under Sir Charles Coates, the Lord Incegyn, &c.) fent over word that it was the common Goal of the Irish, that when they had done with the handful that was left in Ireland, they would come over into England, and deal with the Parliament and Protestants here. These Threatnings with the Name of Two hundred thousand murdered, and the Recital of their monstrous Cruelties, made many thousands in England think that nothing could be more neceffary than for the Parliament to put the Country into an armed Paffe for their own Defence. And that fide which the Papists of England took, they could hardly think would be their Security.

§ 48. Things being thus ripened for a War in England, the King forfaketh London, and goeth into the North, in Yorkshire he calleth the Militia of the Country which would join with him, and goeth to Hull, and demandeth entrance; Sir John Hobham put in truft with it by the Parliament, and denieth him entrance with his Forces.

The Parliament nameth Lord Lieutenant for the Militia of the feveral Counties, and the King nameth other Lord Lieutenant by a Commission of Aray, and each of them command the faid Lord Lieutenant to fettle the Militia.

The Parliament publifheth their Votes to the People, That the King, mislis by evil Counfel, was raising a War againft his Parliament: The Lord Willoughby of Parham in Lincolnshire, the Lord Brook in Warwickshire, and others in other Counties, call in the Country to appear in Arms for the Parliament: The King's Lords call them in to appear for the King: both King and Parliament publifhed their Declarations juftifying their CAufe.

The Parliament choofeth the Earl of Essex for their General, and refulveth the raising of an Army, as (For the Defence of the King and Parliament, and the Liberties of the Subjects, against evil Counfellors and Delinquents: ) They publifh a Remonftrance of the State of the Kingdom first, and a Declaration of the Caufes of their taking up Arms afterward: which two contain moft of the Reafons of their Caufe.

The King anfwereth them, and goeth to Nottingham, and there feteth up his Standard to Summon his Subjects to his Aid.

The Lord Brook and the Earl of Northampton had some skuffling in Warwickshire: The Earl of N. with fome Forces affaulted Warwick Caffle, kept by Major John Bridges, and Coventry City, kept by Col. John Barker, and was reppul'd from both. A Party affaulted Mr. Purefoy's Houfe, and burnt the Barns, where Mr. George Abbot, with a few of his Servants, repul't them.

At Nottingham there were but about Two thousand came in to the King's Standard, whereas the Londoners quickly fill'd up a gallant Army for the Earl of Essex; and the Citizens abundantly brought in their Money and Plate (yea, the Women their Rings) to Guildhall to pay the Army.

Hereupon the King lent to the Parliament from Nottingham the Offer of a Treaty, with fome General Proposals, which in my Opinion was the likeliest Opportunity that ever the Parliament had for a full and lafe Agreement; and the King seemed
The LIFE of the LIB. I.

seemed very serious in it, and the lowness of his Condition upon so much Trial of his People, was very like to have wrought much with him. But the Parliament was perfwaded that he did it but to get time to fill up his Army, and to hinder their Proceedings, and therefore accepted not of his Offer for a Treaty, but instead of it sent him Nineteen Proposals of their own; viz. That if he would Disband his Army, come to his Parliament, give up Delinquents to a Legal Course of Justice, &c. he should find them dutiful, &c. And the King published an Answer to these Nineteen Propositions; in which he affirmed the Government to be his, having in it the best of Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy, and that the Legislative Power is in the King, Lords and Commons conjunct, and that the Lords are a sufficient Screen to the King from wronging the Commons, and to keep off Tyranny, &c. And he adhered only to the Law which gave him the power of the Militia: Out of this Answer of the King's to these Nineteen Proposals, some one drew up a Political Catechism, wherein the Answers of every Question were verbatim the words of the King's Declaration, as if therein he had fully justified the Parliament's Cause.

The great Controversie now was the present power of the Militia: The King said that the Supreme Executive Power, and particularly the Power of the Militia, did belong to him, and not to the Parliament, and appealed to the Law. The Parliament pleaded that as the Execution of Justice against Delinquents did belong to him; but this he is bound by Law to do by his Courts of Justice, and their Executions are to be in his Name; and by a Stat. Edw. 3. if the King by the little Seal, or the Great Seal, forbid a Judge in Court to perform his Office, he is nevertheless to go on: Also that for the Defence of his Kingdoms against their Enemies, the Militia is in his power; but not at all against his Parliament and People, whom Nature it herself forbids to use their Swords against themselves. And they alleged most the present danger of the Kingdoms, Ireland almost loft, Scotland disquieted, England threatened by the Irish, and the Ruine of the Parliament fought by Delinquents, whom they find the King, through evil Counsel did protect: And that they must either secure the Militia, or give up the Protestant Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the Land, and their own Necks to the Will of Papists and Delinquents.

§ 49. And because it is my purpose here, not to write a full History of the Calamities and Wars of those Times, but only to remember such Generals with the Reasons and Connection of Things, as may best make the face of those Times understand to them that knew it not personally themselves, I shall here annex a brief Account of the Country's Cafe about these Differences: not as a Juiifer or Defender of the Affections, or Reasons, or Actions of either Party which I relish; but only in faithfulness Historically to relate things as indeed they were.

And it is of a very great moment here to undersand the Quality of the Persons which adhered to the King, and to the Parliament, with their Reasons.

A great part of the Lords forsook the Parliament, and so did many of the House of Commons, and came to the King; but this was for the most of them, after Edgehill Fight, when the King was at Oxford. A very great part of the Knights and Gentlemen of England in the several Counties (who were not Parliament Men) adhered to the King; except in Middlesex, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, &c. where the King with his Army never came: And could he have got footing there, it's like that it would have been there as it was in other places: And most of the Tenants of these Gentlemen, and also most of the poorest of the People, whom the other called the Rabble, did follow the Gentry, and were for the King.

On the Parliaments side were (besides themselves) the smaller part (as some thought) of the Gentry in most of the Counties, and the greatest part of the Tradesmen, and Free-holders, and the middle fort of Men; especially in those Corporations and Countries which depend on Cloathing and such Manufactures.

If you ask the Reasons of this Difference, ask also, why in France it is not commonly the Nobility nor the Beggars, but the Merchants and middle fort of Men, that were Participators. The Reasons which the Party themselves gave was, because (in they) the Tradesmen have a Correspondency with London, and so are grown to be a ftill more Intelligent fort of Men than the ignorant Pedants that are like Brutes, who will follow any that they think the Strongest, or look to get by: And the Freeholders, in they, were not enfranchised to their Landlords as the Tenants are: The Gentry, (in they) are wholly by their Elites and Ambition most dependent
dependent on the King, than their Tenants on them; and many of them envied the Honour of the Parliament, because they were not chosen Members themselves. The other side said, That the Reason was because the Gentry (who commanded their Tenants) did better understand Affairs of State than half-witted Trademen and Freeholders do.

But though it must be confessed, That the Publick Safety and Liberty wrought very much with most, especially with the Nobility and Gentry, who adhered to the Parliament, yet was it principally the differences about Religious Matters that filled up the Parliaments Armies, and put the Resolution and Valour into their Soldiers, which carried them on in another manner than mercenary Soldiers are carried on. Not that the Matter of Bishops or no Bishops was the main thing, (for Thousands that wished for Good Bishops were on the Parliaments side) though many called it Bellium Episcopale; (And with the Scots that was a greater part of the Controverse) But the generality of the People through the Land (I say not all, or every one) who were then called Puritans, Presifions, Religious Persons, that used to talk of God, and Heaven, and Scripture, and Holiness, and to follow Sermons, and read Books of Devotion, and pray in their Families, and spend the Lord's Day in Religious Exercises, and plead for Mortification, and serious Devotion, and strict Obedience to God, and speak against Swearing, Curfing, Drunkennefs, Prophanefs, &c. I say, the main Body of this sort of Men, both Preachers and People, adhered to the Parliament. And on the other side, the Gentry that were not fo preft and strict against an Oath, or Gaming, or Plays, or Drinking, nor troubled themselves fo much about the Matters of God and the World to come, and the Minifters and People that were for the King's Book, for Dancing and Recreations on the Lord's Days; and those that made not so great a matter of every Sin, but went to Church and heard Common Prayer, and were glad to hear a Sermon which lab'd the Puritans, and which ordinarily spoke against this strictnefs and precifions in Religion, and this strict Observation of the Lord's Day, and following Sermons, and praving Ex tempore, and talking fo much of Scripture and the Matters of Salvation, and those that hated and derided them that took these Courfes, the main Body of these were against the Parliament. Not but that some fuch for Money, or a Landlord's Pleasure, ferved them; as fome few of the ftricter Sort were againft them, or not for them (being Neuters); but I speak of the notable Division through the Land.

If you ask how this came to pass, it requireth a longer Answer than I think fit here to give: But briefly, Actions springing from natural Dispositions and Interest. There is somewhat in the Nature of all worldly Men which maketh them earneffly defirous of Riches and Honours in the World; and they that value them most will seek them; and they that seek them are more like to find them than those that defpife them; and he that taketh the World and Preferment for his Interest will effimate and choo[e all means accordingly; and where the World is predominant, Gain goeth for Godliness, and serious Religion, which would mortifie their Sin is their greatest Enemy: Yet Confiuence must be quieted, and Reputation preferred, which can neither of them be done, without some Religion: Therefore such a Religion is necessary to such as is consistent with a worldly Mind; which Outside-formality, Lip-service and Hypocriftie is; but Seriousnefs, Sincerity and Spirituallty is not.

On the other side, there is that in the new Nature of a Spiritual Believer, which inclineth him to things above, and causeth him to look at worldly Grandeur and Riches, as things more dangerous than desirable; and he is dead to the World, and the World to him by the Cross of Chrift; no wonder therefore if few such attain great Matters in the World, or ever come to Preferment or Greatnefs upon Earth: And there is somewhat in them which maketh them more fearful of displeasing God, than all the World, and will not give them leave to fret their Confiuences, or turn aside when the Interest, or Will of Man requireth it: And the Laws of Chrift, to which they are so devoted, are of such a stream as cannot fuit with carnall Interest. There is an unfierall and radicat Enmiit between the Carnal and the Spiritual, the Serpent's and the Woman's Seed, the Siftiy Mind, and the Spiritual Law of God, through all the World, in all Generations, Gen. 3. 15, Rom. 8. 6, 7, 8. Thus Enmiit is found in England, as well as in other Countries, between the Godly and the Worldly Minds; as he that was born after the Flesh did perfecute him that was born after the Spirit, even fo was it here: The vulgar Rabble of the carnal and prophane, the Fornicators, Drunkards, Swearers, &c. did every where hate them that reproved their Sin, and condemned them by a holy Life. This Difference was unfierall, and their Enmiit impiacleable, farther than
than common Grace abated it, or Special Grace cured it. So that every where fierce, godly People, that would not run with others to excess of Ryot, were spo-
ken against and derided by the Names of Precilians, Zealot, Over-frietick, the Holy
Brethren, and other Terms of Scorn.

These things being supposed, it unhappily fell out that in the Days of Que-
ent Mary (that we may fetch the matter ab origine) our Reformers, being Fugitives at
Frankford, fell into a Division; One part of them were for Diocesan, and the
English Liturgy and Ceremonies, that they might no more than needs depart from
the Papists, nor seem unconfident by departing from what King Edward had be-
gun. The other were for Calvin's Discipline and way of Worship; for the setting
up of a Parochial Discipline instead of a Diocesan; and to have a Government in
every particular Church, and not only One over a Thousand, or many Hundred
Churches: and for a plain and serious way of Worship, suited as near as possible
to God's Word.

When these two Parties returned into England, the Diocesan Party got Queen
Elizabeth's Countenance, and were preferred, and their way set up. The other
Party petitioned, and hoped, and waited, but were disconcentnanced, rebuked, and
by Law suppressed. This lamentable Breach was never healed: The disconcent-
nanced Party were servent Preachers, of holy Lives, and so were many of the
Bishops also in those days! But if those that succeeded them had been as holy and
as diligent Preachers, they had kept up their Honour and Places without such Af-
fauls as they have undergone. But when Jewell, Pelkington, Grindal, and such
like were dead, many succeeded them whom the People took to be other kind of
Men. And the silenced Disciplinarians (as then they were called,) did by their
Writings, their secret Conference and Preaching, and their Godly Lives, work
much upon such as were religiously addicted. And moreover, besides what they
received from such Teachers, there is (I know not perfectly whence,) among the
most of the Religious serious People of these Countries, a suspicion of all that is
Ceremonious in God's Service, and of all which they find not warrant for in Scrip-
ture, and a greater inclination to a rational convincing earnest way of Preaching
and Prayers, than to the written Forms of Words which are to be read in Churches.
And they are greatly taken with a Preacher that speaks to them in a familiar
natural Language, and exhorteth them as if it were for their Lives; when another
that readeth or lieth a few composed Words in a reading Tone, they hear almost
as a Boy that is laying his Leilion: And they are much persuaded that a just Pa-
rochial Discipline would greatly reform the Church, and that Diocesans by exclud-
ing it, cherish Vice.

Now upon the Difference between the Diocesans and the Disciplinarians, the
Diocesans found that their very Places, and Power, and L-nds, and Lordships were
assaulted by the contrary Opinion; and therefore they thought it necessary to sup-
pref the Promoters of it. And so putting Episcopacy, Liturgy, Ceremonies, and
all into the Subscriptions which they impo.d on all that would be Miniflers or
Schoolmasters, they kept and cawt out very many worthy Men: For fome that
were for Liturgy and Ceremonies, were not for Diocesans, but for Parifh Disci-
pline; and fome that were for Bishops were not for the Ceremonies; and fome
that were for the reft yet rupled fome one, and he that could not Subscribe to all,
was forbidden to preach the Gospel: whereas in the mean time many Bishops
preached very Eldom, and abundance of Places had ignorant Readers that could
not preach, and filly Preachers, whose Performances were to mean, that they had
better kept to the Reading of the Homilies; and many of thse were of Scandalous
Lives.

Hereupon the Disciplinarians cried out of the ignorant scandalous Miniflers;
and almost all the scandalous Miniflers (and all that studied Prerences) cried out of
the Nonconformists: The name Puritan was put upon them, and by that they were
commonly known: when they had been called by that name awhile, the vicious
Multitude of the Ungodly called all Puritans that were ftriet and feroius in a Ho-
ly Life, were they ever fo conformable! So that the fame name in a Bishop's mouth
signified a Nonconformift, and in an ignorant Drunkards or Swearers mouth, a
godly obedient Chrifiian. But the People being the greater number, became
ming themselves the Maflers of the Senfe. And in Spalnfer's time, when he
was decrying Calvinift, he devis'd the name of Doctrinal Puritans, which com-
prehended all that were againft Arminifrons. Now the ignorant Rabbit hearing
that the Bishops were againft the Puritans, (not having wit enough to know
whom they meant,) were emboldened the more againft all thole whom they cal-
led
led Puritans themselves, and their Rage against the Godly was increased: and they cried up the Bishops, partly because they were against the Puritans, and partly because they were earnest for that way of Worship which they found most consistent with their Ignorance, Carelessness, and Sins. And thus the Interest of the Diocesans and of the Prophane and Ignorant sort of People were unhappily twinned together in England.

And then on the other side, as all the Nonconformists were against the Prelates, so other of the most fiery godly People were alienated from them on all these foreaid conjund Accounts.

1. Because they were derided and abused by the Name of Puritans.
2. Because the Malignant Sort were permitted to make Religious Persons their common Scorn.
3. Because they saw so many insufficient and vicious Men among the Conformable Clergy.
4. Because they had a high esteem of the Parts and Piety of most of the Nonconformist Ministers.
5. Because they grieved to see so many Excellent Men silenced, while so many Thouand were perishing in Ignorance and Sin.
6. Because though they took the Liturgy to be lawful, yet a more orderly serious Scriptural way of Worship was much more pleasing to them.
7. Because falling and praying, and other Exercises, which they found much benefit by, were so strictly looked after, that the High Commisson and the Bishops Courts did make it much more perillous, than common Swearing and Drunkenness proved to the Ungodly.
8. Because the Book that was published for recreations on the Lord's Day made them think that the Bishops concurred with the Prophane.
9. Because Afternoon Sermons and Lectures, though by Conformable Men, began to be put down in divers Counties.
10. Because so great a number of Conformable Ministers were suspended or punished for not reading the Book of Sports on Sundays, or about Altars, or such like: and so many Thousand Families, and many worthy Ministers, driven out of the Land.
11. Because when they saw Bowing towards Altars, and the other Innovations added, they feared worse, and knew not where they would end.
12. And lastly, Because they saw that the Bishops proceeded so far as to swear Men to their whole Government by the Et cetera Oath, and that they approved of Ship-money, and other such incroachments on their Civil Interests.

All these upon my own knowledge were the true Causes why so great a number of those Persons who were counted most Religious, fell in with the Parliament in England; insomuch that the generality of the stricter diligent sort of Preachers joined with them, though not in medling with Arms, yet in Judgment, and in flying to their Garrisons; and almost all those afterwards called Presbyterians, were before Conformists: Very few of all that Learned and Pious Synod at Westminster were Nonconformists before, and yet were for the Parliament, supposing that the Interest of Religion lay on that side.

Yet did they still keep up an honourable esteem of all that they thought Religious on the other side; such as Bishop Davenant, Bishop Hall, Bishop Morton, Archbishop Uffler, &c. But as to the generality, they went so unanimously the other way, that upon my knowledge many that were not wise enough to understand the Truth about the Caufe of the King and Parliament, did yet run into the Parliaments Armies, or take their part (as Sheepe go together for Company) moved by this Argument; [Sure God will not suffer almost all his most Religious Servants to err in so great a matter.] And [If all these should perish what will become of Religion.] But there were insufficient Grounds to go upon. And abundance of the ignorant sort of the Country, who were Civil, did flock in to the Parliament, and filled up their Armies afterward, merely because they heard Men swear for the Common Prayer and Bishops, and heard others pray that were against them; and because they heard the King's Soldiers with horrid Oaths abuse the name of God, and saw them live in Debauchery, and the Parliaments Soldiers flock to Sermons, and talking of Religion, and praying and singing Psalms together on their Guards. And all the finer Men that I was acquainted with, who were against the Parliament, were wont to say, [The King hath the better Cause, but the Parliament hath the better Men.]
Aud indeed, this unhappy Complication of the Interest of Prelacie, and Prophaneies, and Opposition of the Interest of Prelacie to the Temper of the generality of the Religious Party, was the visible Cause of the overthrow of the King in the Eye of all the understanding World, that ever was capable of observing it.

§ 50. And whereas the King's Party usually say, that it was the feditious Preachers that stirred up the People, and were the Cause of all this, I answer,
1. It is partly true, and partly not: It is not true that they stirred them up to War (except an inconsiderable Number of them, one perhaps in a County, if so much.) But it is true that they discovered their dislike of the Book of Sports, and bowing to Altars, and diminishing Preaching, and silencing Minifters, and fuch like; and were glad that the Parliament attempted a Reformation of them.
2. But then it is as true, that almost all these were conformable Minifters, the Laws and Bifhaps having call out the Nonconformifts long enough before; infomuch, that I know not of two Nonconformifts in a County. But thofe that made up the Assembly at Westminster, and that through the Land, were the Honour of the Parliament Party, were almost all fuch as had till then conformed, and took thofe things to be lawful in cafe of neceffity, but longed to have that neceffity removed.

§ 51. When the War was beginning, the Parties for Names of Contempt upon each other, and alfo took fuch Titles to themselves and their own CAufe, as might be the fittest means for that which they defigned: The old Names of Puritans and Formalists were not now broad enough, nor of fufficient force. The King's Party, as their ferior Word, called the Parliament Party Rebels, and as their common ludicrous Name, The Round-heads (the original of which is not certainly known: Some fay, it was becaufe the Puritans then commonly wore short Hair, and the King's Party long Hair: Some fay, it was becaufe the Queen, at Strafford's Tryal, asked who that Round-head Man was, meaning Mr. Pym, becaufe he fpeake fo strongly.)

The Parliament Party called the other fide commonly by the Name of Malignants, as difputing that the generality of the Enemies of ferior Godlines went that way, in a desire to deftroy the Religious out of the Land. (And the Parliament put that Name into their Mouths) and the Souldiers they called Cavaliers, becaufe they took that Name to themselves; and afterwards they called them Damme's [becaufe God Damn me] was become a common CAufe, and as a By-word among them.

The King profefled to fight for the Subjects Liberty, the Laws of the Land, and the Protestant Religion. The Parliament profefled the fame, and all their Commissions were granted as [for King and Parliament] for the Parliament profefled, that the Separation of the King from the Parliament, could not be without a Deftuction of the Government, and that the Dividers were the Destroyers and Enemies to the State, and if the Soldiers ask each other at any Surprize or Meeting [who are you for?] fole on the King's fide laid, [for the King] and the others laid, [for King and Parliament] the King difowned their Service, as a Scorn, that they should fay they fought for King and Parliament, when their Armies were ready to charge him in the Field. They faid to this,
1. That they fought to redeem him from them that took him a voluntary Captive, and would separate him from his Parliament.
2. That they fought againft his Will only, but not againft his Perfons, which they defired to rescue and prelerve, nor againft his Authority which was for them.
3. That as all the Courts of Justice do execute their Sentences in the King's Name, and this by his own Law, and therefore by his Authority, fo much more might his Parliament do.

§ 52. But now we come to the main matter; Whatatisfied fo many of the intelligent part of the Country to fide with the Parliament when the War began?

What inclined their Affeffions I have before fhewed; and it is not to be doubted but their Approbation of the Parliament in the caufe of Reformation made them the eafier believe the lawfulness of their War: But yet there were fome Diftempers which put the matter to debates among themselves. In Warwickshire, Sir Francis Naterpole, a religious Knight, was againft the Parliaments War and Covenant, (though not for the Juffifles of the War against them.) In Gloucefhire, Mr. Geré, an old eminent Nonconformift, and Mr. Capell, a learned Minifter (who put out himself to prevent being put out for the Book of Recreations) and fome others with them
Part I. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

them were against the lawfulness of the War; so was Mr. Lyford of Sherborn in Dorsetshire, and Mr. Francis Bampfield, his Successor, and some other Godly Ministers in other Countries: And many resolved to meddle on no side.

Those that were against the Parliaments War were of three Minds or Parties: One Part thought that no King might be resisted (but these I shall not take any more notice of.) The other thought that our King must not be at all resisted; because he is our Sovereign, and we have sworn to his Supremacy; and if he be Superior, he hath neither Superior, nor Equal: And Oaths are to be interpreted in the strictest Sense. The third Part granted that in some Cases the King might be resisted, as Bisson, and other Bishops hold, but not in this Case.

1. Because the Law giveth him the Militia, which was contended for; and the Law is the measure of Power.

2. Because, lay they, the Parliament began the War, by permitting Tumults to deprive the Members of their Liberty, and affront and dishonour the King.

3. Because the Members themselves are Subjects, and took the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, and therefore have no Authority to resist.

4. It is not lawful for Subjects to defend Reformation or Religion by Force, against their Sovereigns; no such good Ends will warrant evil Means.

5. It is contrary to the Doctrine of Protestants, and the ancient Christians, and Scripture itself, which condemneth all that resist the higher Powers; and as for the Primitive Christians, it is well known they were acquainted with no other lawful Weapons against them but Prayers and Tears.

6. It imporveth a false Accusation of the King, as if he were about to destroy Religion, Liberties, or Parliaments, all which he is resolved to defend, as in all his Declarations doth appear.

7. It justifieth the Papists Doctrine and Practices of Rebellion, and taketh the Oath from them unto our selves, and layeth a Reproach upon the Protestant Caufe.

8. It proceedeth from Impatience and Distrust of God, which causeth Men to fly to unlawful means. Religion may be preferred better by patient Sufferings.

These were their Reasons who were against the Parliaments War, which may be seen more at large in Mr. Duddly Diggs his Book, and Mr. Welden’s, and Mr. Michael Hudgin’s, and Sir Francis Netherjole’s.

§ 53. As for those on the Parliaments side, I will first tell you what they said to these Eight Reasons; and next, what Reasons moved them to take the other side.

1. To the First Reason, they said (as before) that for the Law to give the King the Militia, signifieth no more but that the People in Parliament consented to obey him in Matter of Wars, and to fight for him, and under his Conduct: For the Law is nothing but the Consent of King and Parliament; and the Militia is nothing but the Peoples own Swords and Strength: And that this Consent of theirs should be supposed to be meant against themselves, as if they consented to destroy themselves whenever he commanded it, is an Exposition against Nature, Sense, and Reason, and the common Sentiments of Mankind. And they said that the same Law required Sheriffs to execute the Militia in Obedience to the Decrees of his Courts of Justice, and this against the King’s Personal Commands, and in the King’s Name. Because King and Parliament have by Law fetled those Courts and Methods of Execution, a Command of the King alone can no more prevail against them, than it can abrogate a Law. And the Law, said they, is above the King, because King and Parliament are more than the King alone. And they pretend always Presidets for their Restance.

2. To the Second, they said, that when 20,000 Protestants were murdered in Ireland, and their Friends so bold in England, and the Parliaments Disturcation so indifferently endevoured, it was no time for them to rebuke their Friends upon terms of Civility and good Manners, though their Zeal was mixt with Indiscretion; and that if the Londoners had not shewed that Zeal for them, it might have emboldened their Enemies against them; and that if the permitting of Petitioners to crowd to them so boldly, and speak too unmannerly, could be called, the raising of a War (when they fought with none, but were assaulted themselves) then the calling up of the Army from the North, was much more so, and so they were not the Beginners. Or had they been the Beginners, it had been lawful, being but to bring Delinquents to Justice, as the Sheriff himself may in Obedience to a Court of Justice. But the Irish Flames which threatened them were kindled before all these.
3. To the third they said, that the Parliament are Subjects limited, and not
singly, as the King is not an absolute, but a limited King, viz. limited by the Laws
and Constitutions of the Government; they are Subjects to him according to Law,
but not subject to Arbitrary Government against Law: Their Propriety is excep-
ted in their Submission, and they have certain Liberties which are not subject to
the Will of the King. And also, they said, That as the Sheriff is a Subject, and
a Court of Justice; Subjects, and yet may refit the King’s Letters, even under the
Broad-Sea, and his Messengers or armed Men that act illegally (because the
Law, which hath his Authority and the Parliament’s, enable them so to do) so
also may the Parliament, which is his highest Court of Justice. And they said,
that as they have a part in the Legislative Power, they have part in the Sums Po-
tyfar, and so far are not Subjects. And they said, that the bare Title of Supreme
is no Argument against the Constitution of a Kingdom, though it be expressed in
an Oath. For the King is filled, the Supreme Governor of France, and yet the Oath of Supremacy doth not bind us to believe, that no French Man may law-
fully bear Arms against him.

4. They say to the fourth, That they wholly grant it; that though Religion may
be the end of a lawful War, yet not of a Rebellion: nor may any Reformation
be performed by any Actions which belong not to the Places and Callings of the
Performers. But where the means are Lawful, Religion and Reformation are law-
ful Ends.

5. To the fifth they said, That they agree with all good Christians and Prote-
stants, that true Authority may not be refit by any Subject: But all Protestants,
or mobs, agree with them, that a limited Governor, which hath not Authority to
do what he lists, may perform an Act of Will, which is no Act of Authority; and
they maintained, that the highest Power was in the Law-givers and Laws, and
that the Parliament was the highest Judicature, and that it was Rebellion in them
that refitt the Parliament in their Legal prosecution of Delinquents, and Defence
of the Land and themselves: and that Paul, Rom. 13. determineth not at all, whe-
ther the Emperors or the Senate was the higher Power; and that the Restiters of
the Parliament are the condemned Breakers of that Order and Command.

6. To the sixth they said, that they Charge nothing on the King, but what
their Eyes behold, viz. That he hath forsaken his Parliament, and raised Arms
against them, and protected Delinquents: And this they mention but as Matter of Fat; for the culpability they charge upon his evil Counsellors, and Instru-
ments: For the King being no Subject, is liable to no Accusations in any of his
Courts: But it is the Irish, the Papists, and those guilty Persons who would ruin
all, to fave themselves from Justice, whom they accuse, and not the King. And
whatever the King’s Declarations say, Ship-money hath been imposed, the Judges have
been corrupted, the German Horse were to have been brought in; the Northern Ar-
my was to have been brought up against the Parliament; the House was invaded
and their Members demanded, a Guard was set upon them, and their Destruction
(by their Enemies) was powerfully endeavoured.

7. To the seventh they said, That for the supreme legislative Authority to de-
defend it fell and the Land, and for the King’s Courts of Justice to prosecute De-
linquents (though against the King’s Will) is no dihonneur to the Protestant Religi-
on, nor any thing like the Papists Doctrine and Practices of Rebellion; nor any
Juttification of them. If it were, then the very Constitution of our ancient Gov-
ernment or Kingdom, would it fell be a dihonneur to our Religion.

8. To the last they say, That Patience is our Duty so far as we are called to
Sufferings, and God is to be trusted in the way which he hath appointed us: But
if the Irish Rebels had foresaid the Parliament and Justices of their Inurrection,
and then exorted them to Patience and Non-re sistance and truf ting God, or if a
Thief that would rob us to exhort us to be patient and not resist, he doth but exhort
us to be guilty of his Sin. The Protestant’s Patience was that which pleased the
Irish; or (if a King must be brought in as a Party) the French Mens Patience in
the Parlement Mall we pleased Charles IX. and the Executioners: And if in all Coun-
tries the Protestants would let the Papists cut their Throats, and die in the Ho-
our of Patience, it would satis fie those bloody Adversaries, who had rather we di-
ced in such Honour, than lived without it: But if such Patience would be a poor
Excuse for a Father that fought not to preserve his Children, much less for the
Parliament that stand still while Papists and Delinquents subvert both Church and
State.

Thef:
There were their Answers to their Accusers in those Points.

§ 54. The Sum of those Reasons which satisfied many that adhered to the Parliament, were these, which I will but briefly name.

1. As to the Danger of the State, the Matters of these did make if from undeniable to them: Ship-money they judged not of according to the Sum; but they thought Propriety was thereby destroyed, and Parliaments canst abide and made unnecessary.

2. They say they that this Parliament was called upon the Scots, and then called Discontented Lords importunity, after many Parliaments had been dissolved in displeasure, and after they had been long forborn: And the calling up of the Northern Army, and the demanding of the Members, made Multitudes think that the ruine of the Parliament was the great Design; and their ungrateful beginning and proceedings made, this seem credible, so that I met with few of that sort that doubted of it. But above all, the Two hundred thousand Kill'd in Ireland, allighted the Parliament and all the Land. And whereas it is said, that the King hated that, as well as they: They answered, that though he did, his hatting it would neither make all those alive again, nor preserve England from their threatened Allegiance, as long as Men of the like malignity were protected, and could not be kept out of Arms, nor brought to Justice.

2. The End of the War did much prevail with them: For they thought that to matter and destroy the Parliament, was to leave the People helpless, as to any Security of their Propriety or Liberties, or any Remedy against their Will. For there is no other Power that may relieve them: And if Parliaments were so used before, what would they be, (said they) if by such a War they should be conquered. And they thought that the ruin of the State and of Men's Propriety, was such an End as no means could be lawfully used for; and that the Preservation of the Kingdom was such an End as would make lawful any necessary means, which God himself had not forbidden.

3. And then as to Authority, they thought that the Legislative Power is the chiefest part of Sovereignty; and that the Parliament having a part in the Legislative Power, had so far inherently a Power to defend it, which no Law can suppoze them to give away: And as the Peoples Representatives, they suppozed themselves much Intruded to secure their referred Liberties, which the Law giveth not the King any Authority to take away.

4. And they suppozed that Government being that Publick Work which upholds the Common Peace, it is to be done by Publick Instruements and Means; and that the Kings Laws are his Instruements of Government, and also his Publick Courts and Officers: And that the Subjects cannot know so well, whether private Commands or Commissions be real or counterfeit, nor are so much bound to take notice of them. And that the Judgments and Executions of the Courts of Justice, being the Effect of Laws which King and Parliament have made, are of greater Authority than contrary Commissions or Commands from the King alone.

5. It much confirmed them because all confessed, That the Sheriffs of Counties must raise the posse Comitatus for the Execution of some Decrees of Courts of Justice, though the King forbid it, or grant a Commission to any to hinder it: And that the foresaid Statute of Edw. 2, maketh even the King's Letters under the Broad Seal to be void when they would hinder Justice.

6. And they pleaded the Law of Nature, which is greater than Positive Laws, That no Nation is bound to destroy it fell. The Militia being nothing but the Peoples own Sword, they say they are not bound to destroy themselves with it; nor can any Law be so interpreted. And whereas it was said, That the King fought not to destroy the Parliament, but to bring some among them to punishment: They said, that it belongeth to the Parliament to judge its Members; and that if on pretence of punishing offending Members, the King may come and fetch away, or demand those that displeased him, Parliaments and Liberties and all Security of them is gone.

7. The King's Answer to the Nineteen Propositions, greatly confirmed many, when they saw the King himself declaring to them, That the Legislative Power was in Kings, Lords, and Commons, and that the Government was mixt, and was not Arbitrary; which they thought it must needs be, if his Commissions were of greater power than his Laws and Courts, and if no resistance might be made against any that executed an illegal Commission.
8. It most prevailed with many, that the Parliament professed not to fight against either the Person or Authority of the King, though against his Will; but that their War was only against Subjects. They said that some Subjects were Delinquents that fled from Justice, against whom they might raise Arms offensively; and other Subjects took Arms against the Parliament; and against these they made a Defensive War: But all of them were Subjects, and not Kings: And the King's Will or Commission is not enough to take all Subjects from punishment, when his Law is against it; nor to authorize them to destroy the Parliament and their Country.

9. They were much emboldened because this Parliament was continued by Law till it should dissolve itself. And therefore some said, the King's Presence is virtually with them, he being a part of the Parliament: and others said, that no War could be lawful which was for their dissolution or ruin, or to deprive them of their Liberty; and that the defence of them was lawful, whom the Law continued.

10. They alleged King James, who, they said, of any Man did most endeavour to advance his Prerogative, and yet: 1n his printed Treatise for Monarchy confessed, That a King cannot lawfully make a War against his Kingdom, but only against an offending Faction. Therefore, say they, not against the Representative Body, till it be proved that by perfidiousness they have forfeited the Virtue and Honour of their Representation.

11. They alleged Barclay, Grotius, and other Defenders of Monarchy, especially that passage of Grotius de Jure Belli, where he saith, That if several Persons have a part in the Summa Potestas (of which he maketh Legitimation a chief Act), each part hath naturally the power of defending its own Interest in the Sovereignty against the other part if they invade it. And addeth over boldly, That if in such a War they conquer, the conquered party lookth to them his share: And faith, That this is true so far as it holdeth, though the Law expressly saith, that one of the Parties shall have the power of the Militia, it being to be understood that he shall have it against Foreign Enemies and Delinquents, and not against the other part.

12. It much confirmed them to find the most Learned Episcopal Divines speak so high for the Legislative Power of Parliaments (as Tbo. Hooker doth Eccles. Polib. 1. for the Eighth Book, which faith more than the Parliament ever said, was not then published). And for restraint in several Cases, as Bishop Bilton doth, even in that Treatise wherein he so strongly defendeth Obedience, and which he dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. And to find how far they defend the French, Dutch, and German Protestants Wars.

13. They said that the Carnal respect of Men for personal Interests, hath made all the stream of most Men Words and Writings go on the Prince's side; but Tyanny is a Milchfeif as well as Disobedience, and that which all Ages, and most Nations have grievously fpared by; and they that befriend it, are guilty of the Sin, and of the Ruins which it procureth: It keepeth out Christianity from five parts of the World: It corrupteth it and keepeth out the Protestant Truth in most of the fifth part: The Eastern and the Western churches suffer under it, to the perdition of millions of Souls. If Bodily Sufferings were all, the matter were nothing; but it is Mens Souls, and the Interest of the Gospel, which is the Sacrifice to their Will.

14. Lastly, This greatly confirmed many, that the Matter being a Controversie, whether the Disobedience and Refistance of King or Parliament, is now the Rebellion and Sin, the simple People are not wiser than the States-men that differ about it. Now then should they better quiet their Judgments, than in the Judgment of the Parliament, who are the Trustees of the People, and the chief Court and Council of the King, and have so many Lawyers and Wise men among them, and are so greatly interveiled in the common Good themselves? If it were but the Question, Which is the King's Governing Will, which the People must obey? And a Soldier saith, It is my Commission, and the High Court of Parliament saith, It is the Law declared in a Court of Justice, a Parliament feemeth to be the properest Judge: As in Controversies of Physick, who is to be believed before the Colledge of Physicians? Or in Controversies of Religion, who before a General Council? If the House of York and Lancaster fight for the Crown, and both Command the Subjects Arms, the poor Peasants are not able to judge of their Titles: And if a Parliament shall not judge for them who shall?

These were the Reasons which caused Men to adhere to the Parliament in this War.
§ 55. For my own part I freely confess, that I was not judicious enough in Po-
liticks and Law to decide this Controversie which so many Lawyers and Wife men
differed in. And I freely confess, that being altonished at the 35th Masseacre, and
perwaded fully both of the Parliaments good endeavours for Reformation, and of
their real danger, my Judgment of the main Cause much swayed my Judgment in the
Matter of the Wars: and the Arguments à fine, & à natura, & necessitate, which
common Wits are capable of differing, did too far incline my Judgment in the Caule of
the War, before I well understood the Arguments from our particular
Laws: And the Consideration of the Quality of the Parties that rized for each
Caule, in the Countries, did greatly work with me, and more than it should have
done: And I verily thought, that if that which a Judge in Court faith enten-ntial-
ly is Law, must go for Law to the Subject, as to the Decision of that Caule, though
the King lend his Broad Seal against it, then that which the Parliament faith &
Law, is Law to the Subjects (about the Dangers of the Common-wealth) whate-
ver it be in it self; and that if the King’s Broad-Seal cannot prevail against the
Judge, much les against their Judgment.

I make no doubt but both Parties were to blame (as it commonly falleth out in
moft Wars and Contentions) and I will not be he that shall Juffifie either of them.
I doubt not but the Headines and Raffines of the younger unexperienced fort of
religious People, made many Parliament Men and Minifters overgo themselves,
to keep pace with thofe hot Spurs; no doubt but much Indifcretion appeared,
and worfe than Indifcretion in the tumultuous Petitioners, and much Sin was com-
mittet in the difhonouring of the King, and provocatit of him, and in the un-
civil Language againft the Bifhops and Liturgie of the Church: But thofe things
came principally from the Sectarian separating Spirit, which blew the Coals
among foolifh Apprentices: And as the Sectaries increasetd fo did this Infolence in-
creat. I have my felf been in London, when they have on the Lord’s Days flood
at the Church Doors while the Common Prayer was reading, faying, We muft lay
till be f out of his Potage. And fuch unchristian Scorns and Jefts did pleafe young
inconfiderate Wits, that knew not what Spirit they were of, nor whither fuch
unwarrantate things did tend. Learned Mr. John Hall, though a Nonconformift,
difcernet the fhiriings of this infolent Sectarian Spirit betimes, and fett a writing
againft it; even then when fome were crying out of Perfection, and others were
tender of fuch little Differencs: One or two in the Houfe, and five or fix Minif-
ters that came from Holland, and a few that were scattered in the City, which
were the Brownifts Reliefs, did drive on others according to their own dividing
Principles, and fowed the Seeds which afterward spread over all the Land; though
then there were very few of them in the Countreys, even next to none. As Bifhop
Hall speaks againft the jufifying of the Bifhops, fo do I againft jufifying the Par-
liament, Minifters, or City: I believe many unjuftifiable things were done; but I
think that a few Men among them all, were the Doers or Injligaters of it.

But I then thought that whooever was faulty, the Peoples Liberties and Safety
could not be forfeited: And I thought that all the Subjects were not guilty of all
the Faults of King or Parliament when they defended them: Yea, that if both
their Caufes had been bad as againft each other, yet that the Subjectis fhould adhe-
to that Party which muft secured the welfare of the Nation, and might defend the Land un-
der their Conduct, without owning all their Caufe. And herein I confefs I was then fo
zealous, that I thought it a great Sin for Men that were able to defend their Coun-
try, to be Neuters: And I have been tempted fince to think that I was a more
competent Judge upon the Place, when all things were before our eyes, than I
am in the review of thofe Days and Actions fo many Years after, when Difance
didadvantage the Apprehenfion. A Writer (againft Cromweis’s Decimation) re-
cating his great Adherence to the Parliament in that War, yet fo abhorreth Neut-
raty, that he likeneth him rather to a Dog than a Man that could Stand by when
his Country was in fuch a cafe: But I confefs for my part I have not fuch confor-
tious Thoughts of thofe that then were Neuters as formerly I have had: For he that
either thinketh both fides railed an unlawful War, or that could not tell which
( if either) was in the right, might well be excufed if he defended neither.

I was always fatisfied, 1. That the Dividers of the King and Parliament were
the Traitors, whoever they were: and that the Division tended to the Dissolution
of the Government.

a. And
2. And that the Authority and Person of the King were inviolable, out of the reach of unjust Accusation, Judgment, or Execution by Law; as having no Superior, and no Judge.

3. I favoured the Parliaments Cause, as they professed to bring Delinquents to a Legal Trial:

2. And to preserve the Person and Government of the King, by a Conjuration with his Parliament.

But Matters that Wars and Blood are any way concerned in are so great as tenderly to be handled, that I profess to the World that I dare not, I will not justify any thing that others or my self have done of any such consequence. But though I never hurt the Person of any Man, yet I resolve to pray daily and earnestly to God, that he will reveal to me whatever I have done amiss, and not suffer me through Ignorance to be impenitent, and would forgive me both my known and unknown Sins, and cleanse this Land from the Guilt of Blood.

§ 56. Having inferred this much of the Cale of History of those Times, I now proceed to the Relation of the Passages of my own Life, beginning where I left.

When I was at Kidderminster the Parliament made an Order for all the People to take a Proclamation to defend the King's Person, Honour and Authority, the Power and Privileges of Parliaments, the Liberties of the Subject, and the Protestant Religion against the common Enemy meaning the Papists; the Infr Malign and Threatenings occasioning this Proclamation. I obeyed them in joining with the Magistrate in offering the People this Proclamation; which caused some to be offended with me.

About that time the Parliament sent down an Order, for the demolishing of all Statues and Images of any of the three Persons in the blessed Trinity, or of the Virgin Mary, which should be found in Churches, or on the Crofes in Churchyards. My Judgment was for the obeying of this Order, thinking it came from just Authority; but I medical not in it, but left the Churchwardens to do what he thought good. The Churchwarden (an honest, sober, quiet Man) seeing a Crucifix upon the Crofs in the Church-yard, set up a Ladder to have reach it, but it proved too short; whilst he was gone to seek another, a Crew of the drunken riotous Party of the Town (poor Journey-men and Servants) took the Allarm, and run altogether with Weapons to defend the Crucifix, and the Church Images (of which there were divers left since the time of Popery): The Report was among them, that I was the Actor, and it was me they sought; but I was walking almoft a mile out of Town, or else I suppose I had there ended my days: when they mift me and the Churchwarden both, they went raving about the Streets to seek us. Two Neighbours that dwelt in other Parishes, hearing that they fought my Life, ran in among them to see whether I were there, and they knockt them both down in the Streets, and both of them are since dead, and I think never perfectly recovered that hurt. When they had foamed about half an hour, and met with none of us, and were newly hous'd, I came in from my walk, and hearing the People Curting at me in their Doors, I wondered what the matter was, but quickly found how fairly I had escap'd. The next Lord's Day I dealt plainly with them, and laid open to them the quality of that Action, and told them, Seeing they so required me as to seek my Blood, I was willing to leave them, and give them from that Guilt. But the poor Soss were so amazed and ahamed, that they took on torily, and were both to part with me.

§ 57. About this time the King's Declarations were read in our Market-place, and the Reader (a violent Country Gentleman) seeing me pass the Streets, stopp and said, There goth a Traitor, without ever giving a syllable of Reason for it.

And the Commissition of Array was set afoot (for the Parliament medled not with the Militia of that Country, the Lord Howard their Lieutenant not appearing). Then the rage of the Riosers grew greater than before! And in preparation to the War, they had got the word among them [Down with the Round-heads]; I knew much that if a Stranger pass in many places that had short Hair and a Civil Habit, the Rabble presently cried, [Down with the Round-heads]; and some they knockt down in the open Streets.

In this Fury of the Rabble I was advis'd to withdraw a while from home; whereupon I went to Gloucester: As I pass but through a corner of the Suburbs of Worchester, they that knew me not, cried, Down with the Round-heads, and I was glad...
to Ipur on and be gone. But when I came to Gloucester, among Strangers also that had never known me, I found a civil, courteous, and religious People, as different from Worcester, as if they had lived under another Government. There I stayed a Month, and whilst I was there, many Pamphlets came out on both sides; preparing for a War. For the Parliaments Caufe the principal Writing, which very much prevailed, was, Observations, written by Mr. Parker a Lawyer: But I remember some Principles which I think he misapplieth, as also doth Mr. Thomas Hooker, Ecclef. polit. lib. 8. viz. That the King is 
\[\text{ fingerprinted } \]
universis major, but universis minor; that he received his Power from the People, &c. For I doubt not to prove that his Power is fo immediately from God, as that there is no Recipient between God and him to convey it to him: Only (as the King by his Charter maketh him a Mayor or Balliff whom the Corporation chufeth fo) God by his Law, as an Infrument, conveyeth Power to that Perfon or Family whom the People confent to; and their Consent is but a Conditio sine qua non; and not any Proof that they are the Fountain of Power, or that ever the governing Power was in them; and therefore for my part I am satisfied that all Politicks err, which tell us of a Magellanes Refts in the People, as different from the Majestas Personalis in the Governors. And though it be true that \text{ quas ad naturalen bonitatem & in genere Causa finalis the} 
\[\text{ fingerprinted } \]
King be universis minor, (and therefore no War or Action is good which is against the common Good, which is the end of all Government; yet as to governing Power (which is the thing in question) the King is (as to the People) Universis Major; as well as Singsul: For if the Parliament have any Legislative Power, it cannot be as they are the Body or People, as Mr. Tho. Hooker ill supposeth (who lib. 1. Polit. Ecclef. maketh him a Tyrant that maketh Laws himself without the Body) but it is as the Constitution twifheth them into the Government: For if once Legislation (the chief Act of Government) be denied to be any part of Government at all, and affirmed to belong to the People as such, who are no Governors, all Government will hereby be overthrown. Besides these Observations, no Books more advantaged the Parliament's Caufe, than a Treatife of Monarchy (afterwards published,) and Mr. Pryn's large Book of the Soveraign Power of Parliaments, wherein he heapeth up Multitudes of Instances of Parliaments that exercided Soveraign Power.

At this time also they were every where beginning the Contention between the Commission of Array and the Parliaments Militia: in Gloucestershire the Country came in for the Parliament: In Worcestshire, Herefordsire, and Shropshire, they were wholly for the King, and none, to any purpose, moved for the Parliament.

§ 58. Whilft I was at Gloucester I saw the first Contentions between the Minifters and Anabaptifts that ever I was acquainted with: For these were the first Anabaptifts that ever I had seen in any Country, and I heard but of few more in those parts of England. About a dozen young Men, or more, of confiderable Parts, had received the Opinion against Infant Baptifm, and were re-baptized, and laboured to draw others after them, not far from Gloucefer: And the Minifter of the Place, Mr. Winnen, being hot and impatient with them, hardened them the more. He wrote a confiderable Book againft them at that time: But England having then no great Experience of the tendency and confequents of Anabaptifty, the People that were not of their Opinion did but pity them, and thought it was a Conceit that had no great harm in it, and blamed Mr. Winnen for his Violence and Apery towards them.

But this was the beginning of the Miferies of Gloucefer; for the Anabaptifts somewhat increasing on one side, before I came away, a good Man, called Mr. Hart, came out of Herefordshire with Mr. Vaughan, a Gentleman, and they drew many to Separation on another side: and after them in the Wars came one Mr. Bacon, a Preacher of the Army, and drew them to Antinomianifm on another side, which together do diftracted the good People, and eat out the Heart of Religion and Charity (the Minifters of the Place being not so able and quick as they should have been in confluting them, and preferring the People) that the City which had before as great Advantage for the prosperity of Religion among them, as any in the Land, in the Civility, Tractableness, and Piety of the People, became as low and Poor as others, and the Piety of more happy Places, while these Tares did dwindle and wither away the solid Piety of the Place.

§ 59. When I had been at Gloucefer a Month, my Neighbours of Kidderminster came for me home, and told me, that if I stayed any longer, the People would interpret it, either that I was afraid upon some Guilt, or that I was against the
King: So I bid my Hoft (Mr. Darney the Town Clark) and my Friends farewell, and never came to Gloucester more.

When I came home I found the beggarly drunken Rowes in a very tumultuating Disposition, and the Superiors that were for the King did animate them, and the People of the Place who were accounted Religious were called Round-heads, and openly reviled, and threatened as the King's Enemies (who had never medled in any Caufe against the King;) Every drunken Sot that met any of them in the Streets, would tell them, "we shall take an order with the Puritans ere long." And just as at their Shows, and Wakes, and Stage-plays, when the Drink and the Spirit of Ryot did work together in their Heads, and the Crowd encouraged one another, so was it with them now; they were like tyed Mastiffs newly loofed, and fled in the Face of all that was religious, yea, or Civil, which came in their way. It was the undoing of the King and Bifhops that this Party was encouraged by the Leaders in the Courtrey against the civil religious Party. Yet, after the Lord's Day when they had heard the Sermon they would a while be calm'd, till they came to the Alcove again, or heard any of their Leaders his them on, or heard a Rabble cry, [Down with the Round-heads.] And when the Wars began, almost all these Drunkards went into the King's Army, and were quickly killed, so that scarce a Man of them came home again and survived the War.

§ 60. All this time, the King having marched from Nottingham to Shrewsbury, had there very successfully made up his Army, especially out of Shropshire, Worcesfer, Herefordshire and Wales, though many came also out of other Parts: And the Earl of Effex's Army was filled up, and was marching down towards Worcefter.

The Fury of the Rabble was so hot at home, that I was fain to withdraw again, and being with one Mr. Hunt near Inkborough, there came a Party of the Earl of Effex's Army before the ret, to block up the Lord Bryon in Worcefter, till the Earl of Effex came to take him there. This Party lay in a Meadow near Powick, above a Mile from Worum, Mr. Hunt, with other Courtreymen bringing them in Provision; I had a great mind to go fee them, having never seen any part of an Army; As soon as I came, a Melfenger came out of Worcefter secretly, to tell them that the Lord Bryon was mounted and ready to be gone: Hereupon, the Commanders (Col. Brown a Scot, Col. Edwin Sans of Kent, and Col. Nath. Evans, Capt. Job. Eiient, and Capt. Wingate) consulted what was to be done; Brown and Sands were hot for the leaving of their Ground (where they were secure by a River) and pretently to pursue the Enemy: The ret faid, This Meffage may be a Deceit, to draw us into a Snare; let us first send Scouts, and fee how it is. But the other prevailed, and over the Bridge they went; (being all hogs and Dragoons) and by that time they had past a narrow Lane, and half of them entred a Field beyond it, they found the King's Horfe under the Command of Prince Rupert drawn up ready to charge them (when they knew not whom they fought with, nor knew that Prince Rupert was within twenty Miles of them) fo he charged them before the ret came in, and Col. Sands was wounded and taken Prisoner, and died of his Wounds; and Major Douglas flain, and the ret fled; and though the Enemy pursed them no farther than the Bridge, yet fled they in grievous terror to Porchore, and the Earl of Effex's Life Guard lying there, took the Allarm that the Enemy was following them, and away they went. This Sight quickly told me the Vanity of Armies, and how little Conience is to be placed in them.

§ 61. Upon this, Prince Rupert fretch off the Lord Byron and march away; and the next Day the Earl of Effex came to Worcester, with many Lords and Knights, and a flourishing Army, gallantly cloath'd, but never tried in Fight.

There were with his Army, as Chaplains to the several Regiments, abundance of famous, excellent Divines; viz. Mr. Stephen Marshall and Dr. Burges to the Earl of Effex's Regiments, Mr. Obedad Sedgwick to Col. Hollis's Regiment, Dr. Calibute Dewang to the Lord Roberts's Regiment, Mr. John Sedgwick to the Earl of Stanfords's Regiment, Dr. Sportow, to Mr. Hampden, Mr. Perkins to Col. Goodwins, Mr. Aver to the Lord Wharton's, Mr. Ademiram Bifield to Sir Henry Chealby's, Mr. Nation to Col. Grantham's, Mr. Simeon Afl to the Lord Brooke's, or the Earl of Manchester's, (I remember not whether) Mr. Morton of Newcastle, with Sir Arthur Hill's Troop; with many more. Mr. Bifield and Mr. Aver quartered with us at Kidderminster, where were the Regiments of Col. Effex, the Lord Wharton, Sir Henry Chalmeley, and the Lord Brooke at Bewdley: while they quartered there, the King's Army was upon the March from Shrewsbury towards Oxford: Their way lying through Wolverhampton, some of their Scouts appeared on the Top of Koreer Edge,
PART I. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Edge, three miles from Kidderminster: The Brigades in Kidderminster not knowing but all the King's Army might come that way, march'd off to Worcester, and in haste left a Carriage or two with Arms behind: some of the Inhabitants hast'd to the King's Soldiers, and told them all, which made them come into the Town and take those Arms.

The Fury of our own Rabble, and of the King's Soldiers was such, that I saw no safety in staying at home: The Civility of the Earl of Essex's Army was such, that among them there was no danger (though none of them knew me): And there was such excellent Preaching among them at Worcester, that I stayed there among them a few days, till the marching of the King's Army occasioned their remove.

Upon the Lord's Day following I preached at Alesford for my Reverend Friend Mr. Samuel Clark: As I was preaching the People heard the Cannon play, and perceived that the Armies were engaged; when Sermon was done (in the Afternoon) the report was more audible, which made us all long to hear of the success: About Sun-setting (Oct. 21, 1642.) many Troops fled through the Town, and told us that all was lost on the Parliament side, and the Carriage taken and Waggons plunder'd before they came away; and none that followed brought any other News. The Towns-men sent a Messenger to Stratford upon Avon to know the certain truth. About four a clock in the Morning the Messenger returned, and told us, That Prince Rupert wholly routed the left Wing of the Earl of Essex's Army; but while his Men were plundering the Waggons, the main Body and the Right Wing round the rest of the King's Army, took his Standard (but it was lost again); kill'd his General the Earl of Lindsey, and his Standard-bearer, took Prisoner the Earl of Lindsey's Son the Lord Willoughby, and others; and lost few Persons of Quality, and no Noblemen but the Lord St. John, eldest Son to the Earl of Bullingbrooke: and that the loss of the left Wing was through the Treachery of Sir Faithful Fortescue, Major to the Lord Fielding's Regiment of Horse, who turned to the King when he should have Charg'd: and that the Victory was obtained principally by Colonel Hollis's Regiment of London Red-Coats, and the Earl of Essex's own Regiment, and Life-Guard, where Sir Philip Stapleton, and Sir Arthur Haselrigge, and Col. Urrey did much.

The next Morning being willing to see the Field where they had fought, I went to Edghill, and found the Earl of Essex with the remaining part of his Army keeping the Ground, and the King's Army facing them upon the Hill a mile off; and about a Thousand dead Bodies in the Field between them, (and I suppose many were buried before:) and neither of the Armies moving toward each other. The King's Army presently drew off towards Banbury, and to Oxford. The Earl of Essex's Army went back to provide for the wounded, and refresh themselves at Warwick Castle, (the Lord Brooke's House).

For my self I knew not what Course to take: To live at home I was uneasie; but especially now, when Soldiers on one side or other would be frequently among us, and we must be still at the Mercy of every furious Beast that would make a prey of us: I had neither Money nor Friends: I knew not who would receive me in any place of Safety; nor had I any thing to satisfie them for my Diet and Entertainment. Hereupon I was perfwaded by one that was with me to go to Coventry, where one of my old Acquaintance was Minister, (Mr. Simon King, sometime School-master at Bridgenorth;) So thither I went with a purpose to stay there till one side or other had got the Victory, and the War was ended, and then to return home again: For so wise in Matters of War I was, and all the Country besides, that we commonly suppos'd that a very few days or weeks by one other Battle, would end the Wars; and I believe that no small number of the Parliament-men, had no more wit than to think so to. There I stayed at Mr. King's a month; but the War was as far from being like to end as before.

Whilst I was thinking what Course to take in this Necessity, the Committee and Governor of the City desired me that I would stay with them, and lodge in the Governor's House, and preach to the Soldiers. The offer suited well with my Necessities, but I resolved that I would not be Chaplain to the Regiment, nor take a Commission; but if the meagre preaching of a Sermon once or twice a week to the Garrison would satisfie them, I would accept of the Offer, till I could go home again. (Mr. Apsinall, one of the Minifters of the Town, had a Commission from the Earl of Essex to be Chaplain to the Garrison Regiment; but the Governor and Committee being displeas'd with him, made no use of him. And when he was displeas'd, as thinking I would take his place, I assured him I had no such in-
tent; and about a Twelve-month after he died). Here I lived in the Government House, and followed my Studies as quietly as in a time of Peace, for about a year, only preaching once a week to the Soldiers, and once on the Lord's Day to the People, not taking of any of them a Penny for either, save my Diet only.

Here I had a very judicious Auditory; among others many very godly and judicious Gentlemen; as Sir Richard Skeffington (a most noble, holy Man) Col. Godfrey Bofoule, Mr. Mackworth, with many others; of all which Mr. George Abbot was the chief (known by his Paraphrase on Job, and his Book against Bread for the Lord's Day) And there were about thirty worthy Ministers in the City, who fed thither for Safety from Soldiers and Popular Fury, as I had done, though they never medled in the Wars; viz. Mr. Richard Vines, Mr. Anthony Burges, Mr. Burdall, Mr. Drumkil (who lived with that Eminent Saint the Old Lady Bromley, Widow to Judge Bromley, whose only discernable fault to me was too much Humility and Low thought of her self). Dr. Ripon, Dr. Greiw, Mr. Stephens, Mr. Cradle, Mr. Morton of Bromley, (my special Friend) Mr. Diamond, good old Mr. Overture, and many more, whose preface commanded much respect from me. I have cause of continual thankfulness to God for the quietness and safety, and forer, wise, religious Company, with liberty to preach the Gospel, which he vouchsafed me in this City, when other Places were in the Terrours and Flames of War.

§ 62. When I had been above a year at Coventry, the War was so far from being ceased, that it had diffpered it self into almost all the Land: only Middlesex, Hertifhshire, most of Bedford and Northamptonshire were only for the Parliament, and had some quietnes: And Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire with the Isle of Ely, were called the Associated Counties, and lived as in Peace, because the King's Armies never came near them: and so for the most part it was with Kent, Surrey, and Suffow. And on the other side, Herefodshire, Worcestershire, and Shropshire, (till this time) and almost all Wales, (five Pembroke, which was wholly for the Parliament) were only poifled for the King, and law not the Forces of the Parliament: But almost all the rest of the Counties had Garrisons and Parties in them on both sides, which caused a War in every County, and I think there where few Parishes where at one time or other Blood had not been shed.

§ 63. And here I must repeat the great Cause of the Parliament's Strength, and the King's mine; and that was, That the defeamed Rabble through the Land, emboldened by his Gentry, and seconded by the Common Soldiers of his Army, took all that were called Partisans for their Enemies: And though some of the King's Gentry and Superiour Officers were fo Civil that they would do no such thing, yet that was no Security to the Country, while the multitude did what they list. So that if any one was noted for a strict and famous Preacher, or for a Man of a precie and pious Life, he was either plundered, or abufed, and in danger of his Life: So that if a Man did but pray in his family, or were but heard repeat a Sermon, or sing a Psalm, they presently cried out, Rebels, Round-heads, and all their Money and Goods that were portable proved guilty, how innocent soever they were themselves. I fuppofe this was kept from the knowledge of the King, and perhaps of many sober Lords of his Council: (for few could come near them, and it is the fate of such not to believe evil of those that they think are for them, nor good of those that they think are against them). But upon my certain knowledge this was it that filled the Armies and Garrisons of the Parliament with sober, pious Men. Thousands had no mind to meddle with the Wars, but greatly defirfed to live peaceably at home, when the Rage of Soldiers and Drunkards would not fuffer them: some flayed till they had been imprisoned, some till they had been plundered, perhaps twice or thrice over, and nothing left them; some were quite deat out with the abuse of all Comers that quarreled on them; and some by the insolency of their Neighbours; but most were afraid of their Lives; and fo they taught refuge in the Parliament's Garrisons. Thus when I was at Coventry the Religious part of my Neighbours at Kidderminster that would fain have lived quietly at home, were forced (the chiefest of them) to be gone: And to Coventry they came, and some of them that had any Eftate of their own, lived there on their own Charge; and the rest were fain to take arm, and be Garrison Soldiers to get them Bread.

§ 64. In Shewplie, where my Father dwelt, both he and all his Neighbours that were noted for praying and hearing Sermons, were plundered by the King's Soldiers; in the same of them had almost nothing but Lambs left in their Houses: though my Father was so far from medling on either side, that he knew not what they
they were doing, but followed his own business; nor had he seen me, or heard of me of a long time.

At this time Col. Mitten, and other Shropshire Gentlemen, resolved to settle a Garrison at Wem, a little Town in their own Country, eight Miles from Shrewsbury, and Mr. Mackworth, Mr. Hunt, &c. were earnest with me to go with them because it was my Native Country. I was desirous to be near my Father if I could any way relieve him, and to be absent a while from Coventry, (there being some Difference between the Earl of Denbigh and the Committee, which went high): so I confented to go with them only for a few weeks, and to return: Their Design was to get some of my Neighbours thither, who they knew would follow me; and about thirty or forty of them joyne'd in Colonel Mackworth's Troop and went.

As soon as we came thither, and they began to fortifie Wem, the Lord Capell brought his Army from Shrewsbury against them; where (Sir William Brereton bringing the Cheshire Trained Bands to affift the little handful at Wem) the two Armies lay within a Mile of each other two or three Days, and after some little Skirmishing the Lord Capell drew off, and marcht into Cheshire to Nantwich, being affured thereby to draw off the Cheshire Men, and then refolved the fame Night to return and Storm the Town; and his Plot took according to his Contrivance; for that Night he plundered all the Villages about Nantwich, and at Midnight march'd back another way: The Cheshire Men were quickly on their March, when they heard that the Enemy was plundering their Country; and by that time they came to Nantwich the Lord Capell was got back again to Wem. There was nothing about the Town but a Ditch little bigger than such as Husbandmen inclose their Grounds with, and this not finished; and the Gates, new made, had no Hinges, but were reared up, and there was but very few Men in the Town; especially under the Command of Col. Hunt (a plain hearted, honest, godly Man, entirely beloved, and trusted by the Soldiers for his Honesty): I went with the Cheshire Men to Nantwich; when they came thither, they understood the Stratagem of the Lord Capell, and heard that they were form'ing Wem; and Sir William Brereton would have had his Men march after them prefently, to relieve Wem; but the Soldiers were all Commanders, and feen their own Country plundered in their Absence, and being weary, they all refolved that they would not go; and so Wem was given up as lost; but in the Morning about three or four o'clock, when we thought they had been asleep, their Minds all changed, and so Wem they would then go; but they marcht so slowly, and halted by the way, that the Lord Capell's Army had twice form'd Wem, and being beaten back, drew off just as the Cheshire Men came upon them, and secured their Retreat by Leebridge and the Darkness of the Night, and the Ignorance of their Fears and Disorders in the Army that purified them. When we came to Wem, we found that the Lord Capell had been twice repul'd with much los; Col. Win plain, and Col. Sir Tho. S'riven mortally wounded, and little Hurt done to any in the Town.

§ 65. When I had stay'd here, and at Longford Garrison about two Months or more, and had redeem'd my Father out of Prison at Lillibul, I returned to Coventry, and my Neighbours would not fly behind: (the recital of Military Paffages there and elsewhere, belongeth not to my present purpofe, but as it concerneth the History of my own Life, and therefore I leave them to fuch as write the History of those Wars): When I came to Coventry, I fette'd in my old Habitation and Employment, and followed my Studies there in quiness for another Year. But whereas whilst I rode up and down, my Body had more Health than of a long time before, when I fette'd to my Studies in a Sedentary Life (and grieved for the Calamitous Condition of the Land) I fell weaker than ever I was before: And going to London was long under the Care of Sir Theodore Meyn, and somwhat recover'd, returned again.

§ 66. The Garrison of Coventry confifted half of Citizens, and half of Country-men: the Country-men were such as had been forced from their own Dwellings, the moft religious Men of the Parts round about, especially from Bromich, Sutton-Coldfield, Tamworth, Nantton, Hinkley, Rugby, &c. These were Men of great Sobriety and Soundness of Understanding as any Garrison heard of in England: But one or two that came among us out of New England (of Sir Henry Paine's Party there) and one Anabaptift Taylor, had almost troubled all the Garrison, by infeeting the honeft Soldiers with their Opinions: But they found not that Success in Coventry, as they had done in Cromwel's Army. In publick I was fain to preach over all the Controversies against the Anabaptifts first, and then against the Sepa-
ratiffs; and in private, some of my Worceffhire Neighbours, and many of the Foot Soldiers were able to baffle both Separatifs, Anabaptifs, and Antinomians, and to keep all the Garrifon found: Whereupon, the Anabaptifliffent to Bedford for one Mr. Benjamin Cox, an old Anabaptift Minifter, and no contemptible Scholar, the Son of a Bishop; and he and I had fift a Diffpute by Word of Mouth, and after by Writing; and his Surceafing gave me cafe: In conclusion a few poor Townfmen only were carried away, about a Dozen Men and Women; but the Souldiers and the reft of the City kept found from all Infection of Sectaries and Dividers.

§ 67. While I lived here in Peace and Liberty, as Men in a dry Houfe do hear the Storms abroad, fo did we daily hear the News of one Fight or other, or one Garrifon or other won or lofl; the two Newbery Eight, Gheeffier Siege, the marvellous Sieges of Plimouth, Lime, and Taunton, Sir William Waller's Succellas and Lofles; the Lofs at Newark, the Slaughter at Boloton, the greatefl Fight of all at York, with abundance more. So that hearing fuch fad News on one fide or other was our daily Work; infomuch that as duly as I awakened in the Morning I expected to hear one come and tell me, such a Garrifon is won or lofl, or {uch a Defeat received or given: And [do you hear the News] was commonly the first Word I heard. So miserable were thofe bloody Days, in which he was the moft honourable, that could kill moft of his Enemies.

But among all thefe I was especially pleafed with the Surprize of Shrewsbury; both because it was done without lofs of Blood, and becaufe my Father and many of my dear Friends were thereby redeemed, for when I returned from Wem to Coventry, it happily fell out that Sir Fulk Hunkes was made Governor of Shrewsbury by the King, and he protected my Father while he was there: But at the Genius of the Country and he agreed not, he being too much a Soldier, and too civil for many of them, and they procured him to be removed, and Sir Rich. Oakley first, and after Sir Mif. Earley made Governors. Sir Fulk Hunkes was confident when he went, that their Drunkennefs and Careleffnes would shortly loose the Town; and fo it did indeed fall out: His old Mother, the Lady Hunkes, he left with my Father, where the died between 80, and 100 Years old. But when he was gone my Father was made one of the Collectors of their Taxes for the King, which he jutly performed: But he would not forcibly diftrain of them that refolved to pay, as not knowing but they might hereafter recover it all of him; for which he was laid in Prison by them that swore he should lie and rot there: But he had been there but a few Weeks, before the Keeper in the night came to him, and beg'd his Favour to live him and his Houfe, for the Parliament's Souldiers had surprized the Town: My Father would not believe it, till he heard and faw that which compelled his Belief; and with what Joy I need not tell.

§ 68. There were abundance of Strange Providences in these times that fell out for some particular Perfons: The marvellous Prefervation of Souldiers by Bibles in their Pockets which have received the Bullets, and fuch like I will not mention. When Prince Rupert put the Inhabitants of Boloton in Lancashire to the Sword, (Men, Women, and Children) an Infant escaped alive, and was found lying by her Father and Mother, who were flain in the Streets: an Old Woman took up the Child, and carried it home, and put it to her Breast for warmth, (having not had a Child her felf of about 30 Years) the Child drew Milk, and to much, that the Woman nurfed it up with her Breast Milk a good while: The Committee defired some Women to try her, and they found it true, and that she had a confidcrable proportion of Milk for the Child: If any one doubt of this, they may yet be refcued by Mrs. Hunt, Wife to Mr. Rowland Hunt of Harrow on the Hill, who living then in Manchester, was one of them by that the Committee was defir'd to trie the Woman, and who hath oft told it me, and is a credible, godly, difcreet Gentlewoman, and Wife to a Man of moft exemplary Holinefs, and of the primitive Sincerity without Self-seeking, Hypocrifie and Guile. The Maid her felf thus nurfed up, lived afterwards in London.

This put me in mind of that worthy Servant of Christ, Dr. Teat, who being put to fly suddenly with his Wife and Children from the Fury of the Fifth Rebels, in the Night without Provision; wandred in the Snow out of all ways upon the Mountains till Mrs. Teat, having no fick for the Child in her Arms, and he being ready to dye with Hungen, she went to the Brow of a Rock to lay him down, and leave him that he might not fee him die, and there in the Snow out of all ways where no Footsteps appeared, she found a Suck-bottle full of new, sweet Milk, which preferred the Child's Life.
PART I. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

In Cornwall, Sir Rich. Greenevile having taken many Soldiers of the Earl of Essex's Army, sentenced about a dozen to be hanged: when they had hanged two or three, the Rope broke which should have hanged the next: And they sent for new Ropes to oft to hang him, and all of them still broke, that they durst go no further; but saved all the rest: Besides universal undeniable Report, I had this told me by Mr. Woolhouse, an honest godly sober Man, a Sitters Son of Justice Rutledge of Shropshire, who himself fled by expecting Death, and was one of the Number of them whose Lives were saved by it.

If I would here give an account of all the Military Actions of those times which I had the certain knowledge of; the manner of taking and losing Towns and Castles, the Progress of the main Armies and of the Parties in the several Counties, in Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, Lincolnshire, Gloucestershire, and other Counties where particular Wars were carried on; and between Pembroke and the rest of Wales, and also the manner of the several great Fights, especially that at Manjton-moor near York, it would fill of it itself a greater Volume than I intend, and is a matter besides my present purpose, and fit to be done in another manner: And therefore I shall pass that by, and proceed in the Narrative of the passages of my own Life, interpreting only Generals, and the passages which occasioned them.

§ 69. When by the great Mercy of God I had lived two years in quiescence at Copenhagen, the Earl of Essex being weakened by a great loss in Cornwall, fell under the great displeasure of some of the Parliament, not as to his Person, but as to the Conduct of Affairs, who prevailed to have him laid by. The Causes were all those in Conjunction:

1. Though none could deny but the Earl was a Person of great Honour, Valour, and Sincerity; yet did some Accuse the Soldiers under him of being too like the King's Soldiers in Profaneness, lewd and vicious Practices, and rudeness in their Carriage towards the Country; and it was withal urged, that the Revolt of Sir Faithful Fortescue, Sir Richard Greenevile, Col. Urrey, and some others, was a satisfying Evidence, that the irreligious sort of Men were not to be much trusted, but might easily by Money be hired to betray them.

2. And it was discovered that the Earl of Essex's Judgment (and the wildest Men about him) was never for the ending the Wars by the Sword, but only to force a Pacificatory Treaty: He thought that if the King should Conquer, the Government of the Kingdom would be changed into Arbitrary, and the Subjects Propriety and Liberty lost: And he thought that if he himself should utterly conquer the King, the Parliament would be tempted to encroach upon the King's Prerogative, and the Privileges of the Lords, and put too much Power in the Gentry and the Peoples hands, and that they would not know how to settle the State of the Kingdom, or the Church, without injuring others, and running into Extremes, and falling into Divisions among themselves. Therefore he was not for a Conquest of the King. But they saw the Delay gave the King advantage, and wearied out and ruined the Country, and therefore they now began to say, that at Edgbill, at Newbury, and at other times, he had never prosecuted any Victory, but flowed still and seen the King's Army retreat, and never pursued them when it had been easy to have ended all the Wars.

3. But the chief Cause was, that Sir H. Vane by this time had increased Sectaries in the House, having drawn some Members to his Opinion; and Cromwell, who was the Earl of Manchester's Lieutenant General, had gathered to him as many of the Religious Party, especially of the Sectaries as he could get; and kept a Correspondency with Vane's Party in the House, as if it were only to strengthen the Religious Party: And Manchester's Army, especially Cromwell's Party, had won a Victory near Horncastle in Lincolnshire, and had done the main Service of the day at the great fight at York; and every where the Religious Party that were deepest apprehensive of the Concernment of the War, had far better Success than the other fort of Common Soldiers.

These things set together, caused almost all the Religious fort of Men in Parliament, Armies, Garrisons and Country, to befor the new modelling of the Army, and putting out the looser fort of Men (especially Officers) and putting Religious Men in their heads. But in all this Work, the Vanities in the Houe, and Cromwell in the Army, joined together, out-witted and over-reach'd the rest, and carried on the Interest of the Sectaries in Ipswich, while they drew the Religious Party along as for the Interest of Godliness in the general.

The
The two Designs of Cromwell to make himself great, were,

1. To Cry up Liberty of Conscience, and be very tender of Men differing in Judgment, by which he drew all the Separatists and Anabaptists to him, with many fober Men.

2. To let those self-esteeming Men on work to arrogate the Glory of all Successes to themselves, and cry up their own Actions, and deprive the Honour of the Earl of Manchester, and all others; though Men of as much Godliness as leas as they: so that they did proclaim the Glory of their own Exploits, till they had got the fame of being the most valiant and Victorious Party. The truth is, they did much, and they boasted of more than they did.

And these things made the new modelling of the Army to be resolved on. But all the Question was how to effect it, without flirring up the Forces against them which they intended to disband: And all this was notably dilpatched at once, by One Vote, which was called the Self-denying Vote, viz. That because Commands in the Army had much pay, and Parliament Men should keep to the Service of the House; therefore no Parliament Men should be Members of the Army: This pleased the Soldiers, who looked to have the more pay to themselves; and at once it put out the two Generals, the Earl of Essex and the Earl of Manchester, and also Sir William Waller a godly valiant Major General of another Army; and also many Colonels in the Army, and in other parts of the Land, and the Governor of Conventry, and of many other Garrisons; and to avoid all Sulpicition Cromwell was put out himself.

When this was done, the next Question was, Who should be Lord General, and what new Officers should be put in, or old ones continued? And here the Policy of Essex and Cromwell did its best: For General they chose Sir Thomas Fairfax, Son to the Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, who had been in the Wars beyond Sea, and had fought valiantly in Yorkshire for the Parliament, though he was over-powered by the Earl of Newcastle's Numbers. This Man was chosen because they supposed to find him a Man of no quickness of Parts, of no Eloquence, of no slipshod plotting Wit; and therefore One that Cromwell could make use of at his pleasure. And he was acceptable to sober Men, because he was Religious, Faithful, Valiant, and of a grave, sober, resolved Disposition; very fit for Execution, and neither too Great nor too Cunning to be Commanded by the Parliament.

And when he was chosen for General, Cromwell's men must not be without him: so valiant a Man must not be laid by: The Self-denying Vote must be thus far only dispenced with: Cromwell only, and no other Member of either House, must be excepted, and he is made Lieutenant General of the Army: and as many as they could get of their Mind and Party, are put into Inferior Places, and the post of the old Officers put into the rest. But all the Scotch-men (except only Adjutant Cry) are put out of the whole Army, or deserted it.

§ 70. And here I must begiff to look back to what I had forgotten, of the Scotch Army and the Covenant: When the Earl of Newcastle had over-powcred the Lord Fairfax in the North, and the Queen had brought over many Papists Soldiers from beyond Sea, and formed an Army under General King a Scot, and the King had another great Army with himself under the Command of the Earl of Forth,another old Scotch General; so that they had three great Field Armies, besides the Lord Goring's in the West, and all the County Parties, the Parliament were glad to define Affilience from the Scotch; (whose Army was paid off and disbanded before the English Wars). The Scots contended; but they offered a Covenant to be taken by both Nations, for a resolved Reformation, against Popery, Prelacy, Schism, and Prophaneness, (the Papists, the Prelats, the Secularies, and the Prophane, being the four Parties which they were against.)

This Covenant was proposed by the Parliament to the Consideration of the Synod at Westminster: The Synod flumbled at some things in it, and especially at the word [Prelacy.] Dr. Burges the Prolocutor, Mr. Garaker, and abundance more declared their Judgments to be for Episcopacy, even for the ancient moderate Episcopacy, in which one flated President with his Presbytery, governed every Church; though not for the English Diocesan frame, in which one Bishop, without his Presbytery, did by a Lay-Chancellor's Court, govern all the Presbyters and Churches of a Diocese, being many hundreds; and that in a Secular manner by abundance of upright Secular Officers, unknown to the Primitive Church. Hereupon grew some Debate in the Assembly; some being against every Degree of Bishops, (especially the Scotch Divines,) and others being for a moderate Episcopacy. But these English Divines would not Subscribe the Covenant, till there were
an alteration suited to their Judgments: and so a Parenthesis was yielded to, as describing that sort of Prelacy which they opposed, viz. [That is, Church Government by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, Arch-deacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers depending on that Hierarchy.] All which conjointly are mentioned as the Description of that Form of Church Government which they meant by Prelacy, as not extending to the ancient Episcopacy.

When the Covenant was agreed on, the Lords and Commons first took it themselves, and Mr. Thomas Coleman preached to the House of Lords, and gave it them with this publick Explication, That by Prelacy we mean not all Episcopacy, but only the form which is here described.

When the Parliament had taken it they sent it to all the Garrisons, and Armies to be taken: and commended it to all the People of the Land. And when the War was ended, they cau'd all the Noblemen, Knights, Gentlemen, and Officers which had been against them in the Wars, to take it before they would admit them to Composition; and take it they did: And they required that all young Ministers should take it at their Ordination.

The Covenant being taken, the Scots rais'd an Army to help the Parliament, which came on and began to clear the North, till at York fight, the Scots Army, the Earl of Mansfield's Army, and the Lord Fairfax's small Army, join'd Battle against Prince Rupert's Army, and General King's Army, and the Earl of Newcastle's Army, where they rout'd them, and it was thought about 5000 were slain upon the place, besides all that died after of their wounds.

After this the Scots Army lay still in the North a long time, and did nothing, till thereby they became odious as a burden to the Land: The Scots said, that it was caused by the Policy of the Secfaries, that kept them without pay, and without orders to March. Their Adversaries (the Vaniffs and the Cromwells) said it was their own fault, who would not March. At last they were Commanded to besiege Hereford City, where they lay a long time, till the Earl of Montrose, having rais'd an Army in Scotland against them for the King, had made it necessary for them to return into their own Country, and leave Hereford undone, and the People clamouring against them, as having come for nothing into the Country.

Some Months after they were gone, Col. John Birch and Col. Morgan took Hereford in an hour, without any considerable bloodshed. The Waters about the Walls being hard frozen, the Governor sent Warrants to the Constables of the Country near adjoining to bring in Labourers to break the lee; Col. Birch got these Warrants, and cau'd one of his Officers in the Habit of a Constable, and many Soldiers with Mattocks, in the habit of Labourers, to come the next morning early to the Gates and being let in, they let in more, and surpriz'd the Town.

This much I thought good to speak altogether here for brevity of the Scots Army and Covenant, and now return to the new model'd Army.

§ 71. The English Army being thus new model'd, was really in the hand of Oliver Cromwell, though seemingly under the Command of Sir Thomas Fairfax (who was shortly after Lord Fairfax, his Father dying,) Cromwell's old Regiment which had made it fell famous for Religion and Valour, being fourteen Troops was divided; six Troops were made the Lord Fairfax's Regiment; and six Troops were Col. Whalley's Regiment; and the other two were in Col. Rich's and Sir Robert Py's Regiments. The Confidants of Cromwell were especially Col. Jetton, and Major Desbrough (his Brother-in-law) and Major James Berry, and Major Harrison, and Col. Fleetwood, and (as his Kinman) Col. Whalley, and divers others.

But now begins the Change of the old Cause. A shrewd Book came out not long before, called Plain English, preparatory hereto: And when the Lord Fairfax should have marched with his Army, he would not (as common was said) take his Commission, because it ran as all others before, [for Defence of the King's Person:] for it was intimat'd that this was but Hypocrisie, to profes to defend the King when they marcht to fight against him; and that Ballets could not distinguish between his Person and another Man's; and therefore this Claude must be let out, that they might be no Hypocrisies. And so had a Commission without that Claude [for the King]. And this was the day that changed the Cause.

§ 72. This Army being ready to march, was partly the Envy and partly the Scorn of the Nobility, and the Lord Lieutenants and the Officers which had been put out, by the Self-denying Voe: But their Actions quickly vindicated them from Contempt. They first attempted no less than the Siege of Oxford: but in the mean time the King takes the field with a very numerous well-recruited Army, and
and marcheth into Northamptonshire into the Parliaments Quadrants, and thence strait to Leicesters, a Towne poorly fortified, but so advantageously situated for his life, as would have been an exceeding loss to the Parliament, if he could have kept it. It was taken by Storm, and many slain in it.

General Fairfax leaveth Oxford, and marcheth through Northamptonshire towards the King. The King having the greater number, and the Parliaments Army being of a new contained Model, he marcheth back to meet them, and in a Field near Nafady a Village in Northamptonshire, they met. Cromwell had halted a few days before into the associated Counties (which were their Treasury for Men and Money) and brought with him about 500 or 600 Men, and came in to the Army just as they were drawn up, and going on to give Battel. His sudden and reasona-
ble coming, with the great Name he had got by the Applauses of his own Soldiers, made a sudden Joy in the Army, (thinking he had brought them more hope than he did) so that all cried, "A Cromwell, A Cromwell, and I went on; and after a short hot Fight, the King's Army was totally routed and put to flight, and about 500 Prisoners taken, with all his Ordinance and Carriage, and abundance of his own Letters to the Queen and others in his Cabinet: (which the Parliament printed, as thinking such things were there contained as greatly disadverted the Reputation of his Word and Calue). Major General Skippen fighting valiantly was here dangerously wounded, but afterwards recovered. The King's Army was utterly lost by the taking of Leicesters: for by this means it was gone so far from his own Garrisons, that his Flying Hoose could have no place of Retreat, but were utterly scattered and brought to nothing. The King himself fled to Liechfield, (and it is reported that he would have gone to Shrewsbury, his Council having never suffered him to know that it was taken till now); and so he went to Rayland Castle in Monmouthshire, which was a strong Halt, and the Houte of the Marques of Worcester a Papist: (where his Dispute with the Marques was laid to be; which Dr. Daily published, and then turned Papist; and which Mr. Christopher Carright continued, defending the King). Fairfax's Army pursu'd to Leicesters, where the wounded Men, and some others, stayed with the Garrillon: in a day or two's time the Town was re-taken.

And now I am come up to the Passage which I intended of my own going into the Army.

§ 73. Nafady being not far from Coventry where I was, and the Noise of the Victory being loud in our Ears, and I having two or three that of old had been my intimate Friends in Cromwell's Army, whom I had not seen of above two Years, I was desirous to go see whether they were dead or alive; and so to Nafady Field I went two days after the fight, and thence by the Armies Quarters before Leicesters to seek my Acquaintance. When I found them, I stayed with them a Night, and I understood the state of the Army much better than ever I had done before. We that lived quietly in Coventry did keep to our old Principles, and thought all others had done too, except a very few inconsiderable Persons: We were unfeignedly for King and Parliament: We believed that the War was only to give the Parliament and Kingdom from Papists and Delinquents, and to remove the Dividens, that the King might again return to his Parliament; and that no Changes might be made in Religion, but by the Laws which had his free consent: We took the true happiness of King and People, Church and State, to be our end, and so we understood the Covenant, engaging both against Papists and Schismatics: And when the Court News-book told the World of the Swarms of Anabaptists in our Armies, we thought it had been a mere lie, because it was not so with us, nor in any of the Garrillon or County-Forces about us. But when I came to the Army among Cromwell's Soldiers, I found a new face of things which I never dreamt of; I heard the plotting Heads very hot upon that which intimated their Intention to subvert both Church and State. Independence and Anabaptity were most prevalent: Antinomianism and Arminianism were equally distributed; and Thomas Mory's Followers (a Weaver of Wobhead and Lyn, of excellent Parts) had made some shifts to join these two Extremes together.

Abundance of the common Troopers, and many of the Officers, I found to be honest, sober, Orthodox Men, and others tractable ready to hear the Truth, and of upright Intentions: But a few proud, self-conceited, hot-headed Sectaries had got into the highest places, and were Cromwell's chief Favourites, and by their very heat and activity bore down the rest, or carried them along with them, and were the Soul of the Army, though much fewer in number than the rest (being indeed not one to twenty throughout the Army; their strength being in the Generals
ners and Whalley's and Rich's Regiments of Horfe, and in the new placed Officers in many of the rest).

I perceived that they took the King for a Tyrant and an Enemy, and really intended absolutely to murther him, or to ruin him; and that they thought if they might fight against him, they might kill or conquer him; and if they might conquer, they were never more to truft him further than he was in their power; and that they thought it folly to irritate him either by Wars or Contradictions in Parliament, if fo be they must needs take him for their King, and truft him with their Lives when they had thus displeased him. They said, What were the Lords of England but William the Conqueros Colonels? or the Barons but his Majors? or the Knights but his Captains? They plainly shown me, that they thought God's Providence would call the Truft of Religion and the Kingdom upon them as Conqueros: They made nothing of all the moft wife and godly in the Armies and Garrisons, that were not of their way. Persa aut nefas, by Law or without it, they were resolved to take down, not only Bishops, and Liturgy, and Ceremonies, but all that did withfand their way. They were far from thinking of a moderate Epifcopacy, or of any healing way between the Epifcopal and the Presbyterian: They moft honoured the Separatifs, Anabapftis, and Antinomians: but Cromwell and his Council took on them to join themfelves to no Party, but to be for the Liberty of all. Two forts I perceived they did fo commonly and bitterly fpeak againft, that it was done in meer defign to make them odious to the Soldiers, and to all the Land; and that was

1. The Sons, and with them all Presbyterian but efpecially the Minifters; whom they call Pfefs and Pfiefbyters, and Drinonies, and the Diffembly-men, and fuch like.

2. The Committees of the several Counties, and all the Soldiers that were under them that were not of their Mind and Way.

Some orthodox Captains of the Army did partly acquaint me with all this, and I heard much of it from the Mouths of the leading Sedaries themfelves. This fhocked me to the very Heart, and made me Fear that England was loft by thofe that it had taken for its Chief Efteem.

§ 74. Upon this I began to blame both other Minifters and my felf. I faw that it was the Minifters that had loft all, by forfaking the Army, and betaking themfelves to an easier and quieter way of Life. When the Earl of Effex went out first, each Regiment had an able Preacher, but at Edgbift Fight almoft all of them went home, and as the Sedaries increafed, they were the more averse to go into the Army: Its true, that I believe now they had little Invitation, and its true that they muft look for little Welcome and great Contempt and Oppofition, besides all other Difficulties and Dangers: But it is as true, that their Worth and Labour in a patient self-denying way, had been like to have preferved moft of the Army, and to have defeated the Contrivances of the Sedaries, and to have faved the King, the Parliament and the Land. And if it had brought Reprofe upon them from the Malitious, (who called them Military Levies) the Good which they had done would have wiped off that blot, much better than the contrary course would do.

And I reprehended my felf alfo, who had before rejected an Invitation from Cromwell: When he lay at Cambridge long before with that famous Troop which he began his Army with, his Officers purposed to make their Troop a gathered Church, and they all fubfcribed an Invitation to me to be their Pfator, and fent me to Coventry: I fent them a Denial, reproving their Attempt, and told them wherein my Judgment was againft the Lawfulness and Convenience of their way, and fo I heard no more from them: And afterward meeting Cromwell at Leifeter he expofuted with me for denying them. These very men that then invited me to be their Pfator, were the Men that afterwards headed much of the Army, and some of them were the forward in all our Changes; which made me with that I had gone among them, however it had been interpreted; for then all the Fire was in one Spark.

§ 75. When I had informed my felf to my sorrow of the fate of the Army, Capt Evansjon (one of my Orthodox Informers) defired me yet to come to their Regiment, telling me that it was the moft religious, moft valiant, moft fucceful of all the Army, but in as much danger as any one whatever. I was loth to leave my Studies, and Friends, and Quietnels at Coventry, to go into an Army fo contra-ry to my Judgment: but I thought the Publick Good commanded me, and to I gave him some Encouragement: whereupon he told his Colonel (Whalley) who

H
also was Orthodox in Religion, but engaged by Kindred and Interest to Cromwell: He invited me to be Chaplain to his Regiment; and I told him, I would take but a day's time to deliberate, and would send him an Answer, or else come to him.

As soon as I came home to Coventry, I call'd together an Assembly of Ministers, Dr. Bryan, Dr. Green, and many others, (there being many, as I before noted, fled thither from the Parts thereabouts.) I told them the sad News of the Corruption of the Army, and that I thought all we had valued was like to be endangered by them; seeing this Army having first conquered at York, (where Cromwell was under Mancester) and now at Newcastle, and having left the King no visible Army but Goring's, the Fate of the whole Kingdom was like to follow the Disposition and Interest of the Conquerours. We have sworn to be true to the King and his Heirs in the Oath of Allegiance. All our Soldiers here do think that the Parliament is faithful to the King, and have no other purposes themselves. If King and Parliament, Church and State be ruined by those Men, and we look on and do nothing to hinder it, how are we true to our Allegiance and to the Covenant, which bindeth us to defend the King, and to be against Schism, as well as against Popery and Prophaneness? For my part (said I) I know that my Body is too weak, that it is like to hazard my Life to be among them, and I expect their Fury should do little less than rid me out of the way; and I know one Man cannot do much upon them; But yet if your Judgment take it to be my Duty, I will venture my Life among them, and perhaps some other Ministers may be drawn in, and then some more of the Evil may be prevented.

The Ministers finding my own Judgment for it, and being moved with the Cause, did unanimously give their Judgment for my going. Hereupon I went straight to the Committee, and told them that I had an Invitation to the Army, and designed their Consent to go. They confered a while, and then left it wholly to the Governor, saying, That if he consented they should not hinder me. It fell out that Col. Barker the Governor was just then to be turned out, as a Member of Parliament, by the Self-denying Vote. And one of his Captains was to be Colonel and Governor in his place, (Col. Willoughby.) Hereupon Col. Barker was content in his difcontent that I should go out with him, that he might be mist the more; and so gave me his consent.

Hereupon I sent word to Col. Willoughby, that to morrow God willing I would come to him. As soon as this was done the elected Governor was much displeased, and the Soldiers were so much offended with the Committee for consenting to my going, that the Committee all met again in the Night, and sent for me, and told me I must no go. I told them that by their Consent I had promised, and therefore must go. They told me that the Soldiers were ready to mutiny against them, and they could not satisfy them, and therefore I must stay: I told them that I had not promised if they had not consented, though being no Soldier or Chaplain to the Garrison, but only preaching to them, I took my post to be a Free-man; and I could not break my word when I had promised by their Consent. They seemed to deny their Consent, and said they did but refer me to the Governor. In a word, they were so angry with me, that I was fain to tell them all the truth of my Motives and Design, what a cafe I perceived the Army to be in, and that I was resolute to do my best against it. I knew not, till afterward, that Col. William Pari foy a Parliament Man, one of the chief of them, was a Confident of Cromwells: and as soon as I had spoken what I did of the Army, Magisterially he answered me, [Let me hear no more of that: If Nat. Cromwell should hear any Soldiers speak but such a word, he would cleave his crown: You do them wrong; it is not so.] I told him, what he would not hear, he should not hear from me; but I would perform my word though he seemed to deny his: And so I parted with those that had been my very great Friends, in some displeasure. But the Soldiers threatened to stop the Gates and keep me in; but being honest understanding Men, I quickly satisfied the Leaders of them by a private intimation of my Reasons and Resolutions, and some of them accompanied me on my way.

§ 76. As soon as I came to the Army, Oliver Cromwell coldly bid me welcome, and never spake one word to me more while I was there; nor once all that time vouchedfa four the Oppurtunity to come to the Head Quarters where the Councils and Meetings of the Officers were, so that most of my design was thereby frustrated. And his Secretary gave out that there was a Reformer come to the Army to undeceive them, and to save Church and State, with some such other Jeez; by which I perceived that all that I had said but the Night before the Committee, was
Reverend was believe found And they the Ibmetimes some-

§ 77. Here I set my self' from day to day to find out the Corruptions of the Soldiers; and to difcourage and dispute them out of their mistakes, both Religious and Political: My life among them was a daily contending against Seducers, and gently arguing with the more Tractable, and another kind of Militia I had than theirs.

I found that many honest Men of weak judgments and little acquaintance with such Matters, had been seduced into a disputing vein, and made it too much of their Religion to talk for this Opinion and for that; sometimes for State Democracy, and sometime for Church Democracy; sometimes against Forms of Prayer, and sometimes against Infant Baptism, (which yet some of them did maintain); sometimes against Set-times of Prayer, and against the tying of our selves to any Duty before the Spirit move us; and sometimes about Free-grace and Free-will, and all the Points of Antinomianism and Arminianism. So that I was almost always, when I had opportunity, disputing with one or other of them; sometimes for our Civil Government, and sometimes for Church Order and Government; sometimes for Infant Baptism, and oft against Antinomianism and the contrary Extremes. But their most frequent and vehement Disputes were for Liberty of Conscience, as they called it; that is, that the Civil Magistrate had nothing to do to determine of any thing in Matters of Religion, by constraint or restraint, but every Man might not only hold, but preach and do in Matters of Religion what he pleased: That the Civil Magistrate hath nothing to do but with Civil Things, to keep the Peace, and protect the Churches Liberties, &c.

I found that one half almost of the Religious Party among them were such as were either Orthodox, or but very lightly touched with their mistakes; and another half were honest men, that kept further into the contending way, than they could well get out of again, but with competent help might be recovered: But a few fiery, self-conceived men among them kindled the rest, and made all the noise and bustle, and carried about the Army as they pleased. For the greatest part of the common Soldiers, especially of the Foot, were ignorant men, of little Religion, abundance of them such as had been taken Prisoners, or turned out of Garrisons under the King, and had been Soldiers in his Army: And these would do any thing to plague their Officers, and were ready Instruments for the Seducers, especially in their great Work, which was to cry down the Covenant, to vilify all Parish Ministers, but especially the Scots and Presbyterians: For the most of the Soldiers that I spake with never took the Covenant, because it tied them to defend the King's Person, and to extirpate Herefie and Schism.

Because I perceived that it was a few Men that bore the Bell, that did all the hurt among them, I acquainted my self with those Men, and would be oft disputing with them in the hearing of the rest; and I found that they were men that had been in London, hatchet up among the old Separatists, and had made it all the matter of their Study and Religion to rail against Ministers, and Parish Churches, and Presbyterians, and had little other knowledge, nor little discourse of any thing about the Heart or Heaven: but were fierce with Pride and Self-conceitedness, and had gotten a very great conquest over their Charity, both to the Episcopal and Presbyterian. (Whereas many of those honest Soldiers which were tainted but with some doubts about Liberty of Conscience or Independency, were men that would Discourse of the Points of Sanctification and Christian Experience very favourably.)

But we so far prevailed in opening the folly of these Revilers and Self-conceited men, as that some of them became the laughing-flock of the Soldiers before I left them; and when they preached (for great Preachers they were) their weaknesses exposed them to contempt. A great part of the mischief they did among the Soldiers was by Pamphlets, which they abundantly dispersed; such as R. Overton's, Martin Mare-Prince, and more of his; and some of J. Lubbard's, who was one of them; and divers against the King, and against the Ministry, and for Liberty of Conscience, &c. And Soldiers being usually dispersed in their Quarters, they had such Books to read when they had none to contradict them.

But there was yet a more dangerous Party than all these among them, (only in Major Bethel's Troop of our Regiment) who took the direct Jesuitical way: They first most vehemently declaimed against the Doctrine of Election, and for the power of Free-will, and all other Points which are controverted between the Jesuits and Domi-
Dominicans, the Arminians and Calvinists. Then they as fiercely cried down our present Translation of the Scriptures, and debaled their Authority, though they did not deny them to be Divine: And they cried down all our Ministry, Episcopal, Presbyterian and Independent; and all our Churches: And they vilified almost all our ordinary Worship; especially finging of Psalmus, and cantant Family Worship: They allowed of no Argument from Scripture but what was brought in its express words: They were vehement against both the King, and all Government but Popular; and against Magistrates medling in Matters of Religion: And all their disputing was with as much fierceness, as if they had been ready to draw their Swords upon those against whom they disputed. They trudled more to Policy, Scorn and Power, than to Argument: They would bitternr scorn me among their Hearsers, to prejudice them before they entered into dilpute. They avoided me as much as possible; but when we did come to it, they drowned all Reason in fiercenes, and vehemency, and multitude of words. They greatly strove for Places of Command, and when any Place was due by order to another that was not of their mind, they would be sure to work him out; and be ready to mutiny if they had not their will. I thought they were principled by the Jefuits, and acted all for their Interest, and in their way; but the secret Spring was out of fight. There were the lame Men that afterward were called Levelers, and rofe up against Cromwell, and were surprized at Burford (having deceived and drawn to them many more): And Thompson the General of the Levellers that was slain then, was no greater a Man than one of the Corporals of this Troop; the Cornet and others being much worse than he.

And thus I have given you a taste of my Employment in the Army.

§ 78. As soon as I came to the Army they marched speedily down into the West, because the King had no Army left but the Lord Goring's there, and they would not suffer the Fugitives of Nafby's-fight to come thither to strengthen them: They came quickly down to Somerton when Goring was at Langport; which lying upon the River, Mofley was sent to keep him in on the farther side, while Fairfax attended him on this side, with his Army. One day they faced each other, and did nothing: The next day they came to their Ground again. Berwick the two Armies was a narrow Lane which went between some Meadows in a bottom, and a finall Brook crossing the Lane with a narrow Bridge. Goring planted two or three small Pieces at the Head of the Lane to keep the Paffage, and there placed his best Horfe; fo that none could come to them, but over that narrow Bridge, and up that steep Lane upon the mouth of those Pieces. After many hours facing each other, Fairfax's greater Ordinance affrighting (more than hurting) Goring's men, and some Mufqueters being sent to drive theirs from under the Hedges, at laft Cromwell bid Whalley lend three of his Troops to Charge the Enemy, and he sent three of the General's Regiment to second them, (all being of Cromwell's old Regiment). Whalley sent Major Bebel, Capt. Evanfon, and Capt. Gore to Charge; Major Desborough with another Troop or two came after; they could go but one or two abreast over the Bridge. By that time Bebel and Evanfon with their Troops were got up to the top of the Lane, they met with a feleet Party of Goring's best Horfe, and charged them at Sword's point while you would count three or four hundred, and then put them to Retreat. In the flight they pursued them too far to the main Body; for the Dull was so extream great (being in the very hottest time of Summer) that they that were in it could scarce see each other, but I that flood over them upon the brow of the hill saw all: when they few themselves upon the face of Goring's Army, they fled back in haste, and by that time they came to the Lane again, Capt. Gore's Troop was ready to flop them, and relieve them, and Desborough behind him: whereupon they rallied again, and the five or six Troops together marcht towards all Goring's Arm: But before they came to the Front, I could discern the Rere begin to run, and so beginning in the Rere they all fled before they endured any Charge, nor was there a blow struck that day, but by Bebel and Evanfon's Troop (on that side), and a few Mufqueters in the Hedges. Goring's Army fled to Bridgewater; and very few of them were either kill'd or taken in the fight or the pursuit. I happened to be next to Major Harrifon as soon as the flight began, and heard him with a loud Voice break forth into the Praises of God with fluent Exprensions, as if he had been in a Rapture.

Upon this Goring fled farther Westward (to Exeter) with his Army: But Fairfax stayed at Bridgewater, and after two days it was taken by storm, in which Col. Hammond's Service was much magnified. Mr. Peters being come to the Army from London but a day before, went presently back with the News of Goring's
PART I. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Goring's Rout: and an Hundred pounds Reward was voted to himself for bringing the News, and to Major Bethel for his Service, but none to Capt. Evanston, because he was no Seetary; and Bethel only had all the Glory and Applause by Cromwell and that Party.

From Bridgewater they went back towards Bristol, where Prince Rupert was, taking Nanny Caffe and Bath in the way: At Bristol they continued the Siege about a month. After the first three days I fell sick of a Fever (the Plague being round about my Quarters): As soon as I felt my Diseafe, I rode fix or seven miles back into the Country, and the next morning (with much ado) to Bath: where Dr. Venner was my careful Physician; and when I was near to death (far from all my Acquaintance) it pleased God to restore me, and on the fourteenth day, the Fever ended in a Crisis of Sweat and Urine: But it left me fo macerated and weak, that it was long ere I recovered that little strength I had before. I came back to Bristol Siege three or four days before the City was taken: The Foot which was to storm the Works, would not go on unless the Horse went with them, (who had no Service to do): So Whalley's Regiment was fain to go on to encourage the Foot, and to stand to be shot at before the Ordinance (but in the Night) while the Foot did storm the Forts: where Major Bethel (who in the last Fight had but his Thumb shot) had a shot in his Thigh of which he died, and was much lamented. The Outworks being taken, Prince Rupert yielded up the City, upon Terms that he might march away with his Soldiers, leaving their Ordnance and Arms.

Upon this the Army marched to Sherborn Caffle (the Earl of Bristol's House) which after a Fortnights Siege, they took by Storm, and that on a side which one would think could never have been that way taken. While they were there, the Country-men, called Clubmen, rose near Shafsbury, and got upon the top of a Hill: A Party was sent our against them, who marched up the Hill upon them, and routed them, though some of the valiuentest Men were slain in the Front.

When Sherborn Caffle was taken, part of the Army went back and took in a small Garrifon by Salisbury, called Langford-House, and so marcht to Winchester Caffle, and took that by Composition after a Weeks Siege, or little more. From thence Cromwell went with a good Party to Besiege Banfing-Houfe (the Marquess of Winchester's) which had frustrated great Sieges heretofore: Here Col. Hammond was taken Prisoner into the Houfe, and afterward the Houfe was taken by Storm, and he saved the Marques and others; and much Riches were taken by the Soldiers.

In the mean time the rest of the Army marched down again towards the Lord Goring, and Cromwell came after them.

§ 79. When we followed the Lord Goring westward, we found that above all other Armies of the King, his Soldiers were most hated by the People, for their incredible Prophanenes and their unmercifull Plunderings (many of them being Forreigners). A fober Gentleman that I quarter'd with at South-Pederton in Somerdshire averred to me, That with him a Company of them prickt their Fingers, and let the Blood run into the Cup, and drank a Health to the Devil in it: And no place could I come into but their horrid Impiety and Outrages made them odious.

The Army marched down by Humming ton to Exeter; where I continued near three Weeks among them at the Siege, and then Whalley's Regiment with the General's, Fleetwood's and others being fent back, I returned with them and left the Siege; which continued till the City was taken: And then the Army following Goring into Cornwall, there forced him to yield to lay down Arms, his Men going away beyond Sea or elsewhere without their Arms: And at laft Pendennis Caffle, and all the Garrifons there were taken.

In the meane time Whalley was to Command the Party of Horse back, to keep in the Garrifon of Oxford till the Army could come to besiege it: And so in the extreme Winter he quarter'd about fix Weeks in Buckinghamshire: and then was fent to lay Siege to Banbury Caffle, where Sir William Compton was Governour, who had wearied out one long Siege before: There I was with them above two Months till the Caffle was taken: and then he was fent to lay Siege to Worcester, with the help of the Northampton, and Warwick, and Newport-Pennel Soldiers, who had affifled him at Banbury. At Worcester he lay in Siege eleven Weeks: and at the fame time the Army being come up from the Weft, lay in Siege at Oxford.

By this time Col. Whalley, though Cromwell's Kinflman and Commander of the Trufted Regiment, grew odious among the Sectarian Commanders at the Headquarters for my sake; and he was called a Presbyterian; though neither he nor I were
were of that Judgment in several Points. And Major Sallaway not omitting to use his industry in the matter to that end) when he had brought the City to a necessity of present yielding, two days or three before it yielded, Col. Rainborough was sent from Oxford (which was yielded) with some Regiments of Foot, to Command in Chief; partly that he might have the honour of taking the City, and partly that he might be Governor there: and not Whalley the City was Surrendered: And so when it was yielded, Rainborough was Governor to head and gratifie the Sectaries, and settle the City and Country in their way: But the Committee of the County were for Whalley, and lived in diffafe with Rainborough, and the Sectaries proffered there no further than Worcefier City it fell, (a Place which deferred such a Judgment;) but all the Country was free from their Infection.

§ 80. All this while, as I had friendly Converses with the sober part, so I was still employed with the rest as before, in Preaching, Conference, and Disputing against their Confounding Errors: And in all Places where we went, the Sectarian Soldiers much infected the Countrie, by their Pamphlets and Converses, and the People admiring the conquering Army, were ready to receive whatsoever they commended to them: and it was the way of the Faction to speak what they spake as the Senfe of the Army, and to make the People believe that whatever Opinion they vented, (which one of forty in the Army owned not;) it was the Army's Opinion. When we quarter'd at Agmondebam in Buckingbamshire, some Sectaries of Chelfham had set up a Publick Meeting as for Conference, to propagate their Opinions through all the Country; and this in the Church, by the encouragement of an ignorant Sectarian Lecturer, one Bramble, whom they had got in (while Dr.brook the Pastor, and Mr. Richardson his Curate, durst not contradict them.) When this publick Talking day came, Bethel's Troopers (then Capt. Fitchford's) with other Sectarian Soldiers must be there, to confirm the Chelfham Men, and make Men believe that the Army was for them: And I thought it my Duty to be there also, and took divers sober Officers with me, to let them see that more of the Army were against them than for them. I took the Reading Pew, and Fitchford's Corner and Troopers took the Gallery. And there I found a crowded Congregation of poor well-meaning People, that came in the Simplicity of their Hearts to be deceived. There did the Leader of the Chelfham Men begin, and afterward Fitchford's Soldiers set in, and I alone disputed against them from Morning until almost Night; for I knew their trick, that if I had but gone out of sight, they would have prated what boasting words they lifted when I was gone, and made the People believe that they had baffled me, or got the best; therefore I stayed it out till they first rose and went away: The abundance of Nonfence which they uttered that day, may partly be seen in Mr. Edward's Gargara: for when I had wrote a Letter of it to a Friend in London, that and another were put into Mr. Edward's Book, without my Name. But some of the sober People of Agmondebam gave me abundance of thanks for that Days work, which they said would never be there forgotten: And I heard that the Sectaries were so discouraged that they never met there any more. I am sure I had much thanks from Dr. Brook and Mr. Richardson, who being obnoxious to their displeasure, for being for the King, durst not open their mouths themselves. And after the Conference I talkt with the Lecturer Mr. Bramble (or Bramley) and found him little wiser than the rest.

§ 81. The great Impediments of the Success of my Endeavours I found were only two: 1. The disconfortance of Cromwell, and the chief Officers of his Mind, which kept me a stranger from their Meetings and Councils. 2. My incapacity of Speaking to many, because Soldiers Quarters are scattered far from one another, and I could be but in one Place at once. So that one Troop at a time ordinarily, and some few more extraordinarily was all that I could speak too: The moft of the Service I did beyond Whalley's Regiment, was (by the help of Capt. Lawrence) with some of the General's Regiment, and sometimes I had Converses with Major Harman and some others: But I found that if the Army had but had Minifiers enough, that would have done but such a little as I did, all their Plot might have been broken, and King, Parliament, and Religion might have been prefered: Therefore I lent abroad to get some more Minifters among them, but I could get none. Salmarsh and Dell were the two great Preachers at the Head Quarters; only beneift and judicious Mr. Edward Bowles kept still with the General. At laft I got Mr. Cook of Rochfail to come to affit me; and the soberer part of the Officers and soldiers of Whalley's Regiment were willing to pay him out of their own pay: And a Month or two he stayed and affit me; but was quickly weary, and left them
them again: He was a very worthy, humble, laborious Man, unwearied in preachi-
ing, but weary when he had not opportunity to preach, and weary of the Spirits he had to deal with.

§ 82. All this while, though I came not near Cromwell, his Designs were visible, and I saw him continually acting his part. The Lord General suffered him to go

vern and do all, and to choose almost all the Officers of the Army. He first made

flon Commissary General; and when any Troop or Company was to be disp.
of, or any considerable Officer's place was void, he was sure to put a Secretary in the place; and when the brunt or the War was over, he looked not so much at their Value as their Opinions: So that by degrees he had headed the greatest part of the Army with Anabaptists, Antinomians, Seekers, or Separatists at bell: and all these he tied together by the point of Liberty of Conscience, which was the Common Interest in which they did unite. Yet all the other Party were carried on by his Preifion that he only promoted the Universal Interest of the Godly, without an-
y distinction or partiality at all: But still when a place was void, it was Twenty to one a Secretary had it, and if a Godly Man of any other Mind or temper had a
mind to leave the Army, he would secretly or openly further it. Yet did he not

openly profess what Opinion he was of himself: But the most that he laid for any

was for Anabaptism and Antinomianism, which he usually seemed to own. And

Harrifon (who was then great with him) was for the same Opinions. He would

not Difpute (with me) at all, but he would in good Discourfe very fluently pour

out himself, in the Extolling of Fregrace, which was favoury to those that had

right Principles, though he had some misunderstandings of Fregrace himself. He

was a Man of excellent Natural Parts for Affection and Oratory; but not well

seen in the Principles of his Religion: Of a Sanguine Complexion, naturally

of such a vivacity, hilarity and alacrity as another Man hath when he hath drunken

a Cup too much; but naturally all so far from humble Thoughts of himself, that

it was his ruine.

§ 83. All these two Years that I was in the Army, even my old bosom Friend,

that had lived in my House, and been dearest to me, James Barry, (then Captain, and

after Colonel and Major General, and Lord of the Upper House) who had

formerly invited me to Cromwell's old Troop, did never once invite me to the Army at

all, nor invite me to his Quarters after, nor never once came to visit me, nor

faw me twice or thrice that we met accidently: So potent is the Interest

of our selves and our Opinions with us, against all other Bonds whatever: He that

forfaketh himself in forfaking his own Opinions, may well be expected to forfaketh

his Friend, who adhereth to the way which he forfaketh: and that Change which

maketh him think he was himself an ignorant, misguided Man before, must needs

make him think his Friend to be still ignorant and misguided, and value him

accordingly. He was a Man, I verily think, of great Sincerity before the Wars, and

of very good Natural Parts, especially Mathematical and Mechanical; and affe-

ciate in Religion, and while converfant with humbling Providences, Doctrines and

Company, he carried himself as a very great Enemy to Pride: But when

Cromwell made him his Favourite, and his extraordinary Valour was crowned with

extraordinary Success, and when he had been a while most converfant with those

in Religion thought the old Puritan Miniflers were dull, self-conceited, Men of a

lower form, and that new Light had declared I know not what to be a higher att-

ainment, his Mind, his Aim, his Talk and all was altered accordingly. And as

Miniflers of the old way were lower, and Secretaries much higher in his esteem than

formerly, so he was much higher in his own Esteem when he thought he had at-
tained much higher, than he was before when he faw with his Fellows in the Com-
mon Form. Being never well fudied in the Body of Divinity or Contro-

versie, but taking his Light among the Secretaries, before the Light which longer

and patient Studies of Divinity should have prepoftered him with, he lived after as

honely as could be expected in one that taketh Error for Truth, and Evil to be

Good. After this he was President of the Agitators, and after that Major General and

Lord as aforefaid: And after that a principal Perfon in the Changes, and the prin-

cipal Executive in pulling down Richard Cromwell; and then was one of the

Governing Council of State. And all this was promoted by the misunderstandings of

Providence, while he verily thought that God by their Victories had fo called them to

look after the Government of the Land, and fo entrusted them with the welfare of

all his People here, that they were responsible for it, and might not in Con-

ience
The LIFE of the

As and as he was the Chief in pulling down, he was one of the first that fell: For Sir Arthur Halsey taking Portsmouth (of which more hereafter) his Regiment of Horle went to block it up, went most of them into Sir Arthur Halsey. And when the Army was melted to nothing, and the King ready to come in, the Council of State imprifon'd him, because he would not promise to live peaceably; and afterwards he (being one of the four whom General Monk had the worst thoughts of) was closly confin'd in Scarborough Caflle: but being releas'd he became a Gardiner, and lived in a safer state than in all his Greatness.

§ 84. When Worcester Siege was over, (having with Joy feen Kidderminster and my Friends there once again), the Country being now cleared, my old Flock expected that I should return to them, and settle in Peace among them.

I went to Coventry, and called the Minifters again together who had voted me into the Army: I told them [1] That the refractory of the Army by the old Minifters, and the neglect of Supplying their Places by others, had undone us: that I had laboured among them with as much Success as could be expected in the narrow Sphere of my Capacity: but that signified little to all the Army: That the Active Sectaries were the main part of the Army among the Common Soldiers, but Cromwell had lately put so many of them into Superior Command, and their Industry was so much greater than others, that they were like to have their Will: That whatever obedience they pretend'd, I doubted not but they would pull down all that flood in their way, in State and Church, both King, Parliament and Minifters, and set up themselves. I told them that for this little that I have done I have ventur'd my Life, and weaken'd my Body (weak before): but the Day which I expected is yet to come, and this greatest Service with the greatest Hazard is yet before. The Wars being now ended, I was confident they would shortly knew their purposes, and set up for themselves: And when that day came, for all that are true to King, Parliament, and Religion then to appear, if there be any hope, by contradicting them or drawing off the Soldiers from them, was all the Service that was yet possible to be done: That I was like to do no great matter in such an Attempt; but there being so many in the Army of my mind, I knew not what might be til the Day should discover it: Though I knew it was the greatest Hazard of my Life, my Judgment was for laying among them till the Crisis, if their Judgment did concur. Whereupon they all voted me to go, and leave Kidderminster yet longer, which accordingly I did.

§ 85. From Worcester I went to London to Sir Theodore Mayn 1 to my health: He sent me to Tunbridge Wells, and after some stay there to my benefit, I went back to London, and so to my Quarters in Worcestershire where the Regiment was.

My Quarters fell out to be at Sir Tho. Rane's at Rane Leas, where I had never been before: The Lady Rane was a godly, grave, understanding Woman, and entertained me not as a Soldier but a Friend. From thence I went into Leicestershire, Staffordshire, and at last into Derbyshire. One advantage by this moving Life I had, that I had opportunity to preach in many Countries and Parishes; and whatever came of it afterward, I know not; but at the present they commonly seemed to be much affected.

I came to our Major Swallow's Quarters at Sir John Cook's House at Melbourn in the edge of Derbyshire, beyond Abbey de la Louche, in a cold and inowly Season; and the cold, together with other things coincidant, fret my Nose on bleeding. When I had bled about a quart or two, I opened four Veins, but it did no good. I used divers other Remedies for several days to little purpose; at last I gave my self a Purge, which flopt it. This did much weaken me and altered my Complexion, that my Acquaintance who came to visit me fear'd knew me. Coming after so long weakneds, and frequent loss of Blood before, it made the Physicians conclude me deplorable after it was stopp'd; supposing I would never escape a Dropty.

And thus God unavoidably prevented all the Effect of my purposes in my last and chiefest Opposition of the Army; and took me off the very time when my Attempt should have begun: My purpose was to have done my belt last to take off that Regiment which I was with, and then with Capt. Lawrence to have tried upon the Generals (in which two was Cromwell's chief Confidants) and then have joyned with others of the same mind (for the other Regiments were much less cor-
Corrupted). But the Determination of God against it was most observable: For the very time that I was bleeding the Council of War late at Nottingham, where (as I have credibly heard) they first began to open their Purposes and act their Part: and presently after they entered into their Engagement at Triploe-Heath. And as I perceived it was the Will of God to permit them to go on, lo I afterward found that this great Affliction was a Mercy to my self; for they were to strong and active, that I had been likely to have had small Success in the Attempt, but to have lost my Life among them in their Fury. And thus I was finally separated from the Army.

§ 85. When I had stayed at Melbourne in my Chamber three Weeks (being among Strangers, and not knowing how to get home) I went to Mr. Nowell's house at Kirk-Mallory in Leicester, where with great Kindness I was entertained three Weeks: By that time the Tidings of my Weakness came to the Lady Rouin at Worcester, who sent her Servant to seek me out; and when he returned, and told her I was far off, and he could not find me, she lent him again to find me, and bring me thither if I were able to travel: And in great weakness, thither I made shift to get, where I was entertained with the greatest Care and Tenderness, while I continued the ufe of means for my Recovery: and when I had been there a quarter of a Year, I returned to Kidderminster.

§ 87. When I was gone from the Army, the Parliament was most solicitous how to keep them from Tumults and Disobedience: But Sir Henry Vane with his Party secretly confederated with them, to weaken all others, and to strengthen the Sectaries: Whereupon they procured the House to Disband both Major General Mayfoy's Brigade, and all other Field Soldiers, and the honest County Forces and Garisons of most Places, which among them had fober Men enow to have reftilled them. This was the successfuller Act that was done for their Designs: for now they had little fear of Opposition.

The Design of Vane and Cromwell now was not only to keep up an Army of Sectaries, when the Sober Party were Disbanded, but also to force the Parliament to their mind, and model it so as that they should do their work: (which I had foretold some Parliament Men of long before): One of the Principal Engines in this Conivrance was, to provoke the Parliament to pass such Votes as the Army would be most displeased with, and then to stir up the Army to the deepest Reftment of it. Accordingly the Parliament voted that part of the Army should go to Ireland, and part be disbanded, and part continued. The Leaders in the Army incensed the Soldiers, by perwading them that this was to deprive them of their Pay, and to divide them, and when they had them at home again to ruine them as Sectaries, and this was the Reward of all their Services. Whereupon at Triploe-Heath they entered into an Engagement to flock together, &c. and were drawing up a Declaration of their Grievances; (the aggravating of suppos'd Injuries being the way to raise Mutinies, and make ufe of Factions for Seditious Ends) Quarter-Mafler General Finchër acquainted Sir William Waller with their Design, (who with others was sent to the Army) and Col. Edward Harley (a Member of the Parliament, and of the Army) acquainted the House with it. Cromwell being in the House doth with vehemency deny it; and said it was a Slander, raised to discompose the Army by discontenting them, and undertook that they should all lay down their Arms at the Parliaments Feet, and for his own part, protesting his Submission and Obedience to them. And this he did when he was Confederate with them, and knew of the Paper which they were drawing up, and confel that after when the Copy of it was produced, and presently went among them, and headed them in their Rebellion. In short, he and his Cabal fo heightened the Diffcontents, and carried on the New Confederate Army, that the Parliament was fain to Command all that were faithful to forfake them, and offer them their Pay to encourage them thereto: Commiffary General Finchër, and Major Alsop, and Major Huntington, and many more with a confiderable number of Soldiers came off: But being not enow to make a Body to refilt them, it proved a great Addition to their Strength: For now all that were against them being gone, they filled up their Places with Men of their own Mind, and fo were ever after the more unanimous.

§ 88. Upon this Cromwell and his Obedient Lambs (as he called them) advanced in the Profection of their Design, and drew nearer London, and drew up an Impeachment against Eleven Members of the Parliament, forsooth accusing them of Treason; viz. Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewes, Col. Hollis, Sir John Maynard, Mr. Glyn, &c. and among the reft Col. Edward Harley (a fober and truly religious
religious Man, the worthy Son of a most pious Father, Sir Robert Harley). And when thereby they had forced the House to seclude them under Accusation, they let fall their Suit, and never prosecuted them, nor proved them Guilty.

Thus begun that Pride to break forth into Rebellion, which grew up from Successes in impotent Minds, not able to conquer so great a Temptation as their Conquests. When they had cast out these Members, they thought that the House would have done as they would have had them, and been awed into Obedience, but still they continued to cross them, and came not up to the Conformity expected. A while after the City seemed to take Courage, and would defend the Parliament against the Army, and under Major General Maffey and Major General Points, they would put themselves into a Military posture: But the Army made haste, and were upon them before they were well resolved what to do, and the hearts of the Citizens tilled them, and were divided, and they submitted to the Army, and let them enter the City in triumph. Whereupon Maffey and Hollis, and others of the accused Members fled into France, of whom Sir Philip Stapleton died of the Plague near Calais; and now the Army promised themselves an obedient Parliament; but yet they were not to their mind.

§ 89. Here I must look back to the Course and Affairs of the King; who at the Siege of Oxford, having no Army left, and knowing that the Scots had more Loyalty and Stability in their Principles than the Sectaries, resolved to call himself upon them, and so escaped to their Army in the North. The Scots were very much troubled at this Honour that was cast upon them: for they knew not what to do with the King. To lend him back to the English Parliament seemed unfaithfulness, when he had cast himself upon them: To keep him they knew would divide the Kingdoms, and draw a War upon themselves from England; whom now they knew themselves unable to resist. They kept him awhile among them with honourable Entertainment, till the Parliament sent for him; and they saw that the Sectaries and the Army were glad of it, as an occasion to make them odious, and to invade their Land. And to the terror of the Conquering Army made them deliver him to the Parliaments Commissioners upon two Conditions: 1. That they should promise to preserve his Person in Safety and Honour, according to the Duty which they owed him by their Allegiance. 2. That they should presently pay the Scots Army one half the Pay which was due to them for their Service, (which had been long unpaid to make them odious to the Country where they quartered).

Hereupon the King being delivered to the Parliament, they appointed Colonel Richard Greaves, Major General Richard Brown, with others to be his Attendants, and desired him to abide awhile at Hanbury-House in Northamptonshire. While he was here the Army was watching their Conspiracy: And on the sudden one Cornet Joyce, with a party of Soldiers, fetched away the King, notwithstanding the Parliament Order for his Security: And this was done as if it had been against Cromwell's Will, and without any Order or Consent of theirs: But so far was he from losing his Head for such a Treason, that it proved the means of his Preferment. And so far was Cromwell and his Soldiers from returning the King in Safety, that they detained him among them, and kept him with them, till they came to Hampton Court, and there they lodged him under the Guard of Col. Whalley, the Army quartering all about him. While he was here the mutable Hypocrisies first pretended an extraordinary Care of the King's Honour, Liberty, Safety and Convenience. They blamed the Aulterity of the Parliament, who had denied him the Attendance of his own Chaplains; and of his Friends in whom he took most pleasure: They gave Liberty for his Friends and Chaplains to come to him: They pretended that they would have him from the Incivilities of the Parliament and Presbyterians. Whether this were while they tried what Terms they could make with him for themselves, or while they acted any other part it is certain that the King's old Adherents began to extol the Army, and to speak against the Presbyterians more ditticately than before. When the Parliament offered the King Propositions for Concord, (which Van's Faction made as hoigh and unreasonable as they could, that they might come to nothing) the Army fortother offer them Proposals of their own, which the King liked better: But which of them to treat with he did not know. At last on the sudden the Judgment of the Army changed, and they began to cry for Justice against the King, and with Vice Hypocrisie, to publish their Repeance, and cry God Mercy for their Kindness to the King, and confess that they were under a Temptation: But in all this Cromwell and Joyce, and the rest of the Council of War appeared not: The Instruments of all this Work must be
be the Common Soldiers. Two of the most violent Sectaries in each Regiment are chosen by the Common Soldiers, by the Name of Agitators, to represent the real in these great Affairs. All these together made a Council, of which Col. James Berry was the President, that they might be used, ruled and disposed of at pleasure. No man that knew them will doubt whether this was done by Cromwell's and Ireton's Direction. This Council of Agitators take not only the Parliament's Work upon themselves, but much more: They draw up a Paper called The Agreement of the People, as the Model or Form of a New Commonwealth. They have their own Printer, and publish abundance of wild Pamphlets, as changeable as the Moon: the thing contrived was an Heretical Democracy. When Cromwell had awhile permitted them thus to play themselves, partly to please them, and confirm them to him, and chiefly to use them in his demolishing Work, at last he seemeth to be so much for Order and Government, as to blame them for their Disorder, Pre- sumption and Headines, as if they had done it without his Consent. This emboldeneth the Parliament (not to Censure them as Rebels, but) to rebuild them and prohibit them, and claim their own Superiority: And while the Parliament and the Agitators are contending, a Letter is secretly sent to Col. Whalley, to inticate that the Agitators had a design suddenly to surprize and murder the King. Some think that this was sent from a real Friend; but most think it was contrived by Cromwell to affright the King out of the Land, or into some desperate Course which might give them Advantage against him. Colone! Whalley shewed the Letter to the King, which put him into much fear of such ill governed Hands: so that he secretly got Harfes and flipp away towards the Sea with two of his Confidens only; who coming to the Sea near Southampton, found that they were dis- appointed of the Vessel expected to transport them; and so were Eim to pass ever into the Isle of Wight, and there to commit his Majesty to the Trust of Colone! Robert Hammond who was Governor of a Castle there: A Day or two or all were amazed to think what was became of the King; and then a Letter from the King to the House acquainted them that he was lain to fly thither from the Cruelty of the Agitators, who, as he was informed thought to murder him; and urging them to treat about the ending all these Troubles. But here Cromwell had the King in a Pinfold, and was more secure of him than before.

§ 90. The Parliament and the Scots, and all that were loyal and soberminded abhorred these traiterous Proceedings of Cromwell and the sectarian Army; but law is a Matter of great difficulty to reft them: but the Confidence of their Oath of Allegiance and Covenant, told them that they were bound to hazard their Lives in the attempt.

The three Commanders for the Parliament in Pembroke-shire raised an Army againt him, viz. Major General Langhorn, Colone! Powel, and Colone! Poyer: The Scots raised a great Army under the Command of the Duke of Hamilton: The Kentish Men rode under the Command of the Lord Goring and others: and the Effex Men under Sir Charles Lucas: But God's time was not come, and the Spirit of Pride and Schism must be known to the World by its Effects. Duke Hamilton's Army was easily routed in Lancashire, and he taken; and the scattered Parts pursu'd till they came to nothing: Langhorn with the Pembroke-shire Men was totally routed by Colone! Horton, and all the chief Commanders being taken Prisoners, it fell to Colone! Poyer's Lot to be shot to Death: The Kentish Men were driven out of Effex into Effex, being foil'd at Maidstone; and in Colchester they endured a long and grievous Siege, and yielding at laft, Sir Charles Lucas, and another or two were shot to Death, and thus all the Successors of the King were defeated.

§ 91. Never to this time, when Cromwell had taught his Agitators to govern, and could not easily manteach it them again, there arose a Party who adhered to the Principles of their [agreement of the People] which failed not with his Designs: And to make them odious he denounced them Levellers, as if they intended to level Men of all Qualities and Estates; while he disconntenued them, he disinconsolated them; and being discontented, they endeavoured to discontent the Army; and at last appointed a Rendezvous at Burford to make Head against him. But Cromwell (whole Diligence and Dispatch was a great Caufe of his Succeeds) had preently his Brother Dissborough, and some other Regiments ready to surprize them there in their Quarters, before they could get their Numbers together: So that about 1500 being scattered and taken, and some slain, the Levellers War was cut off in the Egg, and Thompson (one of Captain Pitcher's Corporals afo-mentioned) who became their chief Leader, was pursu'd near Wellingborough in Northamptonshire, and there slain while he defended himself.
§ 92. As I have past over many Battles, Sieges, and great Actions of the Wars, as not belonging to my purpose; so I have pulled over Cromwell's March into Scotland to help the Covenanters when Monroes was too strong for them, and I shall pass over his Transportation into Ireland, and his speedy Conquest of the remaining Forces and Fortresses of that Kingdom; his taking the Isles of Man, of Jersey, Guernsey, and Scilly, and such other of his Successes, and speak only in brief of what he did to the change of the Government, and to the exciting of himself and of his Confidants. And I will pass over the Londoners Petitions for the King, and their Carriage towards the House, which looked like a force, and exasperated them too, that the Speakers of both Houses, the Earl of Manchester and Mr. Lenthall, did with the greater part of the present Members, go forth to Cromwell, and make some kind of Confederacy with the Army, and took them for their Protectors against the Citizens. Also their voting and unvoting in these Cafes, &c.

§ 93. The King being at the Isle of Wight, the Parliament sent him some Propositions to be confented to in order to his Restoration: The King granted many of them, and some he granted not: The Scotch Commissioners thought the Conditions more dishonourable to the King than was consistent with their Covenant and Duty, and protested against them; for which the Parliament blamed them as hinderers of the desired Peace. The chiefest thing which the King stuck at, was, the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, and alienating theirs and the Dean and Chapters Lands. Hereupon, with the Commissioners certain Divines were sent down to satisfy the King, viz. Mr. Stephen Marshall, Mr. Rich. Vines, Dr. Lecarus Stannus, &c., who were met by many of the King's Divines, Archbishop Ufher, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sheldon, &c. The Debate between Writing were published, and each Party thought they had the better, and the Parliament Divines came off with great Honour: But for my part, I confess these two things against them, though Perlons whom I highly honoured:

1. That they seem not to me to have answered satisfactorily to the main Argument fetched from the Apostles own Government, with which Saranae had inclined me to some Episcopacy before; though Miracles and Infallibility were Apostolical temporary Privileges; yet Church Government is an ordinary thing to be continued: And therefore as the Apostles had Successors as they were Preachers, I see not but that they must have Successors as Church Governors: And it seemeth unlikely to me, that Christ should settle a Form of Government in his Church, which was to continue but for one Age, and then to be transformed into another Species. Could I be sure what was the Government in the Days of the Apostles themselves, I should be satisfied what should be the Government now.

2. They seem not to me to have taken the Course which should have settled these disaffected Churches: Instead of disputing against all Episcopacy, they should have changed Diocesan Prelacy into such an Episcopacy as the Confidence of the King might have admitted, and as was agreeable to that which the Church had in the two or three first Ages. I confess, Mr. Vines wrote to me as their excuse in this and other Matters of the Assembly, that the Parliament tied them up from treating or disputing of any thing at all, but what they appointed or proposed to them: But I think plain dealing with such Leaders had been best, and to have told them this is our Judgment, and in the matters of God and his Church we will serve you according to our Judgment, or not at all. (But indeed if they were not of one Mind among themselves, this could not be expected.)

Archbishop Ufher there took the rightest course, who offered the King his Reduction of Episcopacy to the form of Presbytery: And he told me himself, that before the King had refused it, but at the Isle of Wight he accepted it, and as he would not when others would, in others would not when he would: And when our present King Charles II. came in, we tendered it for Union to him, and then he would not: And thus the true moderate healing terms are always rejected by them that stand on the higher Ground, though accepted by them that are lower and cannot have what they will: From whence it is easy to perceive, whether Prosperity or Adversity, the Highelt, or the Lowell, be ordinarily the greater Hinders of the Churches Unity and Peace. I know that if the Divines and Parliament had agreed for a moderate Episcopacy with the King, some Presbyteriansof Scotland would have been against it, and many Independents of England, and the Army would have made it the matter of odious Accusations and Calumnies: But all this had been of no great regard to remove foreseeing judicious Men from those healing Counsels which must close our Wounds whenever they are closed.

§ 4. 7
PART I. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

§ 94. The King sending his final Answers to the Parliament, the Parliament had a long Debate upon them, whether to acquiesce in them as a sufficient Ground for Peace; and many Members spake for rejecting in them, and among others Mr. Prim went over all the King's Concessions in a Speech of divers Hours long, with marvellous Memory, and liewed the Satisfactorines of them all, (and after printed it;) So that the Houfe voted that the King's Concessions were a sufficient Ground for a Peronal Treaty with him; and had suddenly sent a concluding Answer, and sent for him up, but at such a Crisis it was time for the Army to believ them: Without any more ado Cromwell and his Confederats sent Collone1 Privy with a Party of Souldiers to the Houfe, and set a Guard upon the Door; one Part of the Houfe (who were for them) they let in; another part they turned away, and told them that they must not come there; and the third part they imprisoned (the soberest worthy Members of the Houfe;) and all to prevent them from being true to their Oaths and Covenants, and loyal to their King: To fo much Rebellion, Perfidiousnefs, Perjury and Impudence, can Error, Selfifhnefs and Pride of great Successeis, transport Men of the highest Pretences to Religion.

§ 95. For the true understanding of all this, it must be remembered, that though in the beginning of the Parliament there was scarce a noted proflrate Sectary known, but the Lord Brook in the Houfe of Peers, and young Sir Henry Vane in the Houfe of Commons; yet by Degrees the Number of them increas'd in the Lower Houfe; Major Sallorey and some few more Sir Henry Vane had made his own Adherents: Many more were carried part of the way, to Independence, and Liberty of Religion; and many that minded not any fide in Religion, did think that it was no Pollicie ever to truft a conquered King, and therefore were wholly for a Parliamentary Government: Of these some would have Lords and Commons as a mixture of Arificracie and Democracy, and others would have Commons and Democracy alone; and fome thought that they ought to judge the King for all the Blood that had been flied. And thus when the two Parts of the Houfe were eject'd and imprisoned, this third part compof'd of the Vanities, the Independants, and other Sects, with the Democratical Party, was left by Cromwell to do his Business under the Name of the Parliament of England; but by the People in Scorn commonly called, The Rump of the Parliament. The excluded and imprisoned Members published a Writing called, their Vindication; and some of them would afterwards have thruf't into the Houfe, but the Guard of Soldiers kept them out, and the Rump were called the Honest Men. And these are the Men that henceforward we have to do within the Progres of our Hilory, as called, The Parliament.

§ 96. As the Lords were difafflicted of these Proceedings, fo were the Rump and Soldiers to the Lords: So that they pafl'd a Vote (fupposing that the Army would l tand by them) to eftabliff the Government without a King and Houfe of Lords; and fo the Lords diffolved, and thefe Commons fat and did all alone. And being deleb'd by Cromwell, and verily thinking that he would be foe Democracy, which they called a Commonwealth, they gratified him in his Designs, and themselves in their difloyal Diftrufs and Fears; and they cauf'd a High Court of Juftice to be erected, and fent for the King from the Ille of Wight: Collone1 Hamond delivered him, and to Westminfter-Hall he came, and refufing to own the Court and their Power to try him, Cook as Attorney having pleaded againft him, Bradshaw as President and Judge recit'd the Charge and condemned him: And before his own Gate at Whitehall they erected a Scaffold, and before a full Assembly of People beheld him: Wherein appeared the Severity of God, the Mutability and Uncertainty of Worldly Things, and the Fruits of a finful Nation's Provocations, and the infamous Effects of Error, Pride and Selfifhnefs, prepared by Satan to be charg'd hereafter upon Reformation and Godlinefs, to the unforfeakable Injury of the Chriftian Name and Protestant Caufe, the Rejoicing and Advantage of the Papifts, the Hardning of Thousands againft the Means of their own Salvation, and the Confufion of the Actors when their Day is come.

§ 97. The Lord General Fairfax all this while ftood by, and, with high Renfentment, faw his Lieutenant do all this by tumultuous Souldiers, trick'd and overpowered by him; neither being sufficiently upon his Guard to defeat the Intrigues of such an Actor; nor having Reolution enough (as yet,) to lay down the Glory of all his Conquefts and forfake him: But at the King's Death he was in wonderfull Perplexities, and when Mr. Calamy and fome Miniflers were fent for to reolve, him, and would have farther perluaded him to refcue the King, his Troubles fo confounded him, that they durft let no Man speak to him: And Cromwell kept him (as it was faid) in praying and confulting till the Stroke was given, and
and it was too late to make Resistance, But not long after, when War was determined against Scotland, he laid down his Commission, and never had to do with the Army more, and Cromwell was General in his stead.

§ 98. If you ask what did the Miniflers all this while; I answer, they Preach'd and pray'd against Diloyalty: They drew up a Writing to the Lord General, declaring their Abhorrence of all Violence against the Perion of the King, and urging him and his Army to take heed of such an unlawful Act: They present it to the General when they saw the King in Danger: But Pride prevail'd against their Counsels.

An.1649. § 99. The King being thus taken out of the way, Cromwell takes on him to be for a Commonwealth (but all in order to the Security of the good People) till he had removed the other Impediments which were yet to be removed: So that the Rump presently drew up a Form of Engagement, to be put upon all Men, viz. [I do promise to be True and Faithful to the Commonwealth as it is now established without a King or House of Lords.] So we must take the Rump for an established Common-well, and promit Fidelity to them. This the Sectarian Party swallowed early, and so did the King's old Cavaliers, so far as I was acquainted with them, or could hear of them (not heartily, no doubt, but they were very few of them sick of the Dileas called tenderness of Conscience, or Scrupulosity: But the Presbyterians, and the moderate Episcopal Men refused it, (and I believe so did the Prelatical Dream of the King's Party for the most part; though the Gentlemen had greater Necelrities.) Without this Engagement no Man must have the Benefit of living another at Law (which kept Men a little from Contention, and would have mard the Lawyers trade;) nor must they have any Masterships in the Universities, nor travel above so many Miles from their Housés, and more such Penalties, which I remember not (to short Lived a Commonwealth deferred no Long Recollection): Mr. Vines and Dr. Rainbow, and many more were hereupon put out of their Headships in the Universities, and Mr. Sibbald Symphon, and Mr. Jef. Sadler, and such others put in; yea, such a Man as Mr. Doll, the Chaplain of the Army, who, I think, neither understand himself, nor was understood by others any farther than to be one, who took Readen, Sound Dogmas, Oder and Concord to be the intollerable Maladies of Church and State, because they were the greatest strangers to his Mind. But poor Dr. Edward Reignolds had the hardnest Measure; for when he refused to take the Engagement, his Place was forfeit; and afterwards they drew him to take it, in hopes to keep his Place, (which was no less than the Deaneary of Christ's Church:) and then turned him out of all, and offered his Place to Mr. Jef. Caryll; but he refusing it, it was conferred on Dr. Owen, to whom it was continued from year to year.

And because the Presbyterians still urged the Covenant against killing the King, and pulling down the Parliament, and setting up a Commonwealth, and taking the Engagement, some of the Independent Brethren maintained, that its Obligation ceased, because it was a League, and the Occasion of it ceased: And some of the Rump said it was like an Almanack out of date; and some of the Scoundrels said they never took it: and others of them railed at it as a Scotch Snare: So that when their Interest would not suffer them to keep so solemn a Vow, their Wills would not suffer their Judgments to confess it to be Obligatory, at least, as to the parts which they must violate.

§ 100. For my own part, though I kept the Town and Parish of Riderminster from taking the Covenant (thinking how it might become a Snare to their Consequences;) yet, and most of Worcesterfife besides, by keeping the Miniflers from offering it in any of the Congregations to the People (except in Worcester City, where I had no great Interest, and know not what they did;) yet I could not judge it lousy for him that believed there is a God, to play false and loose with a droll Catechism, as if the Bonds of National and Personal Vows were as easily broken as Sampson's Cords.

The next I judge and preach'd against the Engagement, and diffused Men from taking it; The next hour that I heard of it, being in Company with some Gentlemen of Worcester, I presently wrote down above twenty Queries against it intending as many more almost against the Obligation, as those were ab in the Sect and Consequences: And one that was present got the Copy of them, and they had time with them vertebin in a Book of Mr. Henry Hall's as his own: (one that was long imprifoned for writing against Cromwell.)

Some
Some Episcopal Divines that were not to scrupulous it seems as we, did write for it (private Manuscripts which I have seen) and plead the irrefigtable of the Impolders, and they found starting holes in the Terms, &c. That by the Commonwealth they will mean the present Commonwealth in genre, and by [Established] they will mean only de facto, and not de jure, and by [without a King, &c.] they mean not quasem but Est ; and that de facto pro tempore, s. d. I will be true to the Government of England, though at the present the King and House of Lords are put out of the Exercise of their power. These were the Exploitation of many Episcopal Men, and others that took it: But I endeavoured to evince, that this is mere juggling and jailing with Matters too great to be jelled with: And that as they might easily know that the Impolders had another fene, so easilly might they know that the words in their own obvious literal fense among men, must be taken as the Promise or Engagement of a Subject as fuch to a Form of Government now pretended to be established: And that the Subjects Allegiance or Fidelity to his Rulers can be acknowledged and given in no plain words: And that by such Interpretations and Stretchings of Confidence, any Tresnable Oath or Promise may be taken, and no Bonds of Society can signifie much with such Interpreters.

§ 101. England and Ireland being thus Conquered by Cromwell, (by deluding well-meaning Men into his Service, and covering his Ambition with the Lord Fanfaxes Generalship); the Parliament being imprisoned and cast out, the King cut off, and the Rump established as a new Commonwealth, (those great and solid Men, Pym, Hampden, &c. being long before dead and rid out of his way, who else would have prevailed against the Plots of Vane in the Parliament;) you would think there were nothing now standing in his way, to hinder him from laying hands upon the Crown. But four Impediments yet stood before him: 1. The numerous Cavaliers (or Royalists) ready for new Enterprizes against him. 2. The Scots, who resolved to flock to the Covenant and the King. 3. The Army, which must be untaught all the Principles which he is now permitting them to learn: (For those Principles which must bring him to the Crown, are the worst in the World for him when once he is there). 4. The Ministers of England and Scotland, and all the sober People who regarded them.

The first of these he most early (though not without strugling) overcame, making his advantage by all their Enterprizes. The second put him harder to it, but he overcame them at last. The third proved yet a greater difficulty, but he seemd absolutely to over come it, yet leaving still some Life in the root. The fourth strove against him more calmly and prudently, with invincible Weapons, and though they were quiet, were never over come; but at last revived the spark of Life which was left in the third, and thereby gave a Resurrection to the first and second, and so recovered all at last; not to the state of their own Interest, or to that Condition of Church Affairs which they desired, but to that Civil State of Royal Government to which they were engaged, and from which the Nation seemd to have fallen.

These are the true Contents of the following parts that were acted in these Lands: The Rump I might mention as another of his Impediments, but as they now were doing his work, so I conjoin the Reliefs of them which then disturbed him, with the Army who were the strength by which they did it.

§ 102. The King being dead, his Son was by right immediately King, (and from that time he dateh his Reign.) The Scots send Messengers to him to come over to them and take the Crown: But they treat with him first for his taking of the Covenant; and renouncing the Wars, and the Blood that was shed in them by his Fathers Party. By which I perceive that the Scots understood the Clause in the Covenant of [Defending the King's Person and Authority in the Defence of the true Religion and the Liberties of the Kingdom] otherwise than we did: For as they extended the word [true Religion] further than we did (including the Form of Church Government in Scotland) so they seem to understand it Conjunctionis in separabilis; and to prefer the Defence of Religion before the Defence of the King: whereas we understood it Conjunctionis separabilis; and though in more effimation we preferred Religion before King or Kingdom, yet in regard of the Duty of Defence, we thought the King must be restored and defended, though (legally) he would have brought in worse than Presley: Though we did not think that he might do it illegally; and therefore that he could not govern Arbitrarily, nor take away the Peoples fore-prized Propriety or Liberty, nor change the Form of the Government of the Commonwealth.
But thofe that thought otherwise, Gid, That there is no power but from God, and therefore none againft him or above him; and therefore none againft or above his Laws: which how true forever, femeth not at all to decide our Cafe: For though it follow never fo much that fuch Acts againft God are not Acts of Authority, yet the fame Perfon that hath not Authority to do this, may have Authority in other matters, and may be our rightful Governour, and therefore must be obeyed in all things lawful, (though not in this:) and his Perfon defended. And therefore how they could refuse to receive the King, till he confeffed to take the Covenant, I know not: unlefs the taking of the Covenant had been a Condition on which he was to receive his Crown by the Laws or Fundamental Conftitution of the Kingdom (which none pretended.) Nor know I by what power they can add any thing to the Coronation Oath or Covenant, which by his Anceftors was to be taken, without his own Confeft. But in their Zeal for the Church, the Scots did caufe the King, when he was come over to them, not only (mutatis mutandis,) to take the Covenant, but alfo to publish a Declaration to the World, that he did it voluntarily and heartily, and that he lamented the Sins of his Father's Houfe, acknowledging the Guilt of the Blood of the late Wars, &c.] In all which he femed to me and many others that they mili-carried divers ways: 1. In imposing Laws upon their King, for which they had no Authority. 2. In forcing him to diholour the Memory of his Father, by fuch Confessions. 3. In tempting him to speak and publish that which they might eaily know was contrary to his heart, and fo to take God's Name in vain. 4. And in giving Cromwell occasion to charge them all with dilimulation.

§ 102. What Transactions there were between the King and the Scots for the Ex- pediting of his Coronation, and what Preparations were made for an Army to de- fend him, and what Differences among the Parties hereabouts, I shall not describe, there being none of them that were upon the place who can do it better: But to return to England, as soon as they understood what the Scots had done, the Secta- ries in England reproached them as Fools and Hypocrites, that by fuch a Pageantry mockt themselves, and would make the People believe that the King was turned Presbyterian, and was a Cordial Covenantor, when they had forced him to fay and do that with which they might well know he did abhor. And they preferely refolve to invade the Scots, to keep them from invading England, and not to fay till they came in upon this Land, as heretofore. So that Cromwell is in Scotland with his Army before they were well fetled in their Affairs. This much increafed the alienation of the Peoples hearts from the Cromwellians: for though they might sup- pofe that the Scots intended to bring the King into England, yet few believed that he might begin with them by an Invasion, it being too much to have refifted them at home.

§ 103. When the Soldiers were going againft the King and Scots, I wrote Letters to fame of them to tell them of their Sin, and defired them at lat to begin to know themselves: it being thofe fame men that have fo much boiled of Love to all the Godly, and pleaded for tender dealing with them, and condemned thofe that perfecuted them or refrained their Liberty, who are now ready to imbire their Swords in the Blood of fuch as they acknowledge to be Godly, and all becaufe they dare not be perjured or difloyal as they are. Some of them were startled at thofe Letters, and (O blind beholders!) thought me an uncharitable Cenfurer that would fay that they could kill the Godly, even when they were on their march to do it: For how bad foreuer they fpake of the Cavaliers, (and not without too much deferet to their Morals) they confelled that abundance of the Scots were godly Men. And afterward thofe that I wrote to better understood me.

§ 104. At the fame time the Rump (or Commonwealth) who fo much abhorred Perfection, and were for Liberty of Conience, made an Order that all Mi- nifters should keep their days of Humiliation, to falt and pray for their Success in Scotland: and that we should keep their Days of Thanksgiving for their Victories; and this upon pain of Sequestration: fo that we all expected to退还 out: but they did not execute it upon any fave one in our parts.

For my part, in stead of praying and preaching for them, when any of the Com- mittee or Soldiers were our hearers, I laboured to help them to underftand, what a Crime it was to force men to pray for the Success of thofe that were violating their Covenant and Loyalty, and going in fuch a Caufe to kill their Brethren: And what it was to force Men to give God thanks for all their Bloodshed, and to make Gods Minifters and Ordinances vile, and serviceable to fuch Crimes, by forcing Men to run to God on fuch Errands of Blood and Ruine: And what it is to be
such Hypocrites as to persecute and cast out those that preach the Gospel, while they pretend the advancement of the Gospel, and the liberty of tender Consciences: And what a means it was to debauch all Consciences, and leave neither tenderness nor honestly in the World, when the Guides of the Flocks, and Preachers of the Gospel shall be noted to swallow down such heinous Sins.

My own Hearers were all satisfied with my Doctrine, but the Committee Men look towre, but let me alone. And the Soldiers said I was too like to Love, that I would not be right till I was shorter by the Head. Yet none of them ever medled with me farther than by the Tongue, nor was I ever by any of them in those times, forbidden or hindered to preach one Sermon, except only one Affize-Sermon which the High Sheriff had defined me to preach, and afterward sent me word to forbear, as from the Committee, saying, That by Mr. Moore's means (the Independent Preacher at the Collège) the Committee told him that they defined me to forbear, and not to preach before the Judges, because I preached against the State: But afterward they excused it, as done meerly in kindness to me, to keep me from running my self into danger and trouble.

§ 106. Not far from this time the London Ministers were called Traitors by the An.1651 Rump and Soldiers for plotting for the King (a strange kind of Treatlen), because they had some Meetings to contrive how to raise some small Sum of Money for Massey's relief, who was then in Scotland: And some false* Brother discovered them, and eight of them were sent to the Tower, Mr. Arthur Fackfon, Dr. Drake, Mr. Watfon, Mr. Love, Mr. Jenkins, &c. and Mr. Nalton and Mr. Caugbon fled into Holland, where one died, but the other returned and lived to suffer more by them he suffered for.

Mr. Love was tried at a Court of Justice, where Edm. Prideaux a Member and Solicitor for the Commonwealth, did think his Place allowed him to plead against the Life and Blood of the Innocent. Mr. Love was condemned and beheaded, dying neither timorously nor proudly in any desperate Bravado, but with as great alacrity and earlies quietness and freedom of Speech, as if he had but gone to Bed, and had been as little concerned as the standers by. An honest Gentleman was beheaded with him for the same Cause. And at the time of their Execution, or very near it on that day, there was the dreadfulfull Thunder and Lightning and Tempeft, that was heard or seen of a long time before.

This Blow sunk deeper towards the Root of the New Commonwealth, than will easily be believed; and made them grow odious to almost the Religious Party in the Land, except the Sectaries: ('Though some malicious Cavaliers said it was good enough for him, and laught at it as good News): for now the People would not believe that they had fought the promoting of the Gospel, who killed the Ministers for the Interett of their Faction. And there is, as Sir Walter Rawleigh noth of Learned Men, such as Demophoon, Cicero, &c. so much more in Divines of famous Learning and Piety, enough to put an everlafting odium upon those whom they suffer by, though the Caufe of the Sufferers were not justifiable. Men count him a vile and detestable Creature, who in his passion, or for his interett, or any such low account, shall deprive the World of such Lights and Ornaments, and cut off so much excellency at a blow, and be the Persecutors of such worthy and renowned Men. Though the rest of the Ministers were releaved, upon Mr. Jenkins's Recantation, and Confession that God had now convinced him, that he ought to submit to the present Government. Yet after this, the moft of the Ministers and good People of the Land, did look upon the New Commonwealth as Tyranny, and were more alienated from them than before.

§ 107. The Lord Fairfax now laid down his Comission, and would have no more of the Honour of being Cromwell's Instrument or Mask, when he saw that he must buy it at so dear a rate. And so Cromwell with applause received a Comission, and entered upon his place.

And into Scotland he hastened, and there he maketh his way near Edinburgh, where the Scots Army lay: But after long skirmishing and expectations, when he could neither draw the Scots out of their Trenches to a fight, nor yet pass forward, his Soldiers contracted Sicknesse, and were impatient of the Poverty of the Country, and so with a weakened ragged Army he drew off to return to England, and had the Scots but let him go, or cautelously followed him, they had kept their Peace and broken his Honour: But they drew out and followed him, and overtaking him near Dunbar, did force him to a Fight, by engaging his Rere; in which Fight being not of equal Fortitude they were totally routed, their Foot taken, and their Horfe purfued to Edinburgh.

K. 2 §108.
§ 108. Ten thousand Prisoners of the Foot were brought to Newcastle, where the greatness of the Number, and the bafenefs of the Country (with their Poverty) and the cruel Negligence of the Army, caufed them to be almofl all famifhed: For being shut up in a Cabbage-Garden, and having no Food, they cafal themfelves into a Flux and other Difeafes with eating the raw Cabbage; fo that few of them survived, and thofe few were little better us'd. The Colours that were taken were hanged up as Trophies in Westminster-Hall, and never taken down till the King's Reftoration.

§ 109. Cromwell being thus called back to Edinburgh, driveth the Scots to Sterling beyond the River, where they fortifie themfelves: He befiegeth the impregnable Caffle of Edinburgh and winneth it; the Governor, Coll. William Dunlap, laying the blame on his Souldiers that eft would have delivered it and him; but his Superiors condemned him for the Cowardly Surrender.

After this, Cromwell paffeth fome of his Men over the River, and after them moft of the ref: The King with the Scots Army being unable to give him Battle after fuch Difficulties, takes the Opportunity to fahfe away with what Force they had towards England, thinking that Cromwell being call now fome Days March behind them, by Reafon of his paffing the River, they might be before him in England, and there be abundantly increafed, by the coming in both of the Cavaliers and the ref: of the People to him. And doublell all the Land would gradually have flockt in to him but for these two Caufes:

1. The Succes of Cromwell at Dumbarton and afterwards, had put a Fear upon all Men, and the manner of the Scots coming away, perfuaded all Men that Neceffity forced them, and they were look'd upon rather as fleeing than as marching into England; and few Men will put themfelves into a flying Army which is purfued by the conquering Enemy.

2. The implacable Cavaliers had made no Preparation of the Peoples Mind, by any Significations of Reconciliation, or of probable future Peace: And the Prelatical Divines, instead of drawing nearer tho' they differed from for Peace, had gone farther from them by Dr. Hammond's new way, than their Predecessors were before them; and the very Caufe which they contended for, being not Concord and Neighbourhood, but Domination, they had given the difecuting Clergy and People no hopes of finding favourable Lords, or any Abatement of their former Burdens, fo little did their Task-Masters relent: But contrariwise, they faw Reafon enough to expect that their little Fingers would be heavier than their Predecessors Loyds. And it is hard to bring Men readily to venture their Lives to bring themfelves into a Prison, or Beggary, or Banishment.

There were the true Caufes that no more came in to the King: The firft kept off the Royalists and the ref, the fecond kept off the ref: alone. Yet the Earl of Darby, the Lord Talbot and many Gentlemen did come in to him; and fome that had been Souldiers for the Parliament, (as Capt. Benbow from Shrewsbury, with Cornet Kimmerly and a Party of Horfe, and fome few more.)

The King's Army of Scots was excellently well governed (in comparison of what his Father's was wont to be): Not a Souldier durft wrong any Man of the worth of a Penny; which much drew the Affections of the People towards them.

The Prefence of Collonel Rich. Graves, and Collonel Maffy with them, was the great Inducement to the Parliamentarians to come in: But another great Impediment kept them off, which was, Cromwell's exceeding Speedy Pursuit of them; fo that People had not time to refolve themfelves confiderably; and moft were willing to fee what Cromwell's Assault would do, before they cafal themfelves into the Danger; Soldiers may moft eafily be had when there is leaff need of them.

The King came by the way of Lancashire, and summoned Shrewsbury in vain as he paffed by through Shropshire: And when all the Country thought that he was happening to London (where all Men reputed he would have attained his Ends, increafed his Strength, and had no Reffinance,) he turned to Worcester, and there stayed to refreh his Army, Cromwell's Forces being within a few days March of him.

§ 110. The Army paffed moft by Ridgaminfer (a Fields Breadth off) and the ref: through it: Collonel Graves left two or three Miftakes to me, as from the King, to come to him; and after, when he was at Worcester, fome others were fent: But I was at that time under fo great an Affiliation of more Eyes, that I was not eafe able to fee the Light, nor fit to flir out of Doors: And being not much
much doubtful of the Issue which followed, I thought if I had been able, it would have been no Service at all to the King; it being so little on such a sudden, that I could add to his Affiquence.

When the King had stayed a few Days at Worcester, Cromwell came with his Army to the East side of the City, and after that, made a Bridge of Boats over Severn, to hinder them from Forage on the other side; but because to great an Army could not long endure to be pent up, the King resolved to change Cromwell's Men; and a while the Scots Foot did charge very gallantly, and some别说 Persons among the Horfe, The Marquis Hamilton (late Earl of Lanark) being slain: But at last the hope of Security fo near their Backs, encouraged the King's Army to retreat into the City, and Cromwell's Souldiers followed them fo close at the Heels, that Major Swallow of Whalley's Regiment first, and others after him entered Sidbury-Gate with them; and fo the whole Army fled through the City quite away, many being trodden down and flain in the Streets; so that the King was fain to fly with them Northward, the Lord Willmote, the Earl of Lauderdale, and many others of his Lords and Commanders with him: Kiderminster being but eleven Miles from Worcester, the flying Army paft some of them through the Town, and some by it: I was newly gone to Bed when the Noise of the flying Horfe acquainted us of the Overthrow: and a piece of one of Cromwell's Troops that Guarded Bredley-Bridge having tidings of it, came into our Streets, and flold in the open Marketplace before my Door, to surprife thole that paft by: And fo when many hundreds of the flying Army came together, when the 50 Troopers cryed fraud, and figned at them, they either hafted away, or cried Quarter, not knowing in the Dark what Number it was that charged them: And fo as many were taken there, as fo few Men could lay hold on: And till Midnight the Bullets flying towards my Door and Windows, and the forrowful Fugitives hafting by for their Lives, did tell me the Calamitousness of War.

The King parted at laft from most of his Lords, and went to Bofcobell by the white Ladies, where he was hid in an Oak, in manner sufficiently declared to the World; and thence to Mofley, and fo with Mrs. Lane away as a Traveller, and escaped all the Searchers Hands, till he came safe beyond Sea, as is publifhed at large by divers.

The City of Worcester was much plundered by Cromwell's Souldiers, and a Party only fen out after the King's Fugitives (for an Army I will call them no more): the Earl of Derby was taken, and Capt. Benbow of Shrewsbury, and were both put to Death; the Sentence of Coll. Mackworth difpatched Benbow, because he had been a Souldier under him. The Earl of Lauderdale, and the Earl of Crofard were fen Prisoners to Windfor-Caffle, where they were detained till the Restoration of the King: Coll. Graves at laft being released by Cromwell, lived quietly at his Houfe, which made him ill thought of, and kept from Pretence afterwards when the King came in.

And thus Cromwell's next Impediment was over.

§ 111. The Scots Army being utterly difpatched in England (and many of the Prisoners of Foot fen to the Barbadoes, &c.) part of Cromwell's Army was fen to protract the Victory in Scotland, where (briefly) all their Garrifons at laft were taken, and the Earl of Glencarnoe, and that learned, religious, excellent Perfom, the Earl of Balcarres, who kept up the laft Forces there for the King, were fain to fly to the King beyond Sea: And Major General Monk was there left with fome Forces to keep the Country in Subjeftion.

§ 112. Cromwell having thus far fenned to be a Servant to the Parliament, and work for his Malters the Rump or Commonwealth, doth next begin to fiew whom he faved, and take that Impediment afio out of the way: To which End he fift cloth by them as he did by the Presbyterian, make them odious by hard Speeches of them throughout his Army; as if they intended to perpetuate themselves, and would not be accountable for the Money of the Commonwealth, &c. and he treated privately with many of them, to appoint a time when they would difsolve themselves, that another free Parliament might be chofen: But they perceived the Danger, and were rather for the filling up of their Number by New Elections, which he was utterly againft.

His greatest Advantage to strengthen himfelf againft them by the Sectaries, was their owning the publifh Miniftry and their Maintenance; for though Vane and his party for themselves to make the Minifters odious by reproachful Titles, and to take them down, yet fill the greater part of the Houfe did carry it for a fober Miniftry, and competent Maintenance. And when the Quakers and others did openly reproach
reproach the Minifttry, and the Souldiers favour them, I drew up a Petition for the Minifttry, and got many thoufand Hands to it in _Worcefhire_, and Mr. The. Fo-ley, and Coll. John Bridges prefented it; and the Houfe gave a kind and promis-
fing Anfwer to it, which increafed the Sectaries Difpleafure againft them: And when a certain Quaker wrote a reviling Cenfure of this Petition, I wrote a De-
ference of it, and caufed one of them to be given each Parliament Man at the Door; and within one day after they were diffolved: For Cromwell impatient of any more delay, fuddenly took Harrison and fome Souldiers with him (as if God had in-
pelled him) and in a Rapture went into the Houfe, and reproved the Members for their Faults, and pointing to Vane, calls him a Juglar, and to Henry Martin, and calls him Whoremaker, and having two fuch to infinuate in, took it for granted that they were all unfit to continue in the Government of the Commonwealth; and out he turneth them: And fo ended the Government of the Rump, and no fort of People expreffed any great Offence that they were call out, though all, fave the Sectaries and the Army almoft, did take him to be a Traitor that did it.

§ 113. The young Commonwealth being already Headles, you might think that nothing was left to ftand between Cromwell and the Crown: For a Governor there muft be, and who fhould be thought fitter? But yet there was another Pageant to be played, which had a double end: 1. To make the Necelfity of his Governing undeniable. And 2. To make his own Souldiers at left out of love with D民营经济; or at leaft to make them hateful that adhered to it. A Parliament muft be called, but the engody People are not to be trifled with the choice; therefore the Souldiers, as more religious, muft be the Choofers; And two out of a County are chozen by the Officers upon the Advice of their Sectarian Friends in the Country. This was called in Contempt, _The Little Parliament._

This Conventicle made an Act (as I remember) that Magiftrates fhould marry People instead of Minifters, (yet not prohibiting the Minifters to do their part) : And then they came to the Bufines of Tythes and Minifters; and before this, Har-
rinfon, being authorized thereto, had at once put down all the Parish-Minifters of _Wales_, because that moft of them were ignorant and scandalous, and had fet up a few itinerant Preachers in their stead, who were for Number incompetent for fo great a Charge, there being but one to many of those wide Parifhes; fo that the People having but a Sermon once in many Weeks, and nothing elfe in the mean time, were ready to turn Papifts or any thing; And this Piftht would the Anabap-
tifts, and other Sectaries have brought _England to_: And all was, 1. That the Peo-
ples might not be tempted to think the Parish-Churches to be true Churches: 2. Nor Infant Baptifm to be true Baptifm, and fo themselves to be true Chriftians; but muft be made Chriftians and Churches in the Anabaptifts and Separaftis way. Hereupon Harrison became the Head of the Sectaries, and Cromwell now began to design the heading of a fober Party, that were for Learning and Miniftrey; but yet to be the equal Protector of all: Hereupon in the Little Sectarian Parliament, it was put to the Vote, whether all the Parish Minifters of _England_ fhould at once be put down or no? And it was but accidentally carried in the negative by two Voices: And it was taken for granted, that the Tythes and Universities would at the next Oppor-
tunity be voted down; and now Cromwell muft be their Saviour, or they muft per-
riff; when he had purpofely call them into the Pit, that they muft be beholden to him to pull them out. (But his Game was fo groffly playd, as made him the more loudft by Men of Underftanding and Sincerity) So Sir C.W. and fome others of them take their time, and put it to the Vote whether the Houfe as incapable of serving the Commonwealth, fhould go and deliver up their Power to Cromwell from whom they had received it; and they carried it in the Affirmative, and away they go, and solemnly reign their Power to him; and now who but Cromwell and his Army.

§ 114. The intelligent Sort by this time did fully fee that Cromwell's design was, by cauing and permitting deftruction to hang over us, to necefitate the Nation whether they would or not, to take him for their Governor, that he might be their Protector: Being refolved that we fhould be faved by him, or periff: He made more use of the wild headed Sectaries than barely to ftrike for him: They now ferve him as much by their Herefies, their Emnity to Learning and Miniftrey, their pernicious Demands which tended to Confuflion, as they had done before by their Valour in the Field. He can now conjure up at pleafure fome terrible appari-
tion, of Agitators, Levellers, or fuch like, who as they affrighted the King from _Hampton-Court_, shall affright the People to fly to _him_ for refuge; that the hand that wounded them may heal them. For now he exclaimeth againft the gidelines of the
Part I. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

These unruly Men, and earnestly pleaded for Order and Government, and will needs become the Patron of the Ministry, yet so as to secure all others of their Liberty.

Some that saw his Design, said, We will rather all perish, and see both Tythes and Universities overthrown, than we will any way submit to such deceitful Usurpations.

Others said, It is the Providence of God, whoever be the Instruments, which hath brought us into this Necessity, which we were unable to prevent; and being in it, we are not bound to choose our own destruction: Therefore Necessity required us to accept of any One to rule us that is like to deliver us.

But the generality of the Ministers went the middle way; and our Consciences thus apprehended the State of our present Duty: [We acknowledge that God Almighty hath over-ruled in all these great Mutations, and hath permitted the Perfidiosities of Men, and their Success. And the Common Good being the end of all Government, we may not do any thing against the Common Good, much less to the Destruction of it, under pretence of resisting an Usurper, or of Restoring him who is our rightful Governour. If the Universities be overthrown, the Fabricks demolished, the Lands alienated, the Ministry put down, the Tithes sold, or given to the People, to engage them all to be against any means which tend to a Recovery, whatever we contribute to this, we do against the King and Kingdom, and do but cut his Throat in kindness: For we pull down the House that he may be Maller of it, and destroy the Commonwealth that he may be the Head of it: We strengthen his Enemies by our imprudent Partitions: But yet we must neither do nor approve of Evil, for any Good End, nor forbear in our Places seasonably to reprehend it: Therefore it is unlawful for us to Concur to any Governour but the King; or take any Engagement or Oath of Allegiance to any; But it is not unlawful for us to submit to them, by living quietly in our Places, and to make use of the Courts of Justice established by Law, yea, and to demand protection from the Usurper. For his stepping into the Ruler's place, and usurping the Government, obliged him to do all the parts of a Governour's Office, while he is there; and warranteth us to demand it, and accept it of him; but it doth not at all oblige us to obey him or confent to his Usurpation: Even as we may demand Justice of a General of Rebels, or a Captain of Thieves; or of Pyrates that shall surprize the Ship which we are in: but we are not bound to consent to his Government, or formally obey him; but contrarily to disown his Villany, and to do all that we can against his Tyranny, which tendeth not to the hurt of the Society: So here, it is our Duty to keep the State of things as entire as we can, till God be pleased to restore the King, that he may find it a whole and not a ruin'd irreparable State.]

And thus for my part was my Practice: I did seasonably and moderately by Preaching and Printing condemn the Usurpation, and the Deceit which was the means to bring it to pass. I did in open Conference declare Cromwell and his Adherents to be Guilty of Treason and Rebellion, aggravated with Perfidiosities and Hypocrisie; to be abhorred of all good and sober Men: But yet I did not think it my Duty to rave against him in the Pulpit, nor to do this so unseasonably and imprudently as might irritate him to milchief. And the rather because, as he kept up his approbation of a godly Life in the general, and of all that was good, except that which the Interest of his Sinful Cause engaged him to be against; so I perceived that it was his design to do good in the main, and to promote the Gospel and the Interest of Godliness, more than any had done before him; except in those particulars which his own Interest was against: And it was the principal means that hence-forward he trusted to for his own Establishment, even by doing good: That the People might love him, or at least be willing to have his Government for that Good, who were against it, as it was Usurpation. And I made no question at all, but that when the Rightful Governour was restored, the People that had adhered to him (being to extremly irritated) would cast off all the Multitudes of the Ministers, and undo the Good which the Usurper had done, because he did it; and would bring abundance of Calamity upon the Land. And some Men thought it a very hard Question, Whether they should rather with the continuance of an Usurper that will do good, or the restitution of a Rightful Governour whose Followers will do hurt. But for my part I thought my Duty was clear, to disown the Usurper's Sin, what Good soever he would do; and to perform all my Engagements to a Rightful Governour, leaving the Issue of all to God; but yet to commend the Good which a Usurper doth, and to do any lawful thing which
which may provoke him to do more; and to approve of no Evil which is done by any, either Usurper or a lawful Governour.

And thus stood the Affections of the Intelliqent, fort to Cromwell: but the Simpler fort believed that he designed nothing of all that came to pass; but that God's Providence brought about all, without his Contrivance or Expectation.

An.1653

§ 115. The little Parliament having resigned their Commission to Cromwell, that we might not be ungoverned, a Junto of Officers, and I know not who (nor ever could learn, but that Lambert and Berry were two Chief Men in it) did draw up a Writing, called, The Instrument of the Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland'. This Instrument made Oliver Cromwell Lord Protector of the Commonwealth: The Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the Judges, and the Officers of the Army, were suddenly drawn together to Westminster-Hall, and upon the reading of this Instrument, intituled Cromwell in the Office of Protector, and swore him accordingly; and thus the Commonwealth seems once more to have a Head.

§ 116. I shall for brevity pass the particular mention of the Parliament slain moned by Cromwell; of their diplingating him by ravelling his Instrument, and oth-er means, and of his rough and relentless diffolving them.

One of the chief Works which he did was the purging of the Ministry; of which I shall say somewhat more. And here I suppose the Reader to understand that the Synod of Westminster was dissolved with the Parliament; and therefore a Society of Minifters with some others, were chosen by Cromwell to sit at Whitelhall, under the Name of Triers, who were mostly Independents, but some sober Presbyterian's with them, and had power to try all that came for Institution or Induction, and without their Approbation none were admitted: This Assembly of Triers examined themselves all that were able to come up to London: but if any were unable, or were of doubtful Qualifications between Worthy and Unworthy, they used to refer them to some Minifters in the Country where they lived, and to approve them if they approved them.

And because this Assembly of Triers is most heavily accused and reproached by some Men, I shall speak the truth of them, and suppose my word will be the rather taken, because most of them took me for one of their boldest Adversaries, as to their Opinions, and because I was known to disown their Power, infomuch that I refused to try any under them upon their reference, except a very few, whose Importunity and necessity moved me (they being such as for their Episcopal Judgment, or for such Causes, the Triers were like to have rejected.) The truth is, that though their Authority was null, and though some few over-bite and over-rigid Independents among them, were too severe against all that were Armenians, and too particular in enquiring after Evidences of Sanctionation in those whom they examined, and somewhat too lax in their Admiffion of Unlearned and Erroneous Men, that favoured Antinomianism or Anabaptism; yet to give them their due, they did abundance of good to the Church: They lived many a Congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken Teachers: that fort of Men that intended no more in the Miniftry, than to pay a Sermon, as Readers by their Common Prayers, and to patch up a few good words together to talk the People asleep on Sunday; and all the rest of the Week go with them to the Alehouse, and harden them in their Sin: And that fort of Minifters that either preach against a holy Life, or preach as Men that never were acquainted with it; all those that used the Miniftry but as a Common Trade to live by; and were never likely to convert a Soul; all these they usually rejected; and in their Reid admitted of any that were able serious Preachers, and lived a godly Life, of what tolerable Opinion ever they were. So that though they were many of them somewhat partial for the Independents, Separatists, Fifth-Monarchy-men and Anabaptists, and against the Prelats and Armenians, yet no great was the benefit above the hurt, which they brought to the Church, that many thousands of Souls blest God for the faithful Minifters whom they let in, and grieved when the Prelats afterward call them out again.

§ 117. And because I am fall'n upon this Subject, I will look back to the Alterations that were made upon the Miniftry by the Long Parliament before, both by the Country Committees and the Synod at Westminster: I know that there are Men in the World that defame both the Authors and the Work, and would make the World believe that almost none but worthy Learned Men were turned out, and that for their Fidelity to the King and Bishops, and that almost none but Unlearned and
and Factious Fellows were introduced. But this Age hath taught the World how little the Report of such Men is to be believed of any others, who speak what their Interests and Malice do command them; and by these are made strangers to the Men they speak of, though they dwell among them: For they Converse not with them at all, unless in some wrangling Dispute, when Malice and Passion seek a Whetstone; but they talk only with those that talk against them, and easily believe any false Reports, when once they are so like the Common Enemy that they desire them to be true. But I shall in this Case also speak impartially, neither justifying what they did amiss, nor condemning them without cause.

And because I have pass'd it by before, I shall lay something of the Westminster Assembly here. This Synod was not a Convocation according to the Diocesan way of Government, nor was it called by the Votes of the Ministers according to the Presbyterian way: But the Parliament not intending to call an Assembly which should pretend a Divine Right to make obliging Laws or Canons to bind their Brethren, but an Ecclesiastical Council to be Advisers to themselves, did think that they best knew who were the fittest to give them Advice, and therefore chose them all themselves. Two were to be chosen out of each County; but some few Counties (I know not upon what reason) had but one: I suppose it was long of the Parliament Men of those Counties. And because they would seem Impartial, and have each Party to have liberty to speak, they over and above the number chose many Episcopal Divines, even the Learnedest of them in the Land, as Archbishop Usher Primate of Ireland, Dr. Holdsworth, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Wincep, Bishop Wofford, Bishop Prideaux, and many more. But they would not come, because it was not a Legal Convocation, and because the King declared himself against it: Dr. Dau. Feayle and very few more of that Party came: (But at last he was charged with sending Intelligence to the King's Quarters at Oxford, of what was done in the Synod and Parliament, and was imprisoned; which much reflected on the Parliament, because whatever his Fact were, he was so Learn'd a Man, as was sufficient to dishonour those he suffered by). The Proctor or Moderator was Dr. William Turiffe (a Man very famous for his Scholastical Wit and Writings in a very smooth triumphant Style): The Divines there Congregate were Men of Eminent Learning and Godliness, and Ministerial Abilities and Fidelity: And being not worthy to be one of them my self, I may the more freely speak that Truth which I know even in the Face of Malice and Envy, that, as far as I am able to judge by the Information of all History of that kind, and by any other Evidences left us, the Christian World, since the days of the Apolloses, had never a Synod of more Excellent Divines (taking one thing with another) than this Synod and the Synod of Dort were.

This Assembly was confin'd by the Parliament to debate only such things as they proposed to them: And many Lords and Commons were joyned in Commiss with them, to see that they did not go beyond their Commissiion: Six or seven Independents were joyned with them, that all sides may be heard; of whom five were called the Dissenting Brethren, (Philip Nye, Thomas Goodwyn, Jeremiah Burroughs, Sydrach Symon, and William Bridge) who joyned with the rest till they had drawn up a Confession of Faith, a larger and a shorter Catechism. But when they came to Church Government, they engaged them in many long Debates, and kept that Bifiness as long as possibly they could undetermine; and after that kept it so long unexecuted in almost all parts of the Land, Living London and Lancafture, that their Party had time to strengthen themselves in the Army and the Parliament, and hinder the Execution after all, and keep the Government determined of, a Stranger to most of the People of this Land, who knew it but by hearfay, as it was represented by Reporters. For my own part, as highly as I honour the Men, I am not of their Mind, in every Point of the Government which they would have fet up; and some words in their Catechism I could with had been more clear; and above all, I could wish that the Parliament and their more skilfull Hand, had done more than was done to heal our Breaches, and had hit upon the right way either to unite with the Episcopal and Independents (which was possible, as distant as they are) or at least had pitched on the Terms that are fit for Universal Concord, and left all to come in upon those Terms that would. But for all this different I must testify my Love and Honour to the Perfons of such great Sincerity, and Eminent Ministerial Sufficiency, as were Gataker, Vinay, Burges, White, and the greater part of that Assembly.

Among
Among other parts of their Truth, one was to approve of all that should be admitted into any Church Livings. They had no Power to put any out, but only to judge of the fitness of such as were taken in. The Power of Calling out unworthy Men, was partly in a Committee of Parliament Men at London, and partly in the Committees of each several County, according to an Ordinance of Parliament expressing the Crimes: Herein it was laudable that Drunkards, Swearers, Cutters, Blasphemers, Hereticks, Fornicators, and such scandalous Persons were to be ejected; but it was not well done to put in those among them that had been against the Parliament in the War: For the Work of God should not give place to the Matters of their Secular Interest and Policy, as long as the Being of the Commonwealth is secured: And all the Learned Ministers in the Land, one side and the other, were few enough to do the Work of Christ: And I believe that those that were against them, would have done them less hurt in the Pulpits where there were so many Witneffes, than they did in private. But yet I must needs say, that in all the Counties where I was acquainted, six to one at least (if not many more) that were Sequeffred by the Committee, were by the Oaths of Witneffes proved insufficient, or scandalous, or both; especially guilty of Drunkennes or Swearing; and those that being able, godly Preachers, were cast out for the War alone, as for their Opinions fake, were comparatively very few. This I know will displease that Party; but this is true, and though now and then an unworthy Person by finifher means creep into their Places, yet commonly those whom they put in, were such as set themfelves laboriously to fack the Saving of Souls: Indeed the one half of them were very young; but that could not be helpt, because there were no other to be had. The Parliament could not make Men Learned nor Godly, but only put in the learnedest and ableft that they could have. And though it had been to be wilft that they might have had ministers to ripen in the Universities, yet many of them did as Ambrose, teach and learn at once fo successfully, as that they much increafed in Learning themselves, whifft they prof- fited others; and proportionably more than many in the Universities do.

§ 118. To return from this Digreflion to the Proceedings of Cromwell, when he was made Lord Protector, he had the Policy not to detect and exaforeach the Minifi- ters and others that confeded not to his Government, (having seen what a ftruggle the Engagement had before made): but he let Men live quietly, without putting any Oaths of Fidelity upon them; except his Parliament; for those muft not enter the Houfe till they had fwear Fidelity to him. The Sectarian Party in his Ar- my and elsewhere, he chiefly trusted to and pleafed, till by the Peoples Sublimination and quietneff he thought himself well settled: And then he began to undermine them, and by degrees to work them out: And though he had fo often spoken for the A- nabaptilfs, now he findeth them fo heady, and fo much against any fettled Gov- ernment, and fo upon the promoting of their Way and Party, that he doth not only begin to blame their unrulines, but also designeth to fettle himfelf in the Peoples Favour by fuppreffing them. In Ireland they were grown fo high, that the Soldiers were many of them re-baptized as the way to Preferment: and thofe that opposed them they cruft with much uncharitable Fierceness. To fuppreff thefe, he fent thither his Son Henry Cromwell, who fo disconfemnenceth the Anabaptilfs, as yet to deal civilly by them, reprefenting their Infolencies, but not abusing them, or dealing hardly with them; promoting the Work of the Gospel, and fetting up good and hardy Minifters; and dealing civilly with the Royalifts, and obliging all; fo that he was generally beloved, and well spoken of. And Major Ge- neral Ludlow, who headed the Anabaptilfs in Ireland, was fain to draw in his head.

In England Cromwell connived at his old Friend Harrijon, while he made himfelf the Head of the Anabaptilfs and Fanaticks here, till he faw it would be an ap- plauded acceptable thing to the Nation to fuppreff him, and then he doth it easily in a trice, and makes him contemptible who but yesterday thought himfelf not much below him: The fame he doth also as easily by Lamberti and Layeth him by. § 119. In these times (especiallly since the Rump reigned) fprang up five Seats at least, whose Doctrines were almoft the fame, but they fell into feveral Shapes and Names: 1. The Vanifts. 2. The Seekers. 3. The Ranter. 4. The Quakers. 5. The Behmenifts.

1. The Vanifts, (for I know not by what other Name to make them known) who were Sir Henry Vane's Disciples, firft fprang up under him in new England when he was Governor there: But their Notions were then raw and undigefled, and their Party quickly confounded by God's Providence: as you may fee in a little
little Book of Mr. Tho. Weld's of the Rife and Fall of Antinomianism, and Familism in New-England; where their Opinions and the Providence are recorded by him that was a Reverend Minister there: One Mrs. Dyer, a chief Person of the Sect, did first bring forth a Monifier, which had the Parts of almost all sorts of living Creatures, some Parts like Man, but most ugly and misplaced, and some like Beasts, Birds and Fishes, having Horns, Fins and Claws; and at the Birth of it the Bed shook, and the Women present fell a Vomiting and were fain to go forth of the Room: Mr. Cotton was too favourable to them, till this help to recover him: Mrs. Hutchinson, the chief Woman among them and their Teacher, (to whole Exercites of a Congregation of them used to assemble) brought forth about 30 monifered Heads or Lumps at once; and being banifled into another Plantation was killed there by the Indians. Sir Henry Vane being Governor, and found to be the secret Fator and Life of their Cauft, was fain to ftay away by Night, and take Shipping for England, before his Year of Government was at an end.

But when he came over into England he proved an Instrument of greater Calamity to a People more finful and more prepared for God's Judgments: Being chosen a Parliament Man, he was very active at first for the bringing of Delinquents to Punishment: He was the Principal Man that drove on the Parliament to go too high, and act too vehemently against the King: Being of very ready Parts, and very great Subtilty, and unwaried Industry, he laboured, and not without Success, to win others in Parliament, City and Country to his Way. When the Earl of Strafford was accused, he got a Paper out of his Father's Cabinet (who was Secretary of State) which was the chief Means of his Condemnation: To moll of our Changes he was that within the Houfe, which Cromwell was without. His great Zeal to drive all into War, and to the height, and to cherish the Sectaries, and especcially in the Army, made him above all Men to be valued by that Party.

His Unhappiness lay in this, that his Doctrines were fo clowdly formed and expressed, that few could understand them, and therefore he had but few true Disciples: The Lord Brook was flain before he had brought him to Maturity: Mr. Sterry is thought to be of his Mind, as he was his Intimate; but he hath not opened himself in writing; and was fo famous for Obscurity in Preaching (being, faid Sir Benj. Richard, too high for this World, and too low for the other) that he thereby proved almost Barren also, and Vanity and Sterility were never more happily conjoin'd: Mr. Spig is the chief of his mere open Disciples (too well known by a Book of his Sermons.)

This Obscurity by some was imputed to his not understanding himself; but by others to despis, because he could speak plainly when he lifted: the two Courses, in which he had most Success, and spake most plainly were, His earnest Plea for universal Liberty of Conscience, and against the Magistrates intermeddling with Religion, and his teaching his Followers to revile the Miniftrey, calling them ordinarily Blackcoats, Priests, and other Names which then favoured of reproach; and those Gentlemen that adhered to the Miniftrey, they faid, were Prijeft-ridden.

When Cromwell had served himfelf by him as his fureft Friend, as long as he could; and gone as far with him as they way lay together, (Vane being for a Fanatick Democracy, and Cromwell for Monarchy;) at laft there was no Remedy but they muff part; and when Cromwell caft out the Rump (as disdainfully as Men do Excrement) he called Vane a Jugler, and Martin a Whoremonger, to excuse his usage of the ref; as is aforefaid. When Vane was thus laid by, he wrote his Book called The retired Man's Meditations, wherein the bell part of his Opinions are fo expressed, as will make but few Men his Disciples: His Healing Question is more plainly written.

When Cromwell was dead, he gotSir Arthur Halslrigge to be his clofe Adherent on Civil Accounts, and got the Rump fet up again, and a Council of State, and got the Power much into his own Hands. When he was in the height of his Power he let upon the forming of a new Commonwealth, and with fome of his Adherents drew up the Model, which was for popular Government; but fo that Men of his Confederneft be the People.

Of my own displeasing him this is the true Account: It grieved me to fee a poor Kingdom thus tolt up and down in Unquietnes, and the Minifters made odious and ready to be call out, and a Reformation trodden under Foot, and Parliament and Piety made a Scorn, and face any doubted but he was the principal Spring of all: Therefore, being writing against the Papiffs, coming to vindicate our Religion against them, when they impue to us the Blood of the King, I fully pro-

L 2
ved that the Protestants, and particularly the Presbyterians abhorred it, and suffered greatly for opposing it; and that it was the Act of Cromwell's Army and the Scæaries, among which I named the Vanities as one Sort, and I shewed that the Fryers and Jesuits were their Deceivers, and under several Vizors were dappled among them; and Mr. Nye having told me that he was long in Italy, I said, it was considerable how much of this Doctrine their Leader brought from Italy; whereas it proved that he was only in France and Helvetia upon the Borders of Italy, and whereas it was printed from Italy, I had ordered the Printer to correct it (from wards Italy) but though the Copy was corrected, the Impression was not: Hereupon Sir Henry Vane being excessively provoked, threatened me to many, and spake against me in the Houfe, and one Stubb (that had been whipt in the Convocation Houfe at Oxford) wrote for him a bitter Book against me, who from a Vanity afterwards turned a Conformit, since that he turned Physician, and was drowned in a small Puddle or Brook as he was riding near the Barb.

I confefs my Writing was a means to leffen his Reputation, and make me take him for what Cromwell (that better knew him) called him a Jugler: and I wish I had done so much in time: But the whole Land rang of his Anger and my Danger; and all expected my present Ruine by him. But to shew him that I was not about Recanting (as his Agents would have perswaded me) I wrote also against his Healing Quefition, in a Preface before my Holy Commonwealth. And the speedy turn of Affairs did tye his Hands from Executing his Wrath upon me.

Upon the King's Coming in, he was questioned, with others, by the Parliament, but seemed to have his Life secured: But being brought to the Bar, he spake so boldly in justifying the Parliament's Cause, and what he had done, that it exasperated the King, and made him resolve upon his Death. When he came to Towerhill to die, and would have spoken to the People, he began to solutely as cauful the Officers to found the Trumpeters and beat the Drums, and hinder him from speaking. No Man could die with greater appearance of gallant Revolution, and Fearlesnes than he did, though before suppos'd a timorous Man: Infomuch that the manner of his Death procured him more Applause than all the Actions of his Life. And when he was dead his intended Speech was printed, and afterwards his Opinions, more plainly expre'd by his Friend than by himself.

When he was Condemned some of his Friends did to come to him, that I might fee how far he was from Popery, and in how excellent a Temper, (thinking I would have ask'd him Forgiveneß for doing him wrong:) I told them, that if he had defired it, I would have gone to him: but seeing he did not, I suppos'd he would take it for an injury; for my Conference was not like to be fuch as would not be pleafing to a dying Man: For though I never called him a Papift, yet I fhall fuppos'd he hath done the Papifts fo much Service, and this poor Nation and Religion fo much wrong, that we and our Poffeffors are like to have caufe and time enough to lament it. And fo much of Sir Henry Vane and his Adherens.

§ 721. The fcond Sect which then rofe up was that called Seekers: Thafe taught that our Scripture was uncertain; that prent Miracles are neceffary to Faith; that our Minifter is null and without authoritie, and our Worship and Ordinances unnecessary or vain; the true Church, Minifter, Scripture, and Ordinances being lost; for which they are now Seeking.

I quickly found, that the Papifts principally hatcht and actu'd this Sect, and that a confiderable Number that were of this Profefion were fome Papifts, and fome Infidels: However they clof'd with the Vanities, and sheltered themselves under them, as if they had been the very fame.

§ 722. The third Sect were the Ranters: Thafe also made it their Business as the former, to let up the Light of Nature, under the Name of Chrift in Men, and to difiehonour and cry down the Church, the Scripture, the prent Minifter, and our Worship and Ordinances; and call'd men to hearken to Chrilt within them: But while, they conjointly a Curfd Doctrine of Libertinism, which brought them to all abominable filthynefs of Life: They taught as the Vanities, that God regardeth not the Actions of the Outward Man, but of the Heart; and that to the Pure all things are Pure, (even things forbidden): And fo as allowed by God, they spake most hideous Words of Blasphemy; and many of them committed Whoredoms commonly: Infomuch that a Matron of great Note for Godliness and Sobriety, being perverted by them, turned fo shamelefs a Whore, that she was Car'd in the Streets of London.
There could never be Sect at all in the World, that was a lowder Warning to Professors of Religion to be bumble, fearful, cautious, and watchful: Never could the World be told more lowly, whither the Spiritual Prides of ungrounded Novices in Religion tendeth; and whither Professors of Scurrility in Religion may be carried in the Stream of Sects and Factions. I have seen my self Letters written from Abbingdon, where among both Soldiers and People, this Contagion did then prevail, full of horrid Oaths and Curles and Blasphemy, not fit to be repeated by the Tongue of Pen or Man; and this all uttered as the Effect of Knowledge, and a part of their Religion, in a Fanatick Strain, and fathered on the Spirit of God.

But the horrid Villanies of this Sect did not only speedily Extinguished, but also did as much as ever any thing did, to disarm all Sectaries, and to restore the Credit of the Ministry and the sober unanimous Christians: So that the Devil and the Jews quickly found that this way served not their turn, and therefore they suddenly took another.

§ 125. And that was the fourth Sect, the Quakers; who were but the Ranters turned from horrid Prophaneness and Blasphemy, to a Life of extream Austerity on the other side. Their Doctrines were mostly the same with the Ranters: They make the Light which every Man hath within him to be his sufficient Rule, and consequently the Scripture and Ministry are let light by: They speak much for the dwelling and working of the Spirit in us; but little of Justification, and the Pardon of Sin, and our Reconciliation with God through Jesus Christ: They pretend their dependance on the Spirit's Conduct, against Set-times of Prayer, and against Sacraments, and against their due esteem of Scripture and Ministry. They will not have the Scripture called the Word of God: Their principal Zeal lyeth in railing at the Minifters as Hirings, Deceivers, False Prophets, &c. and in refiling to Swear before a Magistrat, or to put off their Hat to any, or to lay [True] instead of [Thea] or [Thee] which are their words to all. At first they did use to fall into Tremblings and some time Vomitings in their Meetings, and pretended to be violently act in by the Spirit; but now that is ceased, they only meet, and he that pretendeth to be moved by the Spirit speakest; and some time they say nothing, but sit an hour or more in silence, and then depart. One while divers of them went Naked through divers chief Towns and Cities of the Land, as a Prophethically: Some of them have famished and drowned themselves in Melancholy; and others undertaken by the Power of the Spirit to raise them (as Susan Pierfon did at Claines near Worcester, where they took a Man out of his Grave that had so made away himself, and commanded him to arise and live; but to their shame). Their chief Leader James Nayler acted the part of Christ at Bridfl, according to much of the History of the Gospel, (and was long laid in Bridewell for it, and his Tongue bore as a Blasphemer by the Parliament). Many Francifcan Fryers and other Papifts, have been proved to be disfugled Speakers in their Assemblies, and to be among them; and it's like are the very Soul of all these horrible Deiuions. But of late one William Penn is become their Leader, and would reform the Sect, and set up a kind of Minifttry among them.

§ 126. The fifth Sect are the Brittenmen, whose Opinions go much toward the way of the former, for the Sufficiency of the Light of Nature, the Salvation of Heathens as well as Christians, and a dependence on Revelations, &c. But they are fewer in Number, and seem to have attained to greater Meekness and conquest of Paffions than any of the rest: Their Doctrine is to be seen in Jacob Behmen's Books, by him that hath nothing else to do, than to bellow a great deal of time to understand him that was not willing to be easily understood, and to know that his bombasted words do signify nothing more than before was easily known by common familiar terms.

The chiefl of these in England are Dr. Perdage and his Family, who live together in Community, and pretend to hold visible and sensible Communion with Angels, whom they sometime see, and sometime smell, &c. Mr. Fowler of Reddow accused him before the Committee for divers things, (as for preaching against Imputed Righteousnes, and perceiving married Perions from the Carnal Knowledge of each other, &c.) but especially for Familiarity with Devils or Conjurators. The Doctor wrote a Book to vindicate himself, in which he protesteth to have sensible Communion with Angels, and to know by sights and smells, &c. good Spirits from bad: But he faith, that indeed one Month his Houfe was molested with Evil Spirits, which was occasioned by one Everard whom he taketh to be a Conjurer, who stayed so long with him, as desiring to be of their Communion. In this time he
he faith, that a fiery Dragon, so big as to fill a very great Room, confiicted visibly with him many hours; that one appeared to him in his Chamber in the likeness of Everard, with Boots, Spurs, &c. that an imprefsion was made on the Brick-wall of his Chimney, of a Coach drawn with Tygers and Lions, which could not be got out till it was hewed out with Pick-Axes: and another on his Glafs-window which yet remaineth, &c. Whether thefe things be true or falfe I know not; but the chief Perfon of the Doctor's Family-Communion (being a Gentleman and Student of All-Souls in Oxford) was thus made known to me. His Mother being a fober, pious Woman, being diffatisfied with his way, could prevail with him touffer her to open it to none but me; (of whole Converfion to them their Charity was much defirous:) Upon discourse with the young man, I found a very good Difpofition, aifiring after the higheft Spiritual State, and thinking that visible Communion with Angels was it, he much expected it, and protest in fonine measure to have attained it; for fonfome lights and odd fhights he had been; but upon ftrict Examination, he knew not whether it were with the Eye of the Body or of the Mind: nor I knew not whether it were any thing real or but fantastical. He would not difpute, because he thought he knew things by a Higher light than Reafon, even by Intuition, by the extraordinary Irradiation of the Mind. He was much againft Propriety, and againft Relations of Magiftrates, Subjects, Hufbands, Wives, Masters, Servants, &c. But I perceived he was a young, raw Scholar of fome Tryer whom he underfonnd not, and when he fhould but have commanded the Perfects of a Fantafical Life (which is the thing that they so highly magnifie) he carried it too far, and made it feem more neceffary than he fhould.

They then profefled to wait for such a Coming down of the holy Ghost upon them, as fhould fend them out as his Miffionaries to unite, and reconcile, and heal the Churches, and do wonders in the World: But its fifteen years ago, and yet they are latent and their work undone.

§ 125. Among thefe fell in many other Seift-makers; as Dr. Gell of London (known partly by a printed Volume in Fuito) and one Mr. Parker, who got into the Earl of Pembroke; and was one that wrote a Book againft the Assemblies Confefion: In which (as the rest) he taketh up most of the Popifh Dofttrines, and rifieth up againft them with Papal Pride and Contempt, but owneth not the Pope himfelf, but heafeth his Body of Dofttrines with the Spirit, as the Papifls do with the Pope: (And if they could bring men to receive the reft, it would be eafe to burn down the Idol of their Fantafic or pretended Spirit, and to fet on the proper Head again,) To thefe also must be added Dr. Gibbon, who goeth about with his Scheme to Profeift men, whom I have more caufe to know than fome of the reft.

All thefe with fubtile Diligence promote molt of the Papal Caufe, and get in with the Religious fort, either upon pretence of Aflertity; Morfiecaft, Angelical Communton, or Clearer Light; but none of them yet owneth the Name of a Papist, but what they are indeed, and who fendeath them, and what is their Work, though I strongly conjecture, I will not affect, because I am not fully certain: Let time difcover them.

§ 126. The moft among Cromwell's Soldiers that ever I could fubjeft for Papifles, were not a few that began as Strangers among the Common Soldiers, and by degrees rose up to fome Inferior Offices, and were molt converfant with the Common Soldiers; but none of the Superior Officers feemed fuch, though fended by them. There is one of them (Capt. Everard) that was a bufie preaching Secaty (in appearance) and difputed for Anaphaphry, and againft Original Sin (whom Mr. Stephens hath wrote againft, who took him then to be a Papist; and who hath lately published a Book for the Popifh Religion, as giving the Reasons of his Converfion to them, as if it were a thing that had been lately done: But they permit but now and then one thus to defecret themselves, to win others by the fame of their Converfion: But the reft must ftilply ply their work, as masked: for secret Infruments have much advantages above publick ones. Capt. Everard fince the burning of London, and fince many new Men have been attempted to confume the reft, was Accufed to Sir Richard Brown, as one that intended to burn the reft of the City; and upon arrear there was a dangerous Letter found with him, and four hundred Hand-Granado's with Earthen Shells, and fill'd up ready with Powder, were found covered under his Billets. There being two of that Name that were Secaries in Cromwell's Army, I have not yet learned which of them this was.
PART I. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

§ 127. Allo the Socinians made some increase by the Ministry of one Mr. Biddle, sometimes School-master in Glocefter; who wrote against the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, and afterwards of Christ; whose Followers inclined much to meer Deism and Infidelity.

§ 128. Having gone on thus far with the general Hints of the History of those times, because I would not obscure them by the Interpositions of my own Affairs, I now return to these, and shall let them altogether, that they may be the better understood.

I have related how after my bleeding of a Gallon of Blood by the Nose, I was left weak at Sir Thomas Row's House at Rom-leach, where I was taken up with daily Medicines to prevent a Dropie: And being conscious that my time had not been improved to the Service of God as I desired it had been, I put up many an earnest Prayer to God, that he would restore me, and use me more successfully in his Work. And blessed be that Mercy which heard my Groans in the Day of my Distress, and granted my Desires, and wrought my Deliverance, when Men and Means failed, and gave me Opportunity to Celebrate his Præise.

Whilffe there continued weak and unable to Preach, the People at Kiddermin-ster had again renewed their Articles against their old Vicar and his Curate; and upon Trial of the Cause the Committee sequestrated the Place, but put no one into it, but put the Profits into the Hands of divers of the Inhabitants to pay a Preacher till it were disposed of. They sent to me, and desired me to take it, in case I were again enabled to Preach: which I flatly refused; and told them, I would take only the Lecture, which by his own Consent and Bond I held before.

Hereupon they fought to Mr. Brownkill, and others, to accept the Place, but could not meet with any one to their minds: Therefore they chose one Mr. Richard Sergeant to Officiate, referring the Vicaridge for some one that were fitter.

When I was able (after about five Months) to go abroad, I went to Kidderminster, where I found only Mr. Sergeant in Possession; and the People again vehemently urged me to take the Vicaridge: which I denied; and got the Magistrates and Burgess together into the Town-hall, and told them, That (though I was offered many Hundred pounds per Annum elsewhere) I was willing to continue with them in my old Lecturers place which I had before the Wars, expecting they should make the Maintenance an Hundred pounds a year, and a House; and if they would promise to submit to that Doctrine of Christ, which as his Minifter I should deliver to them, proved by the Holy Scriptures, I would not leave them. And that this Maintenance should neither come out of their own Purse, nor any more of it out of the Tythes five the 60 l. which the Vicar had before bound himself to pay me, I undertook to procure an Augmentation for Ministers (a Chappel in the Parish) of 40 l. per Annum, which I did; and so the 60 l. and that 40 l. was to be part, and the rest I was to have nothing to do with. This Covenant was drawn up between us in Articles, and Subscribed, in which I disclaimed the Vicaridge and Pastoral Charge of the Parish, and only undertook the Lecture.

And thus the Sequestration continued in the hands of the Towns-men, as afore-said, who gathered the Tythes, and paid me (not an Hundred as they promised) but Eighty pound per Annum, or Ninety at most, and House-rent for a few Rooms in the top of another man's house, which is all I had at Kidderminster. The rest they gave to Mr. Sergeant, and about 40 l. per Annum to the old Vicar, and 6 l. per Annum to the King and Lord for Rents, besides other Charges.

But when they had long continued in this way, they feared lest some one else against their wills would get a grant of the Sequestration from the Committee, and therefore they went privately and got an Order from them to settle me in the Title, and never shewed it me, but kept it by them secretly, only to secure the Place from a Surprize, and themselves from repaying what they disbursed.

And thus it lay till the King's Coming out of Scotland with his Army to Worcefter; and then, their Houses being full of Soldiers, they brought me the Order, and intreated me, if not to own it, yet to keep it safe, and to save them harmless by it, if they were called to account.

I recite this, because Mr. Thomas Pierce, while he was ragingly fierce to prove me a Thief, and I know not what else, doth charge me with taking this Sequestration, and so with taking another man's Bread out of his mouth, and robbing the Innocent; and so doth Bishop Morley after him; and Drel, Dr. Boseman, and many others, from him: whereas the Place was sequestr'd while I was far enough
The Life of the

The Life of the

enough off, and I disowned it, and made a contrary Covenant with the People: But I durst not till this for my own vindication, left the Townsmen should be called to an account for the Sequestration to their undoing; though I knew them to be honest and just in the Distrivbution of it. And indeed though (which they knew not) the Matter of Fact was false, by which they proved me to vile a Person, yet I was the less careful to clear my self as I might, because it take it to be a thing as justifiable as to eat Bread, if I had taken the Sequestration; because the man's own Fundamental Right (as it was a thing Confeerated to God) was null, being fo insufficient as not to be owned for a Minifter: As I have great reason, by all the trial I made of him, to think that he undertook not the Substance of Religion, the common Catechism or Creed, fo he was unable to teach the People the very Substantials of Christianity. Once a quarter he犯 a few words together, which he layd over as to move pity in his Auditors; but woe to the People that have no other Paffor then such as he: And God's Right being the first in Dedicated Things, and the Law also annexing them to the Office for the Work's fake, and for the fake of the Peoples Souls, he that cannot at all do the Work, and fo is incapable of the Office, can have no Title to the Place and Maintenance. And I cannot believe that the Peoples Souls must be all untaught and sacrificed to his pretended Legal Right. And another Paffor they were not like to have without the Maintenance, unless they could have got one that had an Estate of his own, and would go on warfare at his own Charges, or could live without Food and Raiment; for the Peoples Poverty didfabled them from maintaining him: If it had been but a Physician's or Surgeon's Place in an Hospital, which a meer Ignoramus had got for his life, I think to let the People perish, for fear of dispoifeling him of his Place and Pay, had been to be righteous over much, and charitable over little; And the fifth part was allowed them for their Wives, though they did nothing for it. And yet this ignorant man was not dispoifeling by force, but by the Power then in posfiffion; even by Parliamentary Power, when the Lords (who are the highest Judicature) fice as well as the Commons, by the King's Law. And he was call'd out on Articles fwm for Infufficiency and Scandal. And yet this was done by others, before I came near them: And muft the place he void of a Teacher, because the Parliament would not give the Maintenance to a man that knew not what the Work of a Paffor was.

§ 129. Besides this ignorant Vicar, there was a Chappel in the Parifh, where was an old Curate as ignorant as he, that had long lived upon Ten pound a year and unlawful Marriages, and was a Drunkard, and a Railer, and the Scorn of the Country: I know not how to keep him from reading, (for I judged it a Sin to tolerate him in any Sacred Office). I got an Augmentation for the Place, and got an honest Preacher to instruct them, and let this fcamdalous Fellow keep his former Ripand of Ten pound, for nothing, and yet could never keep him from forcing himself upon the People to read, nor from unlawful Marriages, till a little before Death did call him to his account. I have Examined him about the familiar Points of Religion, and he could not say half so much to me as I have heard a child say.

And these two in this Parifh were not all: In one of the next Parifhes, called The Rock, there were two Chappels, where the poor ignorant Curate of one got his living with cutting Faggots, and the other with making Ropes: Their Abilities being unfavourable to their Studies and Employments.

§ 130. In my Labours at Kidderminster after my return, I did all under languishing Weakness being feldem an hour free from pain. Of which I shall give a brief Account together, as an addition to the general one foregoing, that I may not be oft upon it; mentioning only some of those paffages in which God's Mercy most affected me.

Many a time have I been brought very low, and received the Sentence of Death in my mind, when my poor, honest, praying Neighbours have met, and upon their Fasting and earnest Prayers I have been recovered. Once when I had continued weak three Weeks, and was unable to go abroad, the very day that they prayed for me, being Good Friday, I recovered, and was able to Preach and Adminifter the Sacrament the next Lord's Day; and was better after it: (it being the first time that ever I administered it): And ever after that whatever Weakness was upon me, when I had (after Preaching) administered that Sacrament to many hundred People, I was much revived and eafed of my Infirmities.

Another
Another time I had a Tumour rise one of the Tonfils in my Throat, white and hard like a Bone; above the hardness of any Syphhous Tumour: I feared a Cancer; being it was round and like a Peafe, as it began and: And when I had by the Physician's Advice applied fuch Remedies as he thought fittest, and it no while altered, but remained as hard as at the fi: at the end of about a quarter of a Year, I was check'd in Confcience that I had never publickly praised God particularly for any of the Deliverances which he had vouchfaced me: And being speaking of God's Confirming our Belief of his Word by his fulfilling of Promifes, and hearing Prayers, (as it is published in the fecond part of my Saints Ref) I annexed fome thankfeful mention of my own Experiences; and fuddently the Tumour vanished, and no sign wherever it had been remained: Nor did I either swallow it down or spit it out, nor knew what went with it to this Day.

Another time, having read in Dr. Gerard the admirable Effects of the swallowing of a Gold Bullet upon his own Father in a Cafe like mine, I got a Gold Bullet and swallowed it (between 20s. and 30s. weight); and having taken it, I knew not how to be delivered of it again: I took Clyfles and Purges for about three Weeks, but nothing flirred it; and a Gentleman having done the like, the Bullet never came from it till he died, and it was cut out: But at left my Neighbours for a Day apart to falt and pray for me, and I was freed from my Danger in the beginning of that day.

Another time being in Danger of an Egilops, and (to be brief) at divers times in divers Weaknefses, Pains and Dangers, I have been delivered upon earnest Prayers; fuch as have afforded me that God hear eth fuch extemporary Prayers as many now deride. And becaufe I am speaking of Prayer, I will add one Infance more or two of the Succes of it for my Neighbours, as well as for myfelf.

§ 131. There liveth yet in Kidder minifter a grave and honeft Widow, Mrs. Giles, Widow to Mr. Giles of Afley, one of the Committee of that County; she had a Son of about 14 or 15 Years of Age, Apprentice in Woverhampton to a Mercer; he fell into a Feaver, which being removed, ended in a most violent Epilepsie: The Physicians used all ordinary means for a long time in vain; fo that he was fain to take him home to her to Kidder minifter, where the Phyfician of the Place and myfelf did what we could for him, in vain, he had 4 or 5 violent fits in a Day; they were fain to hold a Key between his Teeth to have his Tongue: At left the People of the Town, at her Requeft, kept a Day of Fathing and Prayer at her Houfe; and the fecond day (as I remember) he was suddenly cured, and never had a Fit fince to this Day (but fome little Weaknefs of his Head fometimes): He is now an Apothecary in Woverhampton.

§ 132. Another Infance: Rich Cook of Wover a Mercer, an ancient nobel Godly Man, being defirous to live at Kidder minifter, took the next Houfe to mine: The Houfe proved fo secretly crackt and Ruinous, that he was afraid it would undo him to repair it: This feized him with a Trouble on his Confcience whether he had done well to remove from Wover (where he had been long a comfortable Neighbour to old Mr. Croffe): To revive his Spirits he drank much hot Waters, which inflamed his Blood; and fo from Melancholy he fell quite Mad. We were forced by the Wars to leave him; but his Wife procured what means she could, but all in vain: When he had continued thus four Years, the excellent Back, skilful Man at that Dileafe undertook him, and did what they could, but all in vain: He had exceeding Quantities of Blood taken from him: Some that had feen the Succes would have let upon Fathing and Prayer for him in his Prefence: But I difcouraged them, as thinking it a tempting carnal Men to contend Prayer, when faw it ufofeful, and I thought they had no caufe to expect a Miracle: I had no hope of his Cure because it was natural or hereditary to him, his Father having much about his Age fallen Mad before him and never recovered. When he had continued in this sad Cafe about ten or twelve Years, fome of these Men would not be difcouraged, but would Faith and Pray at his Houfe with great impofitury; and many Months they continued it (once a Fortnight, or thereabouts) and he was never the better: But at left he fainly began to amend, and is now as well almoft as ever he was before, and fo hath continued for a considerable time.

§ 133. I the rather mentioned thefe Passages of the Force of Prayer, becaufe being not one in any of them my felf, nor being prefent with them, there is no matter of appearing Offenfion, they being a few poor humble Weavers and other Trademen only, and no Minifter with them, whole Prayers God hath thus frequently heard for others, and for me (though at this prefent fome of the Chief of them lye in Prifon, only for praying, and finging Psalms, and repeating Ser-
mons together when they come from the Publick Congregation). And now I return to the Recital of my own Infirmities.

After abundance of Distempers and Languishings, I fell at last into a Flux Hepatica, and after that into manifold other Dangers successively (too long to be recited) from all which upon earnest prayer I was delivered.

Once riding upon a great hot-mettled Horse, as I stood on a side-long Pavement in Worcester, the Horse reared up, and both his hinder Feet flipp'd from under him; so that the full Weight of the Body of the Horse fell upon my Leg; which yet was not broken, but only bruised; when considering the Place, the stones, the manner of the Fall, it was a Wonder that my Leg was not broken all to Pieces.

Another time, as I lay in my Study, the Weight of my greatest Folio Books brake down three or four of the highest Shelves, when I lay close under them; and they fell down on every side me, and not one of them hit me, save one upon the Arm; whereas the Place, the Weight, and greatness of the Books was such, and my Head just under them, that it was a Wonder they had not beaten out my Brains, one of the Shelves right over my Head having the six Volumes of Dr. Walton's Oriental Bible, and all Aslin's Works, and the Bibliotheca Patrum, and Marlowe, &c.

An other time, I had such a Fall from an high Place without much hurt, which should I describe it, it would seem a Wonder that my Brains were whole. All these I mention as obliged to record the Mercies of my great Preserver to his Praise and Glory.

§ 134. At last my Weakness was grown so great that I was necessitated to use Breast Milk four Months together; and as much longer, or more, I remained somewhat repaired: But then I fell into a Difcalfe in my Eyes almost incredible; I had near every Day for one Year, and every second Day for another Year, a fresh Macula, commonly called a Pearl, in one Eye, besides very many in the other; the sight that I had continued divers Weeks, till by the ordinary Method of Cure I had almost lost my Eye. At last I found that Honey alone, or with other things, six or seven times a Day applied constantly diffused and cured it in one Day: and the next Night in my Sleep another fell came, a Lurious Ophtalmic going before, and leaving the Macula behind it: And I found it came from the extreme thinness of the Blood, with the extreme Laxity of the dilated Vessels, and the Fattency pumping up the Matter.

Thus I continued two Years, curing the Spot one Day, and finding it still returned the next Morning; so that I had about three hundred Pearls in both those Years; and though for the first Month I could neither read nor endure the Light, yet the rest of the time I went on with my Studies, though not without Pain and much Disturbane. No Purging nor outward Applications, nor other Medicines would prevent the Return of it; till at two Years end I wrote to Dr. G. Bates for his Advice. The Humidities of my Stomach at the same time tainting like boiled Vinegar, or Virtril, he prescribed me the use of Chalk in Substancce (a spoonful shewed in a convenient Liquor) which powerfully precipitate and dulcified acid Humours, and also hath a harmsful corroborating Affliction (like Magisterial of Qoral or Grubs Eyes;) the use of this gave a check to my Distemper, so that my Spots came fecklesome than before: At last I had a Con接手 of my own that two Plans which I had never material of, would prove accomodate to my Infirmary, Head and Sage, as being very drying and stringent without any Acrimony: I boiled much of them in my Beer instead of Hops, and drank no other: When I had used it a Month my Eyes were cured, and all my tormenting Tooth-aches, and such other Maladies. Being desirous to know which of the two Herbs it was which I was most beholden to, I tried the Heath alone one time, and the Sage alone anotherwhile; and I found it was the Sage much more than the Heath which did the Cure: whereupon I have used it now this ten Years, and through God's great Mercy, I never had a Spot more for many Years; nor many times at all: Also these other Effects have followed it; 1. It eafeth my Headach. 2. I have no other remedy for my terrible Toothach, inward or outward that will serve; nor did this ever fail me, if it hath had but twelve or twenty hours to work. 3. Whereas before I could endure no Strong Drink, but was fain to drink very small Beer, or 500 ale, and a Spoonfull of Wine would have disturbed me a Fornight, (with Ophthalmics, Toothaches, &c.) since I used Sage I can bear the Harneft Beer, (to I diflike not my Medicine the while.) 4. The vitriolate cutting Acidity of my Stomach is more dulcified than I could possibly have believed it would be. In a Word, God hath made this Herb do more for me (not for Cure but for Ease) than
than all the Medicines that ever I used from all Physitians in my Life: So that though still I am very seldom without pain, yet my Conciptions and Pains have been much less this last ten Years than before. How it doth all this I am not certain; but I suppose principally by its great Affliction, mightily corroborating the relaxed Stomach and Vessels, and Brain, and by Affliction of the relaxed Vein, doth hinder the Motion and Shedding abroad of the corrupted Blood they contain: And also I am sure it mightily precipitate and taketh off Acidities. The way I use it is, 1. Well boiled in the Wort in all my Beer: 2. Well boiled in my Gruel for every Mornings Breakfast: 3. Upon any special Necessity I take a Spoonful of the Powder (of the Leaves dried and mixed with two or three Parts of Sugar) which is the Strongest way of all: So that I find the Virtue is most in the terrene and alive Parts, and not in any thing superficial and volatile. For the Intuition, and Ale made by Intuition doth me little Good, nor the Confere of the Flowers. I have tried it on others, and find no such marvelous Effects as on my self; but least on the fat and strong, and moist on the lean, old and weak, and that have thin fluid Humours, and laxity of Vessels, and some inordinate Acrimony. This I thought my self obliged to mention to the Praise of my heavenly Physician, in Thankfulness for these ten Years Life; and to give some hint to others in my Cafe: Though now, through Age and conflant Ufe, this Herb doth left with me than at the first; yet am I necessitated still to use it, and quickly to return to it when I have omitted it. After sixteen or seventeen Years benefit it now faileth me, and I forsake it.

§ 155. I shall next record, to the Praise of my Redeemer, the comfortable Employment and Successes which he vouchsafed me during my abode at Kidderminster, under all these Weaknesses. And 1. I will mention my Employment. 2. My Successes. And 3. Thole Advantages by which under God it was procured; in order.

1. I preached before the Wars twice each Lord's Day; but after the War but once, and once every Thursday, besides occasional Sermons. Every Thursday Evening my Neighbours that were most desirous and had Opportunity, met at my House, and there one of them repeated the Sermon, and afterwards they proposed what Doubts any of them had about the Sermon, or any other Cafe of Conciption, and I relieved their Doubts: And left of all I cauſed sometimes one, and sometimes another of them to Pray (to exercife them); and sometimes I prayed with them my self; which (beſide singing a Pfalm) was all they did. And once a Week also some of the younger fort who were not fit to pray in to great an Affemblj, met among a few more privately, where they spent three Hours in Prayer together, every Saturday Night they met at some of their Houses to repeat the Sermon of the laft Lord's Day, and to pray and prepare themselves for the following Day. Once in a few Weeks we had a Day of Humiliation on one Occafion or other; Every Religious Woman that was fahely Delivered, instead of the old Feesings and Gottipings, if they were able, did keep a Day of Thanksgiving with some of their Neighbours with them, praising God, and singing Pfalms, and soberly Feesing together. Two Days every Week my Affilant and I my self, took Families between us for private Catechizing and Conference (be going through the Parish, and the Town coming to me): I first heard them recite the Words of the Catechism, and then examined them about the Scence, and laftly urged them with all possible engaging Reafon and Vehemency, to anfwerable Affection and Practice. If any of them were falled through Ignorance or Ballitudines, I forbore to preſent them any further to Answers, but made them Hearers, and either examined others, or turned all into Instruction and Exhortation. But this I have opened more fully in my Reformed Paper. I spent about an Hour with a Family, and admitted no others to be present, let Ballitudines should make it burdensome, or any should talk of the Weaknesses of others: So that all the Afternoons on Mondays, and Tuesdays I spent in this (after I had begun it; for it was many Years before I did attempt it): And my Affilant spent the Morning of the fame Days in the fame Employment. Before that, I only catechized them in the Church; and conforced with, now and then, one occasionally.

Besides all this, I was forced five or six years by the Peoples Necessity to pra¬

cife: Physick: A common Plurality happening one year, and no Physician being near, I was forced to advise them, to live their Lives; and I could not afterwards avoid the Importunity of the Town and Country round about: And because I never once took a Penny of any one, I was crowded with Patients, fo that almofl Twenty would beat my Door at once; and though God by more Success than I expected,
expected, so long encouraged me, yet at last I could endure it no longer; partly because it hindered my other Studies, and partly because the very fear of miscarrying and doing any one harm, did make it an intolterable burden to me: So that after some Years Practice, I procured a godly, diligent Physician to come and live in the Town, and bound my self by Promise to practise no more (unless in Consultation with him in case of any seeming necessity); And so with that Answer I turned them all off, and never meddled with it more.

But all these my Labours (except my private Conferences with the Families) even preaching and preparing for it, were but my Recreations, and as it were the work of my spare hours: For my Writings were my chiefest daily Labour; which yet went the more flowly on, that I never one hour had an Amusement to dictate to, and specially because my Weakness took up too much of my time. For all the Pains that my Infirmities ever brought upon me, were never half so grievous an Affliction to me, as the unavoidable losf of my time, which they occasion'd. I could not bear (through the weaknes of my Stomach) to rise before Seven a Clock in the Morning, and afterwards not till much later; and some Infirmities I laboured under, made it above an hour before I could be dress'd. An hour I muft of neceffity have to walk before Dinner, and another before Supper; and after Supper I can seldom Study: All which, besides times of Family Duties, and Prayer, and Eating, &c. left me but little time to study; which hath been the greatest external Personal Affliction of all my Life.

Besides all these, every first Wednesday of the Month was our monthly Meeting for Parth Discipline; and every first Thursday of the month was the Ministers meeting for Discipline and Disputation: And in those Disputations it fell to my lot to be almost constant Moderator; and for every such day (usually) I prepared a written Determination. All which I mention as my Mercies and Delights, and not as my Burdens. And every Thursday besides, I had the Company of divers godly Ministers at my House after the Lecture, with whom I spent that Afternoon in the truest Recreation, till my Neighbours came to meet for their Exercise of Repentance and Prayer.

For ever blest be the God of Mercies, that brought me from the Grave, and gave meafter Wars and Sickness, fourteen years liberty in such sweet Employment! And that in times of Ulterpation I had all this Mercy and happy Freedom, when under our rightful King and Governor, I and many hundreds more are silenced, and laid by, as broken Vessels, and suspected and vilified as scarce to be tolerated to live privately and quietly in the Land: That God should make days of Licentious and Disorder under an Ulterer fo great a Mercy to me, and many a thousand more, who under the lawful Governours which they defired, and in the days when Order is laid to be restored, do some of us fit in obscurity and unprofitable silence, and some lie in Pilfons, and all of us are accounted as the Scum and Sweepings or Off-coverings of the Earth.

§ 126. I have mentioned my sweet and acceptable Employment; Let me to the praise of my gracious Lord, acquaint you with some of my Success: And I will not suppress it, though I fore-knew that the Malignant will impute the mention of it to Pride and Offension. For it is the Sacrifice of Thanksgiving which I owe to my most gracious God, which I will not deny him for fear of being cen"fured as proud, lest I prove my self proud indeed, while I cannot undergo the Imputation of Pride in the performance of my Thanks for such undeserved Mercies.

My publick Preaching met with an attentive diligent Auditory! Having broke over the brunt of the Opposition of the Rabble before the Wars, I found them afterwards tractable and unprejudiced.

Before I ever entered into the Ministry, God blessed my private Conference to the Conversion of some, who remain firm and eminent in holiness to this day: But then, and in the beginning of my Ministry I was wont to number them as Jewels; but since then I could not keep any number of them.

The Congregation was usually full, so that we were fain to build five Galleries after my coming thither (the Church itself being very capacious, and the most commodious and Convenient, that ever I was in). Our private Meetings also were full. On the Lord's Days there was no disorder to be seen in the Streets, but you might hear an hundred Families singing Psalms and repeating Sermons, as you passed through the Streets. In a word, when I came thither first, there was about one Family in a Street that worshipped God and called on his Name, and when I came away there were some Streets where there was not past one Family in the side
side of a Street that did not fo; and that did not by professing ferior Godliness, give us hopes of their sincerity: And tho' Families which were the worth, being Inns and Alehouses, usually some persons in each Houfe did seem to be Religious. Though our Administration of the Lords Supper was fo ordered as dilpeafed many, and the far greater part kept away themselves, yet we had 600 that were Communicants, of whom there was not twelve that I had not good hopes of, as to their sincerity: and tho' few that did confent to our Communion, and yet lived fandaloufly were Excommunicated afterward: And I hope there were many that had the Fear of God that came not to our Communion in the Sacrament, fome of them being kept off by Husbands, by Parents, by Malters, and fome difswaded by Men that differed from us: Thofe many that kept away, yet took it patientiy, and did not revile us, as doing them wrong: And thofe unruly young men that were Excommunicated, bore it patiently as to their outward behaviour, though their hearts were full of bitterness: (except one, of whom I fhall speak anon.) When I fet upon Perfonal Conference with each Family, and Catechizing them, there were very few Families in all the Town that refufed to come; and thofe few were Beggars at the Towns-ends, who were fo ignorant that they were abfamned it fhould be manifeft. And few Families went from me without fome tears, or greatly ferior promises for a Godly Life. Yet many ignorant and ungodly Perfons there were fill among us: but moft of them were in the Parish, and not in the Town; and in tho' parts of the Parish which were furthest from the Town. And whereas one part of the Parish was improper, and payed Tythes to Lay-men, and the other part maintained the Church, (a Brook dividing them) it fell out that almoft all that fide of the Parish which paid Tythes to the Church, were godly, honeft People, and did it willingly without Contention; and moft of the bad People of the Parish lived on the other side. Some of the Poor men did compofely underftand the Body of Divinity, and were able to judge in difficult Controversies: Some of them were fo able in Prayer, that very few Minifters did match them, in order and fulnefs, and apt Expreffions, and holy Oratory, with fervency: Abundance of them were able to pray very laudably with their Families, or with others. The temper of their Minds, and the innocence of their Lives was much more laudable than their Parts. The Profefleurs of ferior Godliness, were generally of very humble Minds and Carriage; of meek and quiet behaviour unto others; and of blamelefs and innocence in their Converfations.

And God was pleafed also to give me abundant Encouragement in the Lectures which I preached abroad in other places; as at Worcester, Cockey, &c. but especially at Dudley and Sceffned; at the former of which (being the first place that ever I preached in) the poor Nailers and other Labourers would not only crowd the Church as full as ever I faw any in London, but also hang upon the Windows, and the Leads without.

And in my poor Endeavours with my Brethren in the Miniftry, my Labourers were not loft; Our Disputations proved not unprofitable; Our Meetings were never contentious, but always comfortable: We took great delight in the Company of each other; fo that I knew that the remembrance of thofe days is pleafant both to them and me: when Disagreements had long kept me from motioning a way of Church-order and Discipline, which all might agree in, that we might neither have Churches unguided, nor fall into Divisions among our fellows, at the first motioning of it, I found a reader Content than I could expect, and all went on without any great obftucting difficulties: And when I attempted to bring them all conjunctly to the work of Catechizing and Instructing every Family by it felf, I found a ready confent in moft, and performance in many. So that I muft here to the praise of my dear Redeemer, fet up this Pillar of Remembrance, even to his Praife who hath employed me fo many years in fo comfortable a Work, with fuch encouraging Succefs! O what am I, a worthles Worm, not only wanting Acaademical Honours, but much of that Furniture which is needful to fo high a Work, that God should thus abundantly encourage me, when the Reverend Instructors of my Youth, did labour Fifty years together in one place, and could fearely fay they had Converfed one or two of their Parifts! And the greater was this Mercy, because I was naturally of a discouraged Spirit: fo that if I had preached one Year, and foon no Fruits of it, I fhou'd hardly have forborn running away like Jemab, but fhould have thought that God called me not to that Place. Yea, the Mercy was yet greater in that it was of further publick Benefit: For fome Independents and Anabaptifts that had before conceived, that Parish Churches were the great Obftuction of all true Church Order and Discipline, and that it
was impossible to bring them to any good Conscientious, did quite change their Minds when they saw what was done at Kidderminster, and began to think now, that it was much through the faultiness of the Parish Ministers, that Parishes are not in a better State; and that it is a better Work thus to reform the Parishes, than to gather Churches out of them, without great Necessity.

And the Zeal and Knowledge of this poor People provoked many in other parts of the Land. And though I have been now absent from them about six Years, and they have been assaulted with Pulpit-Calumnies, and Slanders, with Threatenings and Imprisonments, with enticing Words, and reducing Reasonings, they yet stand firm and keep their Integrity; many of them are gone to God, and some are removed, and some now in Prison, and most still at home; but not one, that I hear of, that are fallen off, or forfeit their Uprightness.

§ 137. Having related my comfortable Successes in this Place, I shall next tell you what, and how many Advantages this much was effected (under that Grace which worketh by means, though with a free diversity); which I do for their fakes that would have the means of other Mens Experiments, in managing ignorant and sinful Parishes.

1. One Advantage was, that I came to a People that never had any awakening Ministrv before (but a few formal cold Sermons of the Curate); For if they had been hardened under a powerful Ministrv, and been Sermon Proof, I should have expected less.

2. Another Advantage was, that at first I was in the Vigour of my Spirits, and had naturally a familiar moving Voice (which is a great matter with the common Hearers); and doing all in bodily Weakness, as a dying Man, my Soul was the more easily brought to Seriousness, and to preach as a dying Man to dying Men; for drowsy Formality and Customariness doth but flupify the Hearers, and rock them asleep: It must be serious Preaching, which must make Men serious in hearing and obeying it.

3. Another Advantage was, that most of the bitter Enemies of Godliness in the Town, that role in Tumults against me before, in their very Hatred of Puritans, had gone out into the Wars, into the King's Armies, and were quickly kill'd, and few of them ever returned again; and so there were few to make any great Opposition to Godliness.

4. Another, and the greatest Advantage was, the Change that was made in the Publick Affairs by the Successes of the Wars; which, however it was done, and though much corrupted by the Ulcers, yet it was such as removed many and great Impediments to Mens Salvation: For before, the riotous Rabble had Boldness enough to make furious Godliness a common Scorn, and call them all Puritans and Precitions that did not care as little for God and Heaven and their Souls as they did; especially if a Man were not fully satisfied with their undisciplined, disordered Churches, or Lay Chancellors Excommunications, &c. then no One was bad enough for him: And the Bishops Articles enquiring after such, and their Courts and the High Commision grievously afflicting those that did but Fait and Pray together, or go from an ignorant drunken Reader, to hear a godly able Preacher at the next Parish, &c. this kept Religion among the Vulgar under either continual Reproach or Terror, encouraging the Rabble to despise it and revile it, and discouraging those that did would own it. And Experience tells us, that it is a lamentable Impediment to Mens Conversion, when it is a way every where spoken against, and profected by Superiors, which they must embrace; and when at their first Approaches they must go through such Dangers and Obliquity as is fitter for confirmed Christians to be exercised with, than unconverted Sinners or young Beginners: Therefore, though Gramwell gave Liberty to all Sects among us, and did not set up any Party alone by Force, yet this much gave abundant Advantage to the Gospel, removing the Prejudices and the Terrors which hindered it; especially considering that Godliness had Convenence and Reputation also, as well as Liberty; whereas before, if it did not appear in all the Pretties and Formalities of the Times, it was the way to common Shame and Ruine: Hearing Sermons abroad when there were none, or words at home; Fasting and Praying together; the strict Observation of the Lord's Day, and such like, went under the dangerous Name of Puritanism, as well as opposing bishops and Ceremonies.

I know in these Times you may meet with Men that confidently affirm, that all Religion was then trodden down, and Hereby and Schiffl the only Piety; but I give Warning to all Ages by the Experience of this incredible Age, that
For my part, I blefs God who gave me even under an Usurper whom I oppofed, fuch Liberty and Advantage to preach his Gospel with Success, which I cannot have under a King to whom I have sworn and performed true Subjeftion and Obedience; yea, which no Age fince the Gospel came into this Land, did before poftles, as far as I can learn from History. Sure I am, that when it became a matter of Reputation and Honour to be Godly, it abundantly furthered the Succes-

fes of the Miniftry. Yea, and I fhall add this much more for the fake of Poffertainty, that as much as I have lived and written againft Licentiousnefs in Religion, and for the Magiftrates Power in it, and though I think that Land moft happy, whole Rulers ufe their Authority for Chrift, as well as for the Civil Peace; yet in Comparifon of the reft of the World, I fhall think that Land happy that hath but bare Liberty to be as good as they are willing to be; and if Conformity and Mainte-
nance be but added to Liberty, and tollerated Errors and Sects be but forced to keep the Peace, and not to oppofe the Subftantials of Chriftianity, I fhall not hereafter much fear fuch Toleration, nor defpair that Truth will bear down Adver-
faries.

5. Another Advantage which I found was, that Acceptation of my Perfon, which Bishop Morley and Dean Warmfry do vehemently dilflued them from (in vain): Though to win Effimation and Love to our felves only, be an end that none but proud Men and Hypocrites intend, yet it is moft certain that the Grace-

fulness of the Perfon doth ingratiate the Message, and greatly prepare the Peo-
ples to receive the Truth; Had they taken me to be Ignorant, Errorneous, Scanda-

lous, Worldly, Self-Seeking, or fuch like, I could have expected small Success among them.

6. Another Advantage which I had was, by the Zeal and Diligence of the Godly People of the Place; who thifted after the Salvation of their Neighbours, and were in private my Affiliants, and being dispersed through the Town, were rea-
dy in almost all Companies to reprefs feducing Words, and to justify Godlines, and convince, reprove, exhort Men according to their needs; as also to teach them how to pray; and to help them to fcantifie the Lord's Day: For thofe People that had none in their Families who could pray, or repeat the Sermons, went to their next Neighbour's Houfe who could do it, and joined with them; fo that fome Houlfs (of the abfleft Men) in each Street were filled with them that could do nothing, or little in their own.

7. And the holy, humble, blamelefs Lives of the Religious fort was a great Advantage to me: The malicious People could not flay, your Profeffors here are as proud and covetous as any: But the blamelefs Lives of godly People did fhame Oppofers, and put to Silence the Ignorance of foolifh Men, and many were won by their good Converfation.

8. And our Unity and Concord was a great Advantage to us, and our freedom from thofe Sects and Hereticks which many other Places were infected with. We had no private Church, though we had private Meetings; we had not Pfator against Pfator, nor Church againft Church, nor Seft againft Seft, nor Chriftian againft Chriftian. There was none that had any odd Opinions of his own, or cenfured his Teacher as errorneous, nor questioned his Call: At Bewdley there was a Church of Anabaptifts; at Worfefer the Independents gathered theirs: But we were all of one Mind, and Mouth, and Way: Not a Separatif, Anabaptift, Antinomian, &c. in the Town! One Journeyman Shoemaker turned Anabaptift, but he left the Town upon it, and went among them. When People law diver-

city of Sefts and Churches in any Place, it greatly hindered their Converfation; and they were at a loss, and knew not what Party to be of, or what Way to go; and therefore would be of no Religion at all; and perhaps derided them all whom they law thus diffigred: But they had no fuch Offence or Objeftion there; they could not ask, which Church or Party shall I be of; for we were all but one: Nay, fo Modelf were the abfleft of the People, that they never were inclined to a preaching way, nor to make Offenfion of their Parts; but took warning by the Pride of others, and thought they had teaching enough by their Pfators, and that it was better for them to beftow their Labour in digging that, than in Preaching themselves.

9. And
9. And our private Meetings were a marvellous help to the propagating of Godlines among them: for thereby Truths that flipt away were recalled, and the ferioulness of the Peoples minds renewed; and good deires cherished; and hereby their knowledge was much increas'd; and here the younger forl learned to pray, by frequent hearing others: And here I had opportunity to know their Cafe: for if any were touched and awakened in publick, I should presently fee him drop in to our private Meetings: Hereby also idle meetings and loss of time was prevented. And fo far were we from being by this in danger of Schism or Divisions, that it was the principal means to prevent them: For here I was usually present with them, anfwering their Doubts, and filenfing Objections, and moderating them in all. And fome Private Meetings I found they were exceeding much inclined to: and if I had not allowed them fuch as were lawful and profitable, they would have been ready to run to fuch as were unlawful and hurtful: And by encouraging them here in the fit exercife of their parts, in Repetition, Prayer, and asking Queftions, I kept them from inclining to the disorderly exercife of them, as the Sectaries do. We had no Meetings in opposition to the Publick Meetings; but all in subordination to them; and under my over-fight and guidance; which proved a way profitable to all.

10. Another thing which advanc'd us was fome publick Di prefations which we had with Gainfayers, which very much confirmed the People: The Quakers would fain have got entertainment and let up a Meeting in the Town (and frequently raile at me in the Congregation): But when I had once given them leave to meet in the Church, for a Di fpute, and before the People, had opened their deceit and blame, none would entertain them more, nor did they get one Proflyle among us. Before that, Mr. John Tombes being Lecturer of Bewdley, two miles off us, (who was reputed the moft learned and able Anabaptift in England,) we kept fair Correfpondence for a long time, and I ftudiously kept all Debates with him about Infant Batifm; till at laft he forced me to it as I fhall fawe further anon, And after one day Di fpute with him of Bewdley, my Heaters were more fettled, and the course of his Infection flop. How mean fover my own Abilities were, yet I had flipt the advantage of a good Cafe, and thereby easily o pen'd the vanity of all Pretenders, Deceivers and Dividers that came among us.

11. Another advantage was the great honesty and diligence of my Affilnants: When I came firft to Kidderminster after the Wars, I faw Mr. Richard Sergeant there receiv'd as their Preacher; whom they took in a Cafe of Necessity when they could get no other: I faw him very honeft, but of no extraordinary Learning, and of no taking utterance, fo that fome that were more for Learning than for ferial Piety, would have had me taken in his ftead a very grave, ancient Doctor of Divinity, who had a moft promising Pi ence, and tolerable Delivery, and reverend Name, and withal was my Kinman: But I faw at laft that he had no relihu of ferial Godlines, nor solid Learning or Knowledge in Divinity, but ftole Sermons out of printed Books, and fet them off with a grave Delivery. But Mr. Sergeant fo increas'd in Ability, that he became a folid Preacher, and of fo great Prudence in Practical Cafe, that I know few therein go beyond him; but none at all do I know that excelleth him in Meekness, Humility, Self-denial and Diligence. No Child ever feem'd more humble: No Interel of his own, either of Eftate or Reputation, did ever feem to flop him in his Duty: No Labour did he ever refufe which I could put him to: When I put him to travel over the Parifh (which is near 20 miles about) from Houfe to Houfe to Catechize and Instruct each Family, he never grudged or feem'd once unwilling. He preach'd at a Chappel above two miles off one half day, and in the Town the other, and never murmured. I never heard of the Man or Woman in all that Town and Parifh, that ever faid, This fault he did; This Word he fpake amifs againft me; This Wrong he did me; nor ever one that once found fault with him (fave once one man upon a fhort mislike, for being out of the way when he fhould have baptized a Child): This admirable blamefless of Life much furthered our work: And when he was remov'd two miles from us, I got Mr. Humphrey Walden to succeed him, who was very much like him, and carried on his work.

12. Another Advantage was the Pi ence and Countenance of honeft Juftices of Peace: Colonel John Bridges, a prudent, pious Gentleman, was Patron of the Church, and liv'd in the Parifh, and was a Juftice of Peace: And a Bailiff and Juftice were Annually chosen in the Corporation, who ordinarily were godly men, and always fuch as would be thought fo, and were ready to ufe their Authority to suppress
fuppresse Sin, and promote Goodness. And when once a Sabbath-breaker thought
to have overthrown the Officers at Law, Sergeant Fountain being then Judge of
Affize, did so suppress his Malice, as discouraged all others from any more such
attempts. But now the World is changed.

13. Another help to my Success was that small relief which my low Estate
enabled me to afford the Poor: though the Place was reckoned at near
200 l. per Annum, there came but 90 l. and sometimes 80 l. per Annum to me:
Besides which, some years I had 60 l. or 80 l. a year of the School, and
Book-sellers for my Books: which little dispersed among them, much reconciled them to the Do-
ctrine which I taught: I took the apteat of their Children from the School, and
fif divers of them to the Universities; where for 8 l. a year, or 10 l. at most, by
the help of my Friends there I maintained them. Mr. Vines and Dr. Hill did help
me to Sizers places for them at Cambridge: And the Lady Rouse allowed me 8 l. a
year awhile towards their Maintenance, and Mr. Tba. Fewley and Col. Bridges also
afflicted me. Some of them are honest able Ministers, now cast out with their Bre-
thren: But two or three, having no other way to live, turned great Conformists,
and are Preachers now. And in giving that little I had, I did not enquire whether
they were good or bad, if they asked Relief: For the bad had Souls and Bo-
dies that needed Charity most. And I found that Three pence or a Groat to ev-
ey poor Body that ask me, was no great matter in a year, but a few pounds in that
way of giving would go far. And this Truth I will speak to the encouragement of the Charitable, that what little Money I have now by me, I got it almost all
(I scarce know how) in that time when I gave most: And since I have had less
opportunity of giving, I have had less increase.

14. Another furtherance of my work was the Writings which I wrote, and gave
among them. Some small Books I gave each Family one of, (which came to about
800) and of the bigger I gave fewer: And every Family that was poor, and had
not a Bible, I gave a Bible to. And I had found my self the benefit of reading to be so great, that I could not but think it would be profitable to others.

15. And it was a great Advantage to me, that my Neighbours were of such a
Trade as allowed them time enough to read or talk of holy Things. For the
Town lived upon the Weaving of Kidderminster Stuff; and as they stand in their
Loom they can set a Book before them, or edifie one another: whereas Plowmen,
and many others, are so wearied or continually employed, either in the Labours
or the Cares of their Callings, that it is a great Impediment to their Salvation;
Freeholders and Trades-men are the Strength of Religion and Civility in the Land:
and Gentlemen and Beggers, and Servile Tenants, are the Strength of Iniquity;
(Though among these sorts there are some also that are good and just, as among
the other there are many bad.) And their conflant Converse and Traffick with
London doth much promote Civility and Plenty among Trades-men.

16. And I found that my single Life afforded me much advantage: For I could
earlier take my People for my Children, and think all that I had too little for them,
in that I had no Children of my own to tempt me to another way of using it.
And being discharged from the moft Family Cares (keeping but one Servant )
I had the greater vacancy and liberty for the Labours of my Calling.

17. And God made ufe of my Practice of Phyftick among them, as a very great
advantage to my Ministry; for they that cared not for their Souls did love their
Lives, and care for their Bodies: And by this they were made almost as observant,
as a Tenant is of his Landlord: Sometimes I could fee before me in the Church a
very considerable part of the Congregation, whose Lives God had made me means
to save, or to recover their health: And doing it for nothing so obliged them,that
they would readily hear me.

18. And it was a great advantage to me, that there were at last few that were
bad, but some of their own Relations were Converted: Many Children did God
work upon at 14, or 15, or 16 years of Age: And this did marvellously reconcile
the Minds of the Parents and Elder for to Godliness: They that would not hear
me, would hear their own Children: They that before could have talk against
Godliness, would not hear it spoken against when it was their Children's Café:
Many that would not be brought to it themselves, were proud that they had under-
standing Religious Children: And we had some old Persons of near Eighty
years of Age, who are, I hope, in Heaven, and the Conversion of their own
Children was the chief means to overcome their Prejudice and old Customs and
Conceits.

N

19. And
And God made great use of the Sickness to do good to many. For though Sickbed Promises are usually soon forgotten; yet was it otherwise with many among us: And as soon as they were recovered, they first came to our private Meetings, and so kept in a learned state, till further Fruits of Piety appeared.

And I found that our disowning of the Iniquity of the Times, did tend to the good of many: For they despised those that always followed the stronger side, and justified every wickedness that was done by the stronger Party: Though we had judged the Parliament's War to be lawful and necessary, to save themselves and us from the Bible and their Adherents, and to punish Delinquents in a Court of Law, while we believed that nothing was intended against the King or Laws; yet as soon as ever we saw the Cafe changed, and Cromwell's Army enter into a Rebellion against King and Parliament, and kill the King, and invade the Seas, and fight against the King that should have succeeded, &c. we openly disowned them, and on all just occasions express our abhorrence of their Hypocribe, Perjury, and Rebellion; (except two or three idle drunken Fellows that thought to live by flattering the Times, this was the Senfe of all the Town). And had I owned the Guilt of others, it would have been my shame, and the hinderance of my work, and provoked God to have disowned me.

Another of my great Advantages was, the wide and Unanimity of the best Ministers of the Country round about us, who associated in a way of Concord with us: Their Preaching was powerful and Iber; their Spirits peaceable and meek, disowning the Treasons and Iniquities of the times as well as we; they were wholly addicted to the winning of Souls; self-denying, and of most blameless Lives; Evil spoken of by no Sober Men; but greatly beloved by their own People, and all that knew them; adhering to no Faction; neither Episcopal, Presbyterian nor Independent, as to Parties; but desiring Union, and loving that which is good in all.

These weekly meetings at our Lecture, and monthly at our Disputation, contained a Reverence in the People to their Worth and Unity, and consequently furthered my Work, such were Mr. Andrew Tralham Minister of Bridgeworth, Mr. Tho. Baldwin Minister at Chalfield, Mr. Tho. Baldwin Minister of Chaw, Mr. Joseph Baker Minister in Worcester, Mr. Henry Osland Minister of Bewdley, Mr. William Spicer Minister of Stone (an old man since dead), Mr. Richard Sergeant late Minister of Stone, Mr. Wibby of Homborne, Mr. John Reignolds of Wolverhampton, Mr. Joseph Rake of Bewdley, Mr. Richard Wolley of Salwarpe, Mr. Giles Wolley, Mr. Humphry Waldern of Broome, Mr. Edw. Bowcher of Church-bill, Mr. Ambrose Sparry of Marnley, Mr. William Kimberley of Rodmartel, Mr. Ben. Baxter of Upon upon seven, Mr. Dewley of Stakes, Mr. Stephen Baxter, Mr. Tho. Browne of Kenmore, Mr. J. Not of Sheffields, with many others; to whom I may adjourn Mr. John Shipley, and Mr. James one of Bromgrove, and the other of Worcester, Independents, and very honest, sober, and moderate men; (who were all of them now silenced and cast out, though not one of them all had any hand in the Wars for the Parliament, or any Military Employment; only Mr. George Hopkins of Evesham was in the Army, (a worthy Faithful Minister also) and no other of our Association that I know of besides my fell in all the County.

22. Another Advantage to me was the quality of the Sinners of the place. There were two Drunkards almost at the next Doors to me, who (one by night, and the other by day) did constantly every Week, if not twice or thrice a Weak, roar and rave in the Streets like flark-men; and when they have been laid in the Stocks or Goal, they have been as bad as soon as ever they came out: And these were so beaftly and ridiculous, that they made that Sin (of which we were in most danger) the more abhorred.

23. Another Advantage to me was the quality of the Apostates of the place. If we had been troubled with meek Separatists, Anabaptists, or others that creed plausibly and tolerably, they might perhaps have divided us, and drawn away Disciples after them; but we had but only two Professors that fell off in the Wars, and (one or two at most that made no Profession of Godliness were drawn in to them). That they fell off were such as before, by their want of grounded Understanding, Humility and Mortification, gave us the greatest suspicion of their Stability: And they fell to no less than Familiarity and Infidelity, making a jest of the Scripture, and the Essentials of Christianity: (Though they so carefully hid it, that we could never possibly have known their Minds, but from the Meleholives, and Companions with them they were more free). And as they fell from the Faith, so they fell to Drinking, Gaming, furious Passions, horribly abusing their Wives (and
(and thereby living them from their Errors) and to a vicious Life. So that they 
stood up as Pillars and Monuments of God's Justice, to warn all others, to take 
heed of Self-conceitedness and Heresies, and of departing from Truth and Chri-
Stian Unity: And so they were a principal means to keep out all Sects and Errors 
from the Town.

24. Another great help to my Success at last, was the fore-described Work of 
Personal Conference with every Family, and Catechising and Instructing 
them. That which was spoken to them personally, and put them sometime upon 
Answers, awakened their Attention, and was earlier applied than publik Preach-
ing, and seemed to do much more upon them.

25. And the Exercize of Church-Discipline was no small furtherance of the Peoples 
Good: For I found plainly that without it I could not have kept the Religious fort 
from Separations and Divisions. There is something generally in their Dispositions, 
which incline them to dissociate from open ungodly Sinners, as Men of another 
Nature and Society; and if they had not seen me do something reasonable for a 
Regular Separation of the notorious obdurate Sinners from the rest, they would 
irregularly have withdrawn themselves; and it had not been in my power, with 
bare words, to satisfy them, when they saw we had liberty to do what we 
would.

It was my greatest Care and Contrivance so to order this Work, that we might 
never make a meer Mock-now of Discpline, nor with Independents, un-church 
the Parish-Church, and gather a Church out of them anew. Therefore all the Mini-
ters Associate agreed together, to practice so much Discipline, as the Episcopal, 
Presbyterians and Independents were agreed on, that Presbyters might and must do. 
And we told the People that we went not about to gather a new Church, but taking 
the Parish for the Church, unless they were unwilling to own their own Membership, 
we resolved to exercise that Discipline with all: Only because there are some 
Pa-
pists and Familists or Infidels among us, and because in these times of Liberty we 
cannot (nor desire to) compel any against their Wills, we desired all that did own 
their Membership in this Parish Church, and take us for their Pastors, to give in 
their Names, or any other way signify that they do so: and those that are not 
willing to be Members, and rather choose to withdraw themselves than live under 
Discipline, to be silent: And so, for very fear of Discipline, all the Parish 
kept off except about Six hundred, when there were in all above Sixteen hundred 
at Age to be Communicants. Yet because it was their own doing, and they knew 
they might come in when they would, they were quiet in their Separation; for we 
took them for the Separatists: For those that scrupled our Gellure at the Sa-
crament, I openly told them that they should have it in their own. Yet did I Bap-
tize all their Children; but made them first (as I would have done by Strangers) 
give me privately, (or publickly if they had rather) an account of their Faith; 
and if any Father were a scandalous Sinner, I made him confess his Sin openly with 
feeming Penitence, before I would Baptize his Child: If he refused it, I forbore 
till the Mother came to present it; (for I rarely, if ever, found both Father and 
Mother so destitute of Knowledge and Faith, as in a Church Sense to be uncapa-
ble hereof.)

Of those that refused to come under Discipline, some were honest Persons, who 
by their Husbands, Parents or Masters, were forbidden: Many were grossly igno-
rant: many were profligate and scandalous; and many were kept off by the Ex-
ample and Perswasions of some leading Persons, who were guided by the higher 
fort of the Prelatical Divines; who thought they could say little or nothing against 
what we did, yet their Religion being too much made up of Faction and Person-
al Interest, they disowned our Course as unfaithful to the Interest of their Civil 
and Ecclesiastical Rights and Sides.

About six or seven young Men did join with us who were addicted to Tipling, 
and one of them was a weak-headed Fellow, who was a common notorious Drunk-
ard. We could not refute them, because our business was not to gather a New 
Church, but only to know who owned their own Membership, and who would 
down it and withdraw themselves. But we told him that he was a notorious 
Drunkard, that we must kindly admonish him, and expect his humble, penitent 
Confession, and promise of Amendment, or else we must declare him unfit for 
Church-Communion. He lamented his Sin with great aggravation, and promi-
ised Amendment; but quickly returned to it again: We admonished him again 
and again, and laboured to bring him to Contrition and Repentation; and he would 
still confess it, and still go on: I warned him publicly, and prayed for him several 
N days
days in the Church; but he went on in his Drunkenness still: At last I declared him unfit for the Churches Communion, and required them to avoid him accordingly (for this was all we did, whether you will call it Excommunication or not) endeavouring to convince him of his Mility, and of the necessity of true Repentance and Reformation.

If any shall here ask me, Why we took this Course, and did not take all the Parish for Members without putting the Question to them; and what Benefits we found by such a Course of Discipline? I answer first to the last Question:

1. We performed a plain Command of Christ: and we took Obedience to be better than Sacrifice, and be our belt kind of Worship, and the pleasing of God to be the greatest benefit.

2. As is laid before, we kept the Church from irregular Separations, which else could never have been done.

3. We helped to Cure that dangerous Disease among the People, of imagining that Christianitv is but a matter of Opinion and dead Belief, and to convince them how much of it consisteth in Holiness, and how far it is inconsistent with reigning Sin; and so did vindicate the Honour of Christ and the Christian Faith.

4. We greatly suppressed the practice of Sin, and cauful People to walk more watchfully than else they would have done. These and many other great Benefits accruev by it to the Church.

But if you ask what good the Offenders themselves received by it, I shall tell you the truth according to my Experience. All sober, godly, well-minded Persons, if they once fell into any scandalous Action (as Farse two of them ever did) yea the very Civil and Younger sort that were tractable, did humbly confess their Sin, and walk more watchfully. But those that were cast out of our Communion were enraged, and made much more Enemies to Godliness than before, though we exercised as much Patience and Tenderness towards them, as Reason could foresee. The Drunkard before-mentioned, after his Ejection, when he was drunk would fland at the Market-place, and like a Quaker, Cry out against the Town, and take on him to prophesie God's Judgments against them, and would rage at my Door, and rail and curse. And once he followed me as I went to Church, and laid hands on me in the Church-yard, with a purpose to have killed me; but it fell out that he had hold only of my Cloak, which I unbottoned and left with him; and before his Fury could do any more, (it being the Fair-day) there were some Strangers by in the Church-yard, who drag'd him to the Magistrate and the Stocks. And thus he continued raging against me about a year, and then died of a Fever in honour of Conscience. Three or four more we were forced to cast out, one for landering, and all the rest for drunkenness; and though their wit, and the honesty of their Neighbours and Relations made them live quietly, yet their Enmity was much encreased, and they themselves so much the worse, as convinced the sifting Religious sort, that Excommunication is not to be used but upon great Necessity. And indeed, how can you expect that he who will stand it out to an Excommunication, should be bettered by any ordinary means? When private Intreaties and vehement Exhortations, and Warnings before others, and at last before the Church, and earnest Prayers for them, and all that we could say or do for many Weeks or Months together, would not make most of them so much as say, We are sorry for our sin; nor any of them leave their common Drunkenness; how should Excommunication do them good?

If you say, Why then did you use it? I answer, For the sake of the rest more than for them: for all the Reasons before-mentioned, and many more which I have laid down in the Preface to my Universal Concord. We knew it to be an Or- dinance of Christ, and greatly conducing to the Honour of the Church; which is not a common prophane Society, nor a Spy of Swine, but must be cleaner than the Societies of Infidels and Heathens: And I blest God that ever I made trial of Discipline; for my Expectations were not frustrate though the ejected Sinners were hardened: The Churches Good must be first regarded.

As to the other Question, Why we dealt not thus by all the Parish, and took them not all for Members without question? We knew some Papists and Infidels that were no Members: We knew that the People would have thought themselves wronged more to be thus brought under Discipline without and against their own Consent, than to suffer them to withdraw. And we thought it not a Business fit for the unwilling, especially at such a time as that: But especially, I knew that it was like to be their utter undoing, by hardening them into utter Enmity against the means that should recover them: And I never yet saw any signs of hope in
any Excommunicate Person; (unless as they are yet men, and capable of what God will do upon them) except one that humbled himself, and begged Abolition. Now either Disciple is to be exercised according to Christ's Rule, or not. If not, then the Church is no purer a Society, as to its Orders, than those of Infidels and Pagans, but Christ must be disobeyed, and his House of Prayer made a Den of Thieves: If yea, then either impartially upon all obstinate impenitent Sinners according to Christ's Rule, or but on some: If but on some only, it will be a Judgment of Partiality and Unrighteousness; whereas, where there is the fame Caufe, there must (usually) be the same Penalty. If on all, then the multitude of the Scandalous in almost all places is so great, and the Effects of Excommunication so dreadful, that it would tend to damping of multitudes of Souls; which being contrary to the design of the Gospel, is not to be taken for the Will of Christ: we have our Power to Edification, and not to Deftitution. A few in cafe of necessity may be punished, though to their hurt, for the good of all; but multitudes must not be used. Indeed, a Pulpit Interdict, or mock Excommunication, by the Sentence of a Prelate or Lay-Chancellor, may pass against multitudes, and have no considerable Effect, (but as it is enforced by the Sword): But the Word of God is quick and powerful, and when it is thus personally applied in the Sentencing of a guilty obstinate Sinner, doth one way or other work more effectually. Therefore in this difficulty there can be but two Remedies devised: One is with the Anabaptists to leave Infants unbaptized, that so they may not be taken into the Church, till they are fit for the Orders of the Church: But this is injurious to Infants, and against the will of God, and hath more inconveniences than benefits. (Though for my part, as much as I have wrote against them, I wish that it were in the Church now, as it was in the days of Tertullian, Narcianzen, and Augifin, where no man was compelled to bring his Infants to Baptism, but all left to their own time: For then none (as Augifin, &c.) were baptized at full Age, and some in Infancy.) The second therefore is the only just and safe Remedy; which is, That by the due performance of Confirmation, there may be a Solemn Transition out of the State of Infant Church-Membership, into the State of Adult Church-Membership; and due qualifications therein required: and that the unfit may, till then, be left inter Auditores, without the Priviledges proper to Adult Members; of which I have fully written in my Book of Confirmation.

26. Another Advantage which I found to my Success was, by ordering my Doctrine to them in a suitableness to the main end, and yet so as might suit their Dispositions and Dispositions, and disabuse their minds, and with greatest impartiality laboured to imprint upon their minds, was the great Fundamental Principles of Christianity contained in their Baptismal Covenant, even a right knowledge, and belief of, and subjeftion and love to, God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and Love to all Men, and Concord with the Church and one another: I did daily inculcate the Knowledge of God our Creator, Redeemer, and Sanificer, and Love and Obedience to God, and Unity with the Church Catholick, and Love to Men, and Hope of Life Eternal; that these were the matter of their daily Cogitations and Discourses, and indeed their Religion. And yet did usually put in something in my Sermon which was above their own discovery, and which they had not known before; and this I did, that they might be kept humble, and still perceive their ignorance, and be willing to keep in a learning state. (For when Preachers tell their People of no more than they know, and do not shew them that they excel them in Knowledge, and easily over-top them in Abilities, the People will be tempted to turn Preachers themselves, and think that they have learnt all that the Ministers can teach them, and are as wise as they are; and they will be apt to contemn their Teachers, and wrangle with all their Doctrines, and let their Wits against them, and hear them as Cenfures, and not as Disciples, to their own undoing, and to the disturbance of the Church; and they will easily draw Disciples after them: The bare Authority of the Clergy will not serve the turn, without over-topping Ministerial Abilities). And I did this also to increase their Knowledge; and also to make Religion pleasant to them, by a daily addition to their former Light, and to draw them on with desire and Delight. But these things which they did not know before, were not unprofitable Controversies which tended not to Edification, nor Novelties in Doctrine contrary to the Universal Church; but either such Points as tended to illustrate the great Doctrines before-mentioned, or unprofitably, about the right methodizing of them. The opening of the true and profitable method of the Creed, (or Doctrine of Faith) the Lord's Prayer, (or Matter of our Desires) and the Ten Commandments,
ments, (or Law of Practice) which afford matter to add to the knowledge of most Professors of Religion, a long time: And when that is done, they must be led on still further by degrees, as they are capable; but so as not to leave the weak behind: and so as shall still be truly subervient to the great Points of Faith, Hope, and Love, Holiness and Unity, which must be still incultated, as the beginning and the end of all.

27. Another help to my Success was, that my People were not Rich: There were among them very few Beggars, because their common Trade of Stuff-weaving would find work for all, Men, Women and Children, that were able: And there were none of the Trades-men very rich, seeing their Trade was poor, that would but find them Food and Raiment. The Magistrates of the Town were few of them worth 40 l. per An. and most not half so much. Three or four of the Richest thriving Malters of the Trade, got but about 500 or 600 l. in twenty years, and it may be lose 100 l. of it at once by an ill Debtor. The generality of the Master Workmen, lived but a little better than their Journey-men, (from hand to mouth) but only that they laboured not altogether so hard.

And it is the Poor that receive the glad Tidings of the Gospel, and that are usually rich in faith, and heirs of the heavenly riches which God hath promised to them that love him; *James 2. 5. Do not rich men oppress you, and draw you before the Judgment Seats?* As Mr. George Herbert faith in his Church Militant:

*Gold and the Gospel never did agree: Religious always sides with Poverty.*

Usually the Rich are Proud and Obstinate, and will not endure the due Conduct of the Ministry: Let them be never so ignorant, they must not be croft in their Conceits and Way; and if they be, they storn, and raise Persecution upon it; or at least draw away a Faction after them. Let them be never so Guilty (unless it be some twelfth inscrutable Sin) they will not endure to be told of it. Their Gentility leemeth to allow them, in the three or four Sins of Sodom, Pride, Fainess of Bread, and Abundance of Idleness, and not confidering the Poor and needy. And their fainess and idleness tempt them to further Voluptuoufness and Sensuality, to Fruits, or to Time-wasting needless kinds of Spots: And they must not be croft in any of this. Do but offer to Exercise Christ's Discipline upon any of these, and tell them of their Faults alone, and then before two or three, and when they hear not, tell the Church; and you will make them hate both you and Discipline, and lay you affect a Domination, and to trample upon your Superiors, and are as proud as Popes. Christ knew what he said, when he said, *How hardly shall a Rich Man enter into the Kingdom of Heaven! Even as a Camel through the Eye of a Needle.* But if a poor man be bad, and hate both Piety and Reproof, yet his opposition is not so fierce or so significant; he makes not so much ado, nor engages his fancy with him, nor is so much regarded by the rest. One Knight (Sir R. C.) which lived among us, did more to hinder my greater Successes, than a multitude of others could have done: Though he was an old Man, of great Courtship and Civility, and very temperate as to Dyet, Apparel and Spors, and seldom would Swear any lowerd than [By his Troth, &c.] and shewed me much Personal Reverence and Respect (beyond my defect), and we conversed together with Love and Familiarity; yet having no reliuf of this Precisianism and Extemporaneous Praying, and making so much ado for Heaven; nor liking that which went beyond the pace of Saying the Common Prayer, and also the Interest of himself and his Civil and Ecclesiastical Parties, leading him to be ruled by Dr. Hammond) his coming but once a day to Church on the Lord's days, and his Abstaining from the Sacrament, &c. as if we kept not sufficiently to the old way, and because we used not the Common Prayer Book, when it would have caufed us to be Sequestrad) did cause a great part of the Parish to follow him, and do as he did; when elle our Success and Concord would have been much more happy than it was. And yet Civility and yielding much beyond others of his Party, (leeding his Family to be Ca- techized and Personality Instructed) did Iway with the worst almost among us to do the like. Indeed we had two other Persons of Quality, that came from other places to live there, and were truly and judiciously Religious, who did much good, (Col. John Bridges, and at last Mrs. Haman) For when the Rich are indeed Religious, and overcome their Temptations, as they may be IappoIed better than others, because their Conquest is greater, so they may do more good than others, because their Talents are more. But such (comparatively) are always few.

28. Another
28. Another thing that helped me was, my not medling with Tythes or Worldly Business; whereby I had my whole time (except what Sicknes deprived me of) for my Duty, and my Mind more free from Entanglements than else it would have been; and also I escaped the offending of the People, and contending by any Law Suits with them. And I found also that Nature it self being Conscious of the Benaifes of its Earthly Disposition, doth think badly of thofe whom it discerneth to be Earthly; and is forced to Reverence thofe whose Converse is supposed to be most with God and Heaven. Three or Four of my Neighbours managed all thofe kind of Business, of whom I never took Account; and if any one deni'd to pay their Tythes, if they were poor I ordered them to forgive it them; After that I was confrained to let the Tythes be gathered, as by my Title, to fave the Gatherers from Law-Suits. But if they were able, I ordered them to fEEK it by the Magiftrate, with the Damage, and give both my Part and the Damages to the Poor (for I refolved to have none of it my felf that was recovered by Law, and yet I could not tolerate the Sacrifice and Fraud of covetous Men). But when they knew that this was the Rule I went by, none of them would do the Poor fo great a Kindness as to deny the Payment of their Tythes, that were able. And in my Family I had the Help of my Father and Mother in Law, and the Benefit of a godly, understanding, faithful Servant (an ancient Woman near Sixty Years old) who eafeed me of all Care, and laid out all my Money for Houfe-keeping, fo that I never had one Hour's trouble about it, nor ever took one Day's Account of her for Fourteen Years together, as being certain of her Fidelity, Providence and Skill.

29. And it much furthered my Success, that I flayed still in this one Place, (near Two Years before the Wars, and above Fourteen Years after) for he that removeth oit from Place to Place, may few good Seed in many Places; but is not like to fee much Fruit in any, unless some other skillful Band fhall follow him to water it: It was a great Advantage to me, to have almoft all the Religious People of the Place, of my own Instructing and Informing; and that they were not formed into erroneous and factious Principles before; and that I flayed to fee them grown up to fome Confirmednes and Maturity.

30. Laftly, Our Successes were enlarged beyond our own Congregations, by the Lectures kept up round about: To divers of them I went as oft as I was able; and the Neighbour Minifters after than I; especially Mr. Osland of Beverley, who having a ftrong Body, a zealous Spirit, and an earneft Utterance, went up and down Preaching from Place to Place, with great Acceptance and Success. But this Business we alfo contrived to be universally and orderly managed: For besides the Lectures set up on Week-days fixedly in feveral Places, we studied how to have it extend to every Place in the County that had need. For you must understand that when the Parliament purged the Miniftry, they cast out the groffer fort of insufficient and scandalous Men, as grofs Drunkards, and fuch like; and alfo fome few Civil Men that had afifted in the Wars againft the Parliament, or fet up bowing to Alters, and fuch Innovations: But they had left in near one half the Minifters, that were not good enough to do much Service, nor bad enough to be cast out as utterly intollerable: There were a company of Poor weak Preachers, that had no great Skill in Divinity, nor Zeal for Godlinefs; but preached weakly that which is True, and lived in no grofs notorious Sin: These Men were not cast out, but yet their People greatly needed help; for their dark feeply Preaching did but little Good: Therefore we refolved that fome of the abler Minifters ought often voluntarily help them; but all the Care was how to do it without offending them: And it fell out faeonably, that the Londoners of that County at their yearly Feast, did collect about 30 l. and fend it me (by that worthy Man, Mr. Thomas Stanley of Bread-street) to fet up a Lecture for that Year: Whereupon, we covered all our Designs under the Name of the Londoners Lecture, which took off the Offence: And we chose foure worthy Men, Mr. And. Triftram, Mr. Hen. Osland, Mr. Tho. Baldwins, and Mr. Jef. Treble (who only now confirmeth) who undertook to go each Man his Day, once a Month, which was every Lord's Day between the four, and to preach at thole Places which had moft need, twice on a Lord's Day; but to avoid all ill Conferences and Offence, they were sometimes to go to abler Mens Congregations, and wherever they came to fay fomewhat always to draw the People to the Honour and Special Regard of their own Paffors; that how weak soever they were, they might fee that we came not to draw away the Peoples Hearts from them, but to ftrengthen their Hands, and help them in their Work. This Lecture did a great deal of Good; and though the Londoners gave their Money
ney but that one Year, yet, when it was once fet on foot, we continued it voluntarily (till the Minifters were turned out, and all these Works went down together).

So much of the Way and Helps of these Succesfes, which I mention becaufc many have enquired after them, as willing with their own Flocks to take that Courfe, which other Men have by Experience found to be effectual.

§ 138. Having before paid fomewhat of my Troubles with Mr. Tombre, I fhall here more fully tell the Reader how it was.

Mr. Tombre being my Neighbour within two Miles, and denying Infant Baptifm, and having written a Book or two againft it, he was not a little difmal of the Propagation of his Opinion, and the Succes of his Writings; and he thought that I was his chief Defifter, though I never medled with the point: Whereupon, he came confantly to my Weekly Lecture, waiting for an Opportunity to fall upon that Controverfe in his Conference with me: But I fludiously avoided it; fo that he knew not how to begin: And he had fo high a Conceit of his Writings that he thought them unanswerable, and that none could deal with them in that way.

At laft, some how, he urged me to give my Judgment of his Writings; and I let him know that they did not fatisfy me to be of his Mind, but went no farther with him: Upon this, he forbore coming any more to our Lecture; and he unavoidably contrived me into the Controverfe, which I fhould; for there came unto me five or fix of his chief Profelers, as if they were yet unresolved, and defired me to give them in Writing the Arguments which fatisfied me for Infant Baptifm.

I asked them whether they came not by Mr. Tombres Direction: And they confefled that they did. I asked them whether they bad read the Books of Mr. Cobbet, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Church, Mr. Blake for Infant Baptifm: And they told me, No. I defired them to read that which is written already, before they call'd for more; and then to come to me, and tell me what they had to lay againft them. But this they would by no means do; but muft have my Writings. I told them, that now they plainly confefled that they came upon a Defign to promote their Party by contentious Writings, and not in sincere Defire to be informed, as they pretended: But to be fhort, they had no more Modelly than to insist on their Demands, and to tell me that if they turned againft Infant Baptifm, and I defined to give them my Arguments in Writing, they muft lay it upon me. I asked them whether they would continue unresolved till Mr. Tombre and I had done our Writings; seeing it was fome Years fince Mr. Blake and he began, and have not ended yet. But no Reasoning lafted the turn with them, but they still call for my written Arguments: When I laid their fatisfting Defign and Immofedly, I bid them tell Mr. Tombre, that he fhould neither thus command me to lofe Years time in my Weakness, in quarrelling with him, nor yet should have his End in infulting over me, as if I flied from the Light of Truth: Therefore I offered him, if we muft needs contend, that we might do it the fhortefl and most fatisfactory way, and spend one Day in a Dilpute at his own Church, where I would attend him, (that his People might not remain unsatisfied, till they lay which of us would have the laft Word); and after that we would confider of Writing.

So Mr. Tombre and I agreed to meet at his Church on Jan. 1. And in great Weakness thither I came, and from Nine of the Clock in the Morning till Five at Night, in a crowded Congregation, we continued our Dilpute; which was all spent in managing one Argument, from Infants right to Church-Membership to their Right to Baptifm: of which he after complained, as if I affaulted him in a new way, which he had not confidered of before: But this was not the first time that I had dealt with Anabaptifts, who had too much to do with them in the Army as I had: In a Word, this Dilpute fatisfied all my own People and the Country that came in, and Mr. Tombre's own Townfmen, except about Twenty whom he had perverted, who gathered into his Church, which never increafed to above Twenty two, that I could learn. So much of that Dilpute, of the Writing more anon.

§ 139. If any fhall demand whether the increafe of Godlinefs was anfwerable in all Places to what I have mentioned (and none deny that it was with us) I anfwer, that however Men that meafure Godlinefs by their Gain and Intereft and Dominations, do go about to persuade the World that Godlinefs then went down, and was almoft extinguifhed, I muft bear this faithful Witness to thofe times, that as far as I was acquainted, where before there was one godly profitable Preacher, there was then six or ten; and taking one Place with another, I conjecture there is a propor-
proportional increase of truly godly People, not counting Hereticks or perfidious Rebels or Church-disturbers as such: But this increase of Godliness was not in all places alike: For in some places where the Ministers were formal, or ignorant, or weak and insipid, contentious or negligent, the Parishes were as bad as here-tofore. And in some places, where the Ministers had excellent parts, and holy lives, and thirfted after the good of Souls, and wholly devoted themselves, their time and strength and estates thereunto, and thought no pains or cost too much, there abundance were converted to serious Godliness. And with thole of a middle rate, infually they had a middle measure of Success. And I must add this to the true Information of Poverty, That God did fo wonderfully blest the Labours of his unanimous faithful Ministers, that it had not been for the Faction of the Prelats on one side that drew men off, and the Fanaticies of the giddy and turbulent Sectaries on the other side, (who pull’d down all Government, cried down the Ministers, and broke all into Confusion, and made the People at their wits end, not knowing what Religion to be of); together with some laziness and idlenefs in many of the Ministry. I say, had it not been for these Impediments, England had been like in a quarter of an Age have become a Land of Saints, and a Pattern of Holiness to all the World, and the unmatchable Paradife of the Earth. Never were such fair opportunities to sanctifie a Nation, loft and trodden under foot, as have been in this Land of late! Woe be to them that were the Caules of it.

§ 140. In our Association in this County, though we made our Terms large enough for all, Episcopal, Presbyterians and Independants, there was not one Presbyterian joyned with us that I know of, (for I knew but of one in all the County, Mr. The Hall) nor one Independent, (though two or three honest ones said nothing against us) nor one of the New Prelatary way (Dr. Hammond’s) but three or four moderate Conformists that were for the old Epiftolacy; and all the rest were more Catholicks; Men of no Faction, nor siding with any Party, but owning that which was good in all, as far as they could discern it; and upon a Concord in fo much, laying out themselves for the great Ends of their Ministry, the Peoples Edification.

§ 141. And the increase of Sectaries among us was much through the weakness or the faultines of Ministers: And it made me remember that Sects have most abounded when the Gospel hath most prospered, and God hath been doing the greatest works in the World; As first in the Apoftles and the Primitive Times, and then when Christian Emperours were affifting the Church; and then when Reformation prospered in Germany; and lately in New-England where Godliness most flourished; and left of all here, when fo pleasant a spring had raifed all our hopes: And our Impatience of weak Peoples Errors and Diffent, did make the Biflines worse; whilst every weak Minister that could not or would not do that for his People which belonged to his, was presently crying out against the Magiftrates for fuffering these Errors; and thinking the Sword must do that which the Word should do: And it is a wicked thing in Men, to desire with the Papifts, that the People were rather blind than purblind, and that they might rather know nothing, than mistake in some few Points; and to be more troubled that a man contradicth us in the Point of infant Baptifm or Church Government, than that many of the People are foittily careles of their own Salvation. He that never regardeth the Word of God, is not like to Err much about it: Men will sooner fall out about Gold or Pearls, than Swine or Aifies will.

§ 142. All this while that I abode at Kidderminifter, (though the Rulers that then were made an Order that no Sequettle Minister should have his fifth part, unless he removed out of the Parift where he had been Minifter, yet) did I never remove the old Sequettle Vicar so much as out of his Vicaridge Houfe, no nor once came within the Doors of it; fo far was I from Seizing on it as my own, or removing him out of the Town: But he lived in peace and quietnes with us, and reformed his Life, and lived without any Scandal or Offenfiveness, and I never heard that he spake an ill word of me. And yet as soon as the times were chang’d, the inftigation of others made him as malapart again, as if he had been awakened out of a sleepy Innocence.

§ 143. About this time Cromwell fet up his Major Generals, and the Decimation of the Eftates of the Royalists, called Delinguents, to maintain them; And James Berry was made Major General of Worceftershire, Shrophire, Herefiedshire, and North-Wales; the Countreys in which he had formerly lived as a Servant (a Clark of Iron-works). His reign was modest and short; but hated and scorned by the Gen-
The LIFE of the LIB. I.

try that had known his Inferiority: (so that it had been better for him to have chosen a stranger place): And yet many of them attended him as submissively as if they had honoured him; so significant a thing is power and prosperity with worldly minds.

§ 144. I come now to the End of Cromwell's Reign, who died (of a Fever) before he was aware. He escaped the Attempts of many that sought to have dispatched him sooner; but could not escape the stroke of God, when his appointed Time was come. (Though an Independent, praying for him, said, [Lord, we ask not for his Life, for that we are sure of; but that he may bear thee better than ever be had done]; to the dishonour of that Presumption which some men call a particular Faith; that is, A believing that they shall receive whatever they ask, if they can foolishly believe that they shall receive it, though it be such as they have no other promise for, but that of Hearing [believing Prayers] which they misunderstand). Never man was higher extolled, and never man was baselier reported of, and villified than this man. No (meek) man was better and worse spoken of than he; according as mens Interests led their Judgments. The Soldiers and Sectaries most highly magnified him, till he began to seek the Crown and the Establishment of his Family: And then there were too many that would be Half-Kings themselves, that a King did seem intollerable to them. The Royalists abhorred him as a most pernicious Hypocrite; and the Presbyterians thought him little better, in his management of publick matters.

If after so many others I may speak my Opinion of him, I think, that, having been a Prodigal in his Youth, and afterward changed to a zealous Religiousman, he meant honestly in the main, and was pious and conscionable in the main course of his Life, till Prosperity and Success corrupted him: that, at his first entrance into the Wars, being but a Captain of Horse, he had a special care to get religious men into his Troop: These men were of greater understanding than common Soldiers, and therefore were more apprehensive of the Importance and Consequence of the War; and making not Money, but that which they took for the Publick Felicity, to be their End, they were the more engaged to be valiant; for he that maketh Money his End, doth esteem his Life above his Pay, and therefore is like enough to live it by flight when danger comes, if possibly he can: But he that maketh the Felicity of Church and State his End, esteemeth it above his Life, and therefore will the sooner lay down his Life for it. And men of Parts and Understanding know how to manage their businesse, and know that flying is the surest way to death, and that standing to it is the likeliest way to escape; there being many usally that fall in flight, for one that falls in valiant fight. These things it's probable Cromwell understood; and that none would be such engag'd valiant men as the Religious: But yet I conjecture, that at his first choosing such men into his Troop, it was the very Esteem and Love of Religious men that principally moved him; and the avoiding of those Disorders, Mutinies, Plunderings, and Grievances of the Country, which debaft men in Armies are commonly guilty of: By this means he indeed spred better than he expected. Aireys, Desborough, Berry, Evanion, and the rest of that Troop, did prove so valiant, that as far as I could learn, they never once ran away before an Enemy. Hereupon he got a Commission to take some care of the Associated Counties, where he brought this Troop into a double Regiment, of fourteen full Troops: and all these as full of religious men as he could get: These having more than ordinary Wit and Resolution, had more than ordinary Success; full in Lincolnshire, and afterward in the Earl of Manchester's Army at York Fight: With their Successes the Hearts both of Captain and Soldiers secretly rife both in Pride and Expectation: And the Familiarity of many honest erroneous Men (Anabaptists, Antinomians, &c.) withal began quickly to corrupt their Judgments. Hereupon Cromwell's general Religious Zeal, giveth way to the power of that Ambition, which still increaseth as his Successes do increase: Both Piety and Ambition concurred in his countenancing of all that he thought Godly of what Sect ever: Piety pleaded for them as Godly; and Charity as Men: and Ambition secretly tellth him what use he might make of them. He meaneth well in all this at the beginning, and thinketh he doth all for the Safety of the Godly, and the Publick Good, but not without an Eye to himself.

When
When Succes had broken down all considerable Opposition, he was then in the face of his strongest Temptations, which conquered him when he had conquered others: He thought that he had hitherto done well, both as to the End and Means, and God by the wonderful Blessing of his Providence had owned his endeavours, and it was none but God that had made him great: He thought that if the War was lawful, the Victory was lawful; and if it were lawful to fight against the King and conquer him, it was lawful to use him as a conquered Enemy, and a foolish thing to trust him when they had so provoked him, (whereas indeed the Parliament professed neither to fight for them against the King, and then to lay their Necks upon the block, and be at his Mercy; and that if that must be their Case, it was better to flatter or please him, than to fight against him. He law that the Scots and the Presbyterians in the Parliament, did by the Covenant and the Oath of Allegiance, find themselves bound to the Person and Family of the King, and that there was no hope of changing their minds in this: Hereupon he joined with that Party in the Parliament who were for the, Cutting off the King, and trusting him no more. And consequently he joined with them in raising the Independants to make a Fraction in the Synod at Head-\footnote{Sills, and in the City; and in strengthening the Sectaries in Army, City, and Country, and in rendering the Scots and Minifters as obfious as he could, to difable them from hindering the Change of Government. In the doing of all this, (which \\textit{Diftruæ} and \textit{Ambition} had perfuaded him was well done) he thought it lawful to use his Wits, to choose each Instrument, and fuit each means, unto its end; and accordingly he daily employed himself, and modelled the Army, and disbanded all other Garrifions and Forces and Committees, which were like to have hindered his design. And as he went on, though he yet refolved not what form the New Commonwealth should be molded into, yet he thought it but reafonable, that he ought to be the Chief Perfons who had been chief in their Deliverances (For the Lord Fairfax he knew had but the Name). At laft, as he thought it lawful to cut off the King, because he thought he was lawfully conquered, fo he thought it lawful to fight against the Scots that would let him up, and to pull down the Presbyterian Minority in the Parliament, which would eafe by restoring him undo all which had coft them fo much Blood and Treasure. And accordingly he conquereth Scotland, and pulleth down the Parliament: being the eafier perfuaded that all this was lawful, because he had a secret Byas and Eye towards his own Exaltation: For he (and his Officers) thought, that when the King was gone a Government there must be; and that no Man was to fit for it as he himself; as bett depraving it, and as having by his \textit{His} and great Interests in the Army, the bett sufficiency to manage it: Yea, they thought that God had called them by Succes to Govern and take Care of the Commonwealth, and of the Interests of all his People in the Land; and that if they stood by anduffered the Parliament to do that which they thought was dangerous, it would be required at their hands, whom they thought God had made the Guardians of the Land.

Having thus forced his Confequence to jullifie all his Caufe, (the Cutting off the the King, the fettting up himfeft, and his Adherens, the pulling down the Parliament and the Scots,) he thinketh that the End being good and neceffary, the neceffary means cannot be bad: And accordingly he giveth this Interests and Caufe leave to tell him, how far Scots shall be toleratet and commended, and how far not; and how far the Ministry shall be owned and supported, and how far not; yea, and how far Profefions, Promifes, and Vows shall be kept, or broken; and therefore the Covenant he could not away with; nor the Minifters, further than they yielded to his Ends, or did not openly refift them. He feemed exceeding open hearted, by a familiar Ruffick afcended Carriage, (efpecially to his Soldiers in fporting with them;) but he preferveth a Vertue, and Diffimulation no Vice, and Simulation, that is, in plain English a Lie, or Perfidion to be a tolerable Fault in a Cafle of Necessity: being of the fame Opinion with the Lord Bacon, (who was not so Prudet as Learned) That \footnote{the best Composition and Temperature is,}
The LIFE of the

§ 145. Cromwell being dead, his Son Richard by his Will and Testament, and the Army was quietly seated in his place; while all Men look'd that they should presently have fallen into Confusion and Discord among themselves; the Counties, Cities, and Corporations of England lend up their Congratulations, to own him as Protector: (But none of us in Worcestershire, save the Independents, medled in it.)

He interred his Father with great Pomp and Solemnity: He called a Parliament, and that without any such Refraints as his Father had used: The Members took the Oath of Fidelity or Allegiance to him at the Door of the House before they entered. And all Men wondered to see all so quiet, in so dangerous a Time. Many sober Men that called his Father no better than a Trayterous Hypocrite, did begin to think that they owed him Subjection. They knew that the King was by Birth their Rightful Sovereign; and resolved to do their best while there was hopes to introduce him, and defend him: But they were athenomised at the marvellous Providences of God, which had been against that Family all along, and they thought that there was no rational probability of his Restoration, having seen so many Armies and Risings and Defections overthrown, which were raised or undertaken for it: They thought that it is not left to our Liberty, whether we will have a Government, or not; but that Government is of Divine Appointment; and the Family, Perfon or Species is but of a subservient, left necessary determination: And that if we cannot have him that we would have, it followeth not that we may be without: That twelve years time (from the Death of the last King) was longer than the Land could be without a Gover nor, without the Destruction of the Common Good, which is the End of Government! Therefore that the Subjects, seeing they are unable to restore the King, must content to another: That the House of Commons, having sworn Allegiance to him, have actually subjected the Nation to him: And though his Father Trayterously made the Change, yet the Successor of a Traytor may by the Peoples consent, become a Gover nor, whom each Individual must acknowledge by Subjection: That the Bishops and Churches both of England and Wales, as all History sheweth, have prostituted their Subjection to Upholders, in a far shorter time, and upon lighter Reasons: That this Man having never had any hand in the War, (but supposed to be for the King) nor ever seeking for the Government, and now seeming to own the Sover Party, was like to be used in the healing of the Land, &c.

Such Reasonings as these began to take with the minds of many, to subject themselves quietly to this Man (though they never did it to his Father) as now despairing of the Restitution of the King; * And I confess such Thoughts were somewhat prevalent with my self: But God quickly shewed us the root of our Error, which was our limiting the Almighty; as if that were hard to him that was impossible to us: So that the Reforation of the King, which we thought next impossible, was accomplished in a trice: And we saw that twelve or eighteen years is not long enough to wait on God.

* The Advantage of Men present cruel Nature, was only from the Epistle of 2 Books wherein he never justified his usurpation: But Judaei officium est: ut res in tempora veni, &c.
PART I. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

The Army set up Richard Cromwell, it seemeth upon Tryal; resolving to use him as he behaved himself: And though they swore Fidelity to him, they meant to keep it no longer than he pleased them; And when they saw that he began to favour the Ebor People of the Land, to honour Parliaments, and to respect the Ministers, whom they called Presbyterians, they presently resolved to make him know his Matters, and that it was they and not he, that were called by God to be the chief Protectors of the Interest of the Nation. He was not so formidable to them as his Father was, and therefore every one boldly spurned at him. The Fifth Monarchy Men followed Sir Henry Vane, and raised a great and violent clamorous Party against him, among the Seetaries in the City: Rogers and Feake, and such like Freethumbs preach them into Fury, and blow the Coales; But Dr. Owen and his Alliants did the main Work: He gathereth a Church at (at Lieutenant General Fleetwood's Quarters, at Wallingford House, consisting of the active Officers of the Army (this Church-gathering hath been the Church-scattering Project): In this Assembly it was determined that Richard's Parliament must be dissolved, and then he quickly fell himself: (Though he never abated their Liberties or their Greatness; yet did he not sufficiently befriend them); Dietum facium almost as quickly done as determined: Though Col. Richard Ingoldsby and some others, would have stuck to the Protector, and have ventured to surprise the Leaders of the Faction, and the Parliament would have been true to him; yet Berry's Regiment of Horse, and some others, were presently ready to have begun the Fray against him; and as he fought not the Government, he was resolved it should cost no Blood to keep him in it: But if they would venture for their Parts on new Confusions, he would venture his Part by retiring to his Privacy; And so he did (to satisfy the proud distracted Tyrants, who thought they did but pull down Tyranny) resign the Government by a Writing under his Hand, and retired himself, and left them to govern as they pleased.

His Good Brother in Law, Fleetwood, and his Uncle Deiborough were so intoxicated as to be the Leaders of the Conspiracies: And when they had pull'd him down, they set up a few of themselves under the Name of a Council of State; and so mad were they with Pride, as to think the Nation would stand by and reverence them, and obediently wait upon them in their drunken Giddines: and that their Faction in the Army was made by God an invincible Terror to all that did but hear their Names. The Care of the Business also was, that Oliver had once made Fleetwood believe that he should be his Successor, and drawn an Ingrain to that purpose; but his last Will disappointed him. And then the Seetaries flattered him, saying, that a truly Godly Man that had commanded them in the Wars was to be preferred before such an one as they confurcd to have no true Godliness.

§ 146. I make no doubt but God permitted all this for Good; and that as it was their Traison to set up Oliver and destroy the King, so it was their Duty to have set up the present King instead of Richard: And God made them the means, to their own Destruction, contrary to their Intentions, to restore the Monarchy and Family which they had ruined. But all this is no Thanks to them; but that which with a good Intendment had been a Duty (to take down or not set up Richard Cromwell) yet as done by them was as barbarous Perfidiousness as most ever History did declare: That they should so suddenly, so scornfully and proudly pull down him whom they had lately set up themselves and sworn to: And that for nothing; they could scarce tell why themselves; nor ever were able to give the World a fairer Reason for their Villany (by any Fault they could charge upon him) than the Ministers Fanatics had to give for their Beiblaeum Outrages and Rebellion: That they should do this while a Parliament was sitting which had to many wife, religious Members; not only without the Parliaments Advice, but in despite of them, and force him to dissolve them first; as if Perjury and Rebellion were newly put into the Commandments; or God had made thee proud Unlapers to be the Governors of Protector and of Parlaments, and exempted them wholly from the Precept [Honour thy Father] [Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers]: That they should so proudly despise not only the Parliament, but all the Ministers of London and of the Land, as to do this, not only without advising with, and against their Judgments; but in a factious Envy against them, left they should be too much countenanced: Yea, they did it against the Judgments of most of their own Party (the Independans), as they now profess themselves: Yea, Mr. Nye, that was then thought to be engaged in the same Design, doth utterly disclaim it, and profess
proffes that his Content or Hand was never to it: But Pride infantly goes before Definition.

§ 147. And having said this of the Crimes of these Firebrands of the Army, I must say somewhat of the Sectarian Party in General; I mean, those who have been most addicted to Church-Divisions, and Separations, and Sides, and Parties, and have refuted all terms of Concord and Unity; I doubt not but many of them were People that feared God, who in their Ignorance of the Doctrine of Church Unity and Communion, have been drawn by Preternces of Purity to follow their Leaders in ways which they understand not: And I doubt not but the Presbyterians have had their Faults in their Treaties with them; and that politic State-men keep open the Divisions for their own Designs, (that they might have a Party to weaken the Scots and Presbyterians that would have restored the King). But yet I must record it to the Shame of their Maficranthes, that the weaker and younger sons of Prelates, have been prone to be put up with high Thoughts of themfelves, and to over-value their little Degrees of Knowledge and Parts, which set them not above the Pity of understanding Men: That they have been fent upon thofe Courses which tend to advance them above the Common People in the Observation of the World, and to fet them at a farther Distance from others than God allowed, and all this under the Pretence of the Purity of the Church. That in Persecution of their Ends, there are few of the Anabaptifts that have not been the Oppidors and Troublers of the faithful Minifters of the Land; and were the Troublers of their People, and the Hinderers of their Success: they strengthens the Hands of the Prophane: The Sectaries (especially the Anabaptifts, the Seekers, and the Quakers) chose out the moft able, zealous Minifters, to make the Marks of their Reproach and Obliquity, and all because they ftood in the Way of their Designs, and hindered them in the propagating of their Opinions: They fet against the fame Men that the Drunkards and Swearers for againft, and much after the fame manner; re- viling them, and railing up false Reports of them, and doing all that they could to make them odious, and at last attempting to pull them all down; only they did it more propaghufe than the Prophane; in that they faid, Let the Lord be glorifh'd; Let the Gospel be propaghated; and abufed and propaghated the Name of God by entitling him to their Faction and Maficranthe. Yea, though they thought themselves the moft understanding and confidernce People of the Land, yet did the Gang of them fendom tfick at any thing which seemed to promote their Caufe; but whatever their Faction in the Army did, they pleaded for it and approved it: If they pull'd down the Parliament, imprifon'd the godly faithful Members, killed the King; if they call'd out the Rump, if they choose a Little Parliament of their own, if they fet up Cromwell, if they fet up his Son and pull'd him down again, if they fought to obftrude Agreements on the People, if they one Week fet up a Council of State, and if another Week the Rump were reftored, if they fought to take down Tythes and Purifh-Minifters, to the utter Confu- fion of the State of Religion in the Land; in all these the Anabaptifts, and many of the Independents in the Three Kingdoms followed them; and even their Pa- fors were ready to lead them to confeft.

And all this began but in unwarrantable Separations, and too much aggravating the Faults of the Churches and Common People, and Common Prayer Book and Miniftiy; which indeed were none of them without Faults to be lamented and reformed: But they thought that because it needed Amendment, it required their obfolute Se- paration; and that they were allowed to make odious any thing that was amifs; and because it was faultly, if any Man had rebufed them for belying it, and making it far more faulty than it was, instead of confefiting their Sin, they called their Reponer a Pledgor for Antichrift or Baal; every Error in the Mode of the Common Worfhip they had no fitter Name for, than Idolatry, Popery, Antichri- ftianism, Superflition, Will-worfhip, &c. when in the mean time, many of their own Prayers were full of Carnal Paffion, Selfishness, Faction, Diforder, vain Re- pitions, unfound and loathful Expressions, and their Doctrine full of Errors and Contifhion; and the Beams in their own Eyes were matter of no Offence to them: They would not communicate with that Church where ignorant Parsons or Swearers were tolerated (though they themefelves never did their Part to have them call'd out, but look'd the Minifters should do all without them); but without any Scruple they would communicate with them that had broke their Vow and Covenant with God and Man, and rebelled against both King, Parliament, and all
all kind of Government that was set up (even by themselves) and did all the fore-recited Evils.

I know these same Accusations are laid by some in Ignorance or Malice, against many that are guilty of no such things, and therefore some will be offended at me, and say, I imitate such Reproachers: But shall none be reproved because some are flandered? Shall Rebels be justified, because some innocent Men are called Rebels? Shall Hypocrites be free from Conviction and Condemnation, because wicked Men call the Godly Hypocrites? Woe to the Man that hath not a faithful Reprover; but a thousand Woes will be to him that heath not a faithful Reproof: And woe to them that had rather Sin were credited and kept in Honour, than their Party dishonoured: and Woe to the Land where the Reputation of Men doth keep Sin in Reputation. Scripture it self will not spare a Noah, a Lot, a David, a Hezekiah, a Josiah, a Peter; but will open and shame their Sin to all Generations: And yet, alas! the Hearts of many, who hope are truly Religious in other Points, will rise against him that shall yet tell them of the Mildoings of those of their Opinion, and call them to Repentance. The poor Church of Christ, the sober, sound religious Part, are like Christ that was crucified between two Malefactors; the prophane and formal Persecutors on one hand, and the Fanatick dividing Sectary on the other hand, have in all Ages been grinding the Spiritual Seed, as the Corn is ground between the Millstones: And though their Sins have ruined themselves and us, and silenced so many hundred Ministers, and scattered the Flocks and made us the Hatred and the Scorn of the ungodly World, and a by.Word and Defolation in the Earth; yet there are few of them that lament their Sin, but juifify themselves and their Mildoings, and the penitent Malefactor is yet unknown to us. And seeing Potttery must know what they have done, to the Shame of our Land, and of our sacred Profession, let them know this much more alo to their own Shame, that all the Calamities which have befallen us by our Divisions were long foreseen by seeing Men, and they were told and warned of it, year after year: They were told that a Houfe divided against it felf could not ftand, and told that it would bring them to the Halter and to Shame, and turn a hopeful Reformation into a Scorn, and make the Land of their Nativitv a Place of Calamity and Woe; and all this Warning signified nothing to them; but these Duélte Profef- fors blindly followed a few self-conceited Teachers to this Milery; and no warning or means could ever stop them.

Five differing Ministers in the Synod begun all this, and carried it far on: Mr. Philip Nye, Mr. Tho. Goodwin, Mr. Sydrach Symson, and Mr. William Bridge, to whom the good Man Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs joined himself in Name; but as he never practised their Church-gathering way, so at last he was contented to have united on the Terms which were offered them, and wrote his excellent Book of Heart Divisions. After this they encreased, and Mr. Burroughs being dead, Dr. John Owen arose, not of the same Spirit, to fill up his place; by whom and Mr. Philip Nye’s Police the Flames were encreased, our Wounds kept open, and carried on all, as if there had been done none but they considerable in the World; and having an Army and City Agents fit to fecond them, effectually hindered all remedy till they had daithd all into pieces as a broken Glass. O! what may not Pride do? and what Miscarriages will not falle Principles and Faction hide? One would think that if their Opinions have been certainly true, and their Church-Orders good, yet the Interest of Christ, and the Souls of Men, and of greater Truths, should have been so regarded by the Dividers in England, as that the Safety of all these should have been preferred, and not all ruined rather than their way should want its carnal Arm and Liberty; and that they should not tear the Garment of Christ all to pieces, rather than it should want their Lace.

§ 148. And it must be acknowledged alo impartially, that some of the Presby- terian Ministers frightened the Sectaries into this Fury by the unpeaceable and impatience of their Minds: They ran from Libertinism into the other Extrem, and were so little sensible of their own Infirmity, that they would not have those tolerated who were not only tolerable, but worthy Instruments and Members in the Churches: The Reconcilers that were ruled by prudent Charity always called out to both the Parties, that the Churches must be united upon the Terms of primitive Simplicity, and that we must have Unity in things necessary, and Liberty in things unnecessary, and Charity in all: But they could never be heard, but were taken for Adversaries to the Government of the Church, as they are by the Prelates at this Day: Nay, when in Worcesterfhire we did but agree to practice so much as all Parties were agreed in, they said, we did but thereby fet up another Party. We told
told them of Archbishops Usher's Terms in his Sermon before the King on Eph. 4:4; but they would not hear. The Lord Bacon in his Third Essay, and his Conferences, Mr. Hales in his Treatise of Schism, and all men of sound Experience and Wildom, have long told the World, that we must be united in things Necessary, which all Christians agree in, or which the Primitive Churches did unite in, or not at all: But nothing shorter than the Assemblies Confeffion of Faith and Catechisms, and and Presbytery, would serve turn with some. Their Principles were that no others should be tolerated, which let the Independents on contriving how to grab the Sword! They were fill crying out on the Magistrate, that he was irreligious, for suffering Sects, and because he did not bring Men to Conformity: And now they cannot be tolerated themselves, to preach, nor fear to dwell in the Land. The Union of the Churches upon the Primitive Terms, and the tolerating (not of all, but) of tolerable Differences, is the way to Peace, which almost all Men approve of, except those who are uppermost, and think they have the Reins in their own hands. And because the side which is uppermost are they that have their Wills, therefore the Churches had never a settled Peace this Thousand years at least; the true way of Settlement and Peace, being usually displeasing to them that must give Peace to others: But this way hath the mark of being the best; in that it is the only way, which every Sect acknowledge for the second, and next the best; and is it which all, except the predominant Party, liketh. But Wildom is justified of her Children.

§ 149. To confunmate the Confusion, by confirming and increasing the Di- vision, the Independents at laft, when they had refused with sufficient perversity to associate with the Presbyterians (and the Reconcilers too) did resolve to shew their proper strength, and to call a General Assembly of all their Churches. The Savoy was their Meeting-place. There they drew up a Confeffion of their Faith, and the Orders of their Church Government. In the former, they thought it not enough expressly to contradict St. James, and to say (unlimitedly) That we are justified by the Righteousness of Christ only; and not by any Works: but they contradicted St. Paul also, who faith, That Faith is imputed for Righteousness. And not only so, but they expressly asserted, that [we have no other righteousness] but that of Christ. A Doctrine abhorred by all the Reformed and Chriftian Churches; and which would be an utter shame to the Protestant Name, if what such Men said and did were indeed imputable to the Ferber Protestants. I asked some honest Men that joyned with them, Whether they subscribed this Confeffion; and they said No. I asked them why they did not contradict it; and they said that the meaning of it was no more than that we have no other Righteousness but Christ's to be justified by: So that the Independent's Confeffions are like such Oaths and Declarations, as speak one thing and mean another. Also in their Propositions of Church Order, they widened the breach, and made things much worse, and more un reconcileable than ever they were before. So much could two Men do with many honest tractable young Men, and had more Zeal for separating Strifes, than Judgment to understand the Word of God, or the Interests of the Churches of the Land; and of themselves.

§ 150. But it hath pleased God by others that were sometime of their way, to do more to heal this Breach, than they did to make it wider. I mean the Synod of New England; who have publisht such healing Propositions about Blasted Synods, and Infant Church Membership, as hath much prepared for a Union between them, and all other moderate Men. (And some one hath strenuously defended those Propositions against the opposition of Mr. Davenport, a disaffected Brother.) I take this to be more for healing than the Savoy Propositions can be effectual to divide, because the New England men have not blemished their Reputation, nor lost the Authority and Honour of their Judgments, by any such Actions as the leading

* Mr. Michel, as it is said.
And since this Mikel's list of New-England Savoyers have done.

Laud hath sent me a printed Paper of his own, contriving a Healing Form of Synods for constant Communion of particular Churches.

§ 151. When the Army had brought themselves and the Nation into utter Confusion, and had set up and pull'd down Richard Cromwell, and then had set up the Rump again, and pull'd them down again, and set up a Council of State of themselves and their Faction, and made Lambert their Head, next under Fleetwood, (whom they could use almost as they would) at last the Nation would endure them no longer, nor sit still while the world loud laughing them to scorn, as acting over the Monster Tragedy: Sir George Booth and Sir Thomas Middleton raised Forces in Cheshire and North-Wales: (but the Cavaliers that should have joyned with them
I. Sir And that Spiri-
that Let So but fit (For If Lieutenant Ckетlnre or and Lieutenant
and, that he declareth himself against Monarchy for a Com-
monwealth, he tie the hands of his Enemies by a lie, and uniteth with the City of London, and bringeth on again the old ejected Members of the Parliament, and to bring in the King. Sir William Morrice (his Kinfinan) and Mr. Clarges were his great Advisers: The Earl of Manchester, Mr. Calamy, and other Presbyterians, encouraged and persuaded him to bring in the King. At first he joined with the Rump against the Citizens, and pull'd down the City Gates to matter them; but at last Sir Thomas Allen then Lord Mayor (by the perwifion of Dr. Jaceaban, and some other Presbyterian Ministers and Citizens, as he hath oft told me himself) invited Monk into the City, and drew him to agree and joyn with them against the Rump (as they then called the Reliefs of the Parliament). And this in truth was the Act that turned the Scales and brought in the King: whether the same men expected to be used as they have since been themselves, I know not: If they did, their Self-denial was very great, who were content to be silenced and laid in Gaols, so they might but bring in the King. After this the old Excluded Members of the Parliament meet with Monk; He calleth them to fit, and that the King might come in both by him and by them. He agreeeth with them to fit but a few days: and then dissolve themselves and call another Parliament. They contented, and prepared for the King’s Restoration, and appointed a Council of State, and Dissolved themselves. Another Parliament is chosen, which calleth in the King; the Council of State having made further preparations for it. (For when the Quif-
minister, Whether they should call in the King upon Treaty and Covenant, (which some thought best for him and the Nation) the Council resolved absolutely to call him, Mr. A. especially persuading them so to do). And when the King came in, Col. Birch and Mr. Prin were appointed to Disband the Army, the several Regiments receiving their Pay in several places, and none of them daring to disobey: No not Monk’s own Regiments who brought in the King.

Thus did God do a more wonderful Work in the Dissolving of this Army, than any of their greatest Victories was, which set them up. That an Army that had conquered three such Kingdoms, and brought so many Armies to destruction, cut off the King, pull’d down the Parliament, and set up and pull’d down others at their pleasure, that had conquered so many Cities and Castles; that were so united by Principles and Interest and Guilt, and so deeply engaged, as much as their E-
states, and Honour, and Lives came to, to have stood it out to the very utmost; that had professed so much of their Wisdom and Religiousness; and had declared such high Resolutions against Monarchy: I say, that such an Army should have one Commander among themselves, whom they accounted not Religious, that should march against them without Resistance, and that they should all stand still, and let him come on, and restore the Parliament, and bring in the King, and disband themselves, and all this without one bloody Note! Let any Man that hath the use of his Understanding, judge whether this were not enough to prove that there is a God that governeth the World, and dispetch of the Powers of the World according to his Will! And let all Men behold this Pillar of Salt, and standing Mon-
ument of Divine Revenge, and take heed of over-valuing Human Strength, and of ever being puffed up by Victories and Success, or of being infatuated by Spiritual Pride and Faction! And let all Men take warning how they, trample upon Government, rebel against it, or vilifie the Ministers and Ordinances of Christ, and proudly despise the Warnings of their Brethren.

§ 152. And at the same time whilst Monk was marching against them into Eng-
land, the sober godly Officers of Ireland were impatient of the Anabaptists Tyrant-
ny: So that Col. John Bridges (the Patron of Kidderminster) with his Lieutenant
Thompson, and some few more Officers, resolved upon a desperate surprizal of Dub-
lin Castle, (which the Anabaptists possessed, with most of the strong Holds) : and so happily succeeded, that without any bloodshed they got the Castle: And that being won, the rest of the Garrisons of all the whole Kingdom yielded without any loss of Blood: and unlefs one or two, without so much as any appearance of a Siege. Thus did God make his wonders to concur in time and manner; and showed the World the insufficiency of those States which are built upon an Army. He

P
that will see more of this Surprize of Dublin Castle, may read it as printed by Colonel Bridges in a short Narrative. Had it not been for that Action, it is probable that Ireland would have been the Refuge and Rendezvous for the disobedient or fugitive Army, and that there they would not only have maintained the War, but have imbodied against England, and come over again, with Resolutions heightened by their Warnings. The Reward that Col. Bridges had for this Service was the peaceful Testimony of his Conscience, and a narrow escape from being utterly ruined; being fired as one that after Edghill Fight had taken the King's Goods, in an Action of Fourcore Thousand pound: But all was proved false; and he being cleared by the Court, did quickly after die of a Fever at Chester, and go to a more peaceable and desirable World.

§ 153. For my own Actions and Condition all this time, I have partly shewed them in the Second Part: How I was called up to London, and what I did there, and with how little Success I there continued my Pacifick Undertakings. When I had lived there a few Weeks, I fell into another fit of Bleeding, which though it was nothing so great as formerly, yet after my former debauchery by that means and great debility, did weaken me much. Being restored by the mercy of God, and the help of Dr. Bates, (and the mofs of a dead man's skull which I had from Dr. Michie[lebuart]) I went to Mr. Thomas Foley's House, where I lived (in An[flw-Fryars]) about a year; and thence to Dr. Michie[lebuart's] House in Little Britain, where I tumbled about another year: and thence to M'Nafields, and thence to A[ten]; from which being at the present driven by the Plague, I wait for the further dispofal of my Almighty and most Gracious Lord.

§ 154. And now I shall annex for the Reader's satisfaction, an Account of my Books and Writings, on what occasion they were written, and what I now judge of them on a review, and after so much oppofition.

§ 155. The Books which I have written (and those that are written against me) are so numerous, that I confess if they plead not to the Reader for themselves, I cannot easily excuse my putting the World to so much trouble. And I was once almost fain out with my felf, when I faw fuch abundance of Sermon Books printed in Oliver's days, before I confurred with them in over-loading the World. But God was pleased to keep me from Repentance by their Success; and since then I am more Impenent herein than ever, as seeing more of the reafon of God's difpoft than I faw before. For fince fo many hundred Minifters are silenced, and an Act is now put in the Parliament to forbid coming within five miles of any City, Corporation, or Burgif Town; and a former Act forbiddeth us speaking to above four that are not of a Family; and knowing what Perfons are Minifters in many of our places, I now belefs God that his poor Servants have the private help of Books, which are the best Teachers, under God, that many thousand Per- fons have.

And whereas there are about Fifty Books (as I remember) that in whole or in part are written against me, or fome Paffages in mine; I belefs the Lord that they have not difturbed or discompofted my mind, nor any more hindered me from my greater duty, by Replies; nor been altogether unprofitable to me: And that none of them, nor all of them, any whit difabled me from the Service of God by diminifhing my Effimation with thole that I have opportunity to ferve, or with the common Readers that may profit by my Labours, but only with the Members of the several Faction.

Some are written againft me by Quakers, James Nayler, and many others: Some by Clement Writer, and other Seekers and Infidels: Some by Papizs; fome by Ana- baptists (Mr. Tombs, Fisher, and many others): fome by Reverend Brethren that underftood not all Points of Doctrine as I did (which-ever of us was in the right) (as Mr. Rutherford, Mr. Blake, Mr. Burges, Dr. Kendall, &e.) fome by Antiuniformians, and fome by Separatifs; and fome by good Men that were both well poftifed with their Opinions, (as Mr. Eres, Mr. Crandor, Mr. Warner, &e.) fome by proud impatiant Men; and fome by the Prelatical Party: fome by young Men that wanted Prefervative, and thought that this was the way to get it; and fome by other Men that defired to be taken notice of; and fome by Flatterers, that defired to please others on whom they did depend; and fome by malicious blood-thirty Callumniators! fome by fainious Temporizers, (as Stubbs, Rogers, Needham, &e.) and abundance by erroneous impatient Men, that could not endure to be contradicted in their Miftakes. To many of these I have returned Anfwers; and that fome others remain unanswered, is through the restraint of the Pref.
§ 156. The first Book that ever I published is a small one, called, Apologia
justification and the Covenants, &c. I had first begun my Book, called The Saints’
Rest; and coming in it to answer the Question, How in Matt. 25, the reward is
adjudged to men on the account of their good works? The chief Propositions of
that Book did suddenly offer themselves to me, in order to that Resolution: But
I was prepared with much disputing against Antinomianism in the Army. At Sir
Thomas Roe’s House, in my weakness, I wrote most of that Book, and finished it
when I came to Kidderminster. I directed it to Mr. Vines and Mr. Burgez, out of
my high esteem of them, though my personal acquaintance with them was but small.
Mr. Vines wrote to me applaudingly of it. Mr. Burgez thought his Name engaged
him to write against it.

Two Faults I now find in the Book: 1. It is defective, and hath some Propositions
that need Correction, being not cautelously enough expressed. 2. I medled
too forwardly with Dr. Owen, and one or two more that had written some Passages
too near to Antinomianism. For I was young, and a stranger to mens tempers,
and thought others could have born a Confutation as easily as I could do my self;
and I thought that I was bound to do my self publicly, to save the World from
the hurt of published Errors; not understanding how it would provoke men more
passionately to insist on what they once have said. But I have now learned to con-
tradict Errors, and not to meddle with the Persons that maintain them. But in-
deed I was then too raw to be a Writer.

This Book was over-much valued by some, and over-much blamed by others,
both contrary to my own esteem of it: It cost me more than any other that I have
written; not only by mens offence, but especially by putting me upon long and
tedious Writings. Some that publickly wrote against it, I publickly answered.
And because of the general noise about it, I desired those that would have me of
their mind, to send me their Animadversions; which proved so many, that took me
up too much of my time to answer them. But it was a great help to my Under-
standing: For the Animadverters were of several minds; and what one approved
another confuted, being further from each other than any of them from me.

The first that I craved Animadversions from was Mr. Burgez, and with much ado
extorted only two or three Letters against Justification by Works (as he called it): which with my Answers were afterward published; when he had proceeded to print
against me what he would not give me in writing.

The next (and full) Animadversions which I received, were from Mr. John
Warren, an honest, acute, ingenious man; to whom I answered in freer Expressions
than to others, because he was my Junior and familiar Friend; (being a School-
Boy at Bridgeport when I was Preacher there, and his Father being my Neigh-
bour.)

Next his I had Animadversions from Dr. John Wallis, very judicious and moder-
ate, to which I began to write a Reply, but broke it off in the middle because he little differed from me.

The next I had was from Mr. Christopher Cartwright of York, (who defended the
King against the Marquess of Worcester): he was a man of good reading as to our
later Divines, and was very well vers’d in the Common Road, (very like Mr. Bur-
gez); a very good Hebrician, and a very honest worthy Perlon. His Animadver-
sions were most against my distinction of Righteousness into Legal and Evange-

cal, according to the two Covenants. His Answer was full of Citations out of
Ameius, Whitaker, Davenant, &c. I wrote him a full Reply; and he wrote me a
Rejoinder; to which my time not allowing me to write a full Confutation, I took
up all the Points of Difference between him and me, and handled them briefly,
confirming my Reasons, for the sake of the Reader and my self.†

The next Animadverter was Mr. George Lawfon, the ablest Man of them all,
or of almost any I know in England; especially by the Advantage of his Age
and very hard Studies, and methodical Head, but above all, by his great skill in
Politics, wherein he is most exact, and which contributeth not a little to the
understanding of Divinity. Though he was himself near the Arminians (differing from
them in the Point of Perseverance as to the Confirmed, and some little matters more)
and so went farther than I did from the Antinomians; yet being conversant with
Men of another Mind, to redeem himself from their Offence, he let himself
against some Passages of mine, which others marvelled that he of all Men should
oppose; especially about the Object of Faith, and Justification. And afterwards he
published an excellent Summ of Divinity, called, Theopolitis; in which he inflift-

†This is

P 2

th
The LIFE of the L I B. I.

...on those two Points, to make good what he had said in his M. S. against me: (though the Reader that knoweth not what past between him and me, will not understand how these Passages there fell in, and some Divines have told me how excellent a Book it had been, if he had not been led aside in those Particulars; not knowing how it came to pass, the ablest Men being sometimes most hardly drawn to defeat any thing which they have once affirmed). He hath written also Animadversions on Hobbes; and a piece of Ecclesiastical and Civil Policy, according to the Method of Politicks; an excellent Book, were it not that he seemeth to justify the Kings Death, and meddle too boldly with the Political Controversies of the times (though he be a Conformist): Also I have seen some ingenious Manuscripts of his for the taking of the Engagement (to be due to the Commonwealth as established without a King and House of Lords) his Opinion being much for submitting to the present Poffeffor, though a (Ulapper): But I thought those Papers easily answerable. His Animadversions on my Papers were large, in which he frequently took occasion to be copious and diflinght in laying down his own Judgment, which pleased me very well: I returned him a full Answer, and received from him a large Reply; instead of a Rejoinder to which, I summa'd up our Diffe.rences, and spoke to them briefly and distinctly, and not verbaion to the Words of his Book. I must thankfully acknowledge that I learnt more from Mr. Lawton than from any Divine that gave me Animadversions, or that ever I conversed with: For two or three Passages in my first Reply to him he convinced me were Mistakes, and I found up and down in him those hints of Truths which had a great deal of Light in them, and were very apt for good Improvement: Especially his intriguing me to the Study of Politicks, (in which he much lamented the Ignorance of Divines) did prove a singular Benefit to me. I confes it is long of my own Uncapablenes that I have received no more good from others: But yet I must be so grateful as to confess that my Understanding hath made a better Improvement (for the sudden sensible increase of my Knowledge) of Gratia des Satisfactiones Clarifci, and of Mr. Lawton's Manuscripts, than of any thing else that I ever read; and they convinced me how unfit we are to write about Christ's Government, and Laws, and Judgment, &c. while we understand not the true Nature of Government, Laws and Judgment in the general; and that he that is ignorant of Politicks and of the Law of Nature, will be ignorant and erroneous in Divinity and the Sacred Scriptures.

§ 157. 2. The Second Book which I wrote (and the first which I began) was that called, The Saints everlasting Rest: Whilist I was in Health I had not the least thought of writing Books; or of leaving God in any more publick way than Preaching: But when I was weakened with great bleeding, and left solitary in my Chamber at Sir John Coke's in Derbyshire, without any Acquaintance, but my Servant, about me, and was sentenced to Death by the Physicians, I began to contemplate more seriouly on the Everlasting Rest which I apprehended my self to be jut on the Borders of. And that my Thoughts might not too much scatter in my Meditation, I began to write something on that Subject, intending but the Quantity of a Sermon or two (which is the cause that the Beginning is in brevity and Style disproporionate to the rest); but being continued long in Weakness, where I had no Books nor no better Employment, I followed it on till it was enlarged to the bulk in which it is published: The first Three Weeks I spent in it was at Mr. Newell's House at Kirkby-Mellors in Leicestershire; a quarter of a Year more, at the Seavons which so great Weakness would allow, I bestowed on it at Sir Tho. Read's House at Run-Lench in Worcestershire; and I finished it shortly after at Kidderminster: The first and last Parts were first done, being all that I intended for my own use; and the second and third Parts came afterwards in besides my first Intention.

This Book it pleased God so far to bless to the Profit of many, that it encouraged me to be guilty of all those Scripts which after followed. The Marginal Citations I put in after I came home to my Books; but almost all the Book it self was written when I had no Book but a Bible and a Concordance: And I found that the Transcript of the Heart hath the greatest force on the Hearts of others: For the Good that I have heard that Multitudes have received by that Writing, and the Benefit which I have again received by their Prayers, I here humbly return my Thanks to him that compelled me to write it.

§ 159. 3. The Third Book which I published was that which is entitled, Plain Scripture Proof for Infants Church-Membership and Baptism: being the Arguments used in...
in the Dispute with Mr. Tomkes, and an Answer to a Sermon of his afterward preached, &c.

This Book God blessed with unexpected Success to flop abundance from turning Anabaptists, and reclaiming many both in City and Country, (and some of the Officers of the Irish and English Forces) and it gave a considerable Check to their Proceedings.

Concerning it I shall only tell the Reader, 1. That there are towards the latter part of it, many enigmatical Reflections upon the Anabaptists for their horrid Scandals, which the Reader that lived not in those times will hardly understand: But the cutting off the King, and rebelling against him and the Parliament, and the Invading Scotland, and the approving of thefe, (with the Ranters and other Sects that sprang out of them) were the Crimes there intreated; which were not then to be more plainly spoken of, when their Strength and Fury was so high.

2. Note, that after the writing of that Book, I wrote a Postscript against that Doctrine of Dr. Burges and Mr. Tbo. Bedford, which I supposed to go on the other Extrem; and therein I answered part of a Treatise of Dr. Sam. Ward's which Mr. Bedford published; and it proved to be Mr. Thomas Gataker whom I defended, who is Dr. Ward's Sonor; But I knew it not till Mr. Gataker after told me.

But after these Writings I was greatly in Doubt whether it be not certain that all the Infants of true Believers are justified and saved, if they dye before actual Sin. My Reason was, because it is the same justifying saving Covenant of Grace which their Parents and they are in: And as real Faith and Repentance is that Condition on the Parents part which gives them their right to actual Remission, and Adoption: So to be the Children of such is all the Condition which is required in Infants in order to the fame Benefits: And without afferting this the Advantage of the Anabaptists is greater than every one doth imagine. But I never thought with Dr. Ward that all Baptized Children had this Benefit, and Qualitative Sanctification also; nor with Dr. Burges and Mr. Bedford, that all converted at Age, had inherent feminal Grace in Baptism certainly given them; nor with Bishop Davenants that all justly baptized had relative Grace of Justification and Adoption: But only that all the Infants of true Believers, who have right to the Covenant and Baptism in foro Cali as well as in foro Ecclesie, have also thereby Right to the Pardon of Original Sin, and to Adoption and to Heaven; which Right is by Baptism to be sealed and delivered to them. This I wrote of to Mr. Gataker who returned me a kind and candied Answer, but such as did not remove my Scruple; and this occasioned him to print Bishop Davenants Disputations with his Answer. My Opinion (which I most incline to) is the fame which the Synod of Dort expresseth, and that which I conjecture Dr. Davenant meant, or I am sure came next to.

Here note also, that Mr. Tomkes solicited me yet after all this, to write him down my Proofs of Infants Church-membership out of the circumcised Church, which I did at large, as from the Creation downward, as far as Proof could be expected in Proportion to the other Histories of those Times. Instead of sending him an Answer to my Papers, he printed some of them with an insufficient Answer in his last Book: These Papers with a Reply to him I have since Printed.

§ 159. 4. The Fourth Book which I published is a small one, called, The right Method for Peace of Conscience and Spiritual Comfort, in thirty two Directions. The Occasion of it was this: Mrs. Bridges, the Wife of Col. John Bridges, being one of my Flock, was often weeping out her Doubts to me, about her long and great Uncertainty of her true Sanctification and Salvation. I told her that a few halting Words were not Direction enough for the satisfactory resolving of so great a Cale; and therefore I would write her down a few of those necessary Directions which she should read and study, and get well imprinted on her Mind. As soon as I had begun I found 1. that it would not be well done in the Brevity which I expected. 2. And that when it was done it would be as useful to many others of my Flock as to her; and therefore I bestowed more time on it, and made it larger and fit for common use.

This Book pleased Dr. Hammond much, and many Rational Perfections, and some of these for whom it was written: But the Women and weaker sort I found could not so well improve clear Reason, as they can a few comfortable, warm and pretty Sentences; it is Style and not Reason which doth most with them: And some of the Divines were angry with it, for a Passage or two about Perseverance; because I had said that many Men are certain of their present Sanctification, which are not certain of their Perseverance and Salvation; meaning all the Godly that are
are assured of their Sanctification, and yet do not hold the certainty of Perfeverance. But a great Storm of Jealousie and Censure was by this and some such Words raised against me, by many good Men, who lay more on their Opinions and Party than they ought. Therefore, whereas some would have had me to retract it, and others to leave it out of the next Impression, I did the latter, but instead of it I published not long after

§ 160. 5. My Book called [ R. R's. Judgment about the Perseverance of Believers ]
In which I shewed them the Variety of Opinions about Perseverance, and that Augustine and Prosper themselves did not hold the certain Perseverance of all that are truly sanctified, though they held the Perseverance of all the Elect; but held that there are more sanctified than are Elect, and that Perseverance is affixed to the Elect as such, and not to the Sanctified as such. (which Bishop Ufher averred to Dr. Kendal before my Face to be most certainly Aslin's Judgment, though both he and I did incline to another.) From hence, and many other Arguments I inferred, that the sharp Censure of Men against their Brethren, for not holding a Point which Aslin himself was against, and no one Author can be proved to hold from the Apostles Days till long after Aslins, doth argue left Judgment and Charity than many of the Censurers seem to have. I never heard of any Censure against these Papers, though the few Lines which occasions them had so much.

§ 161. 6. Before this I had published two Authorial Sermons, entitled, True Christianty, one of Christ's Dominion, and the other of his Sovereignty over all Men as Redeemer: The first was preached before Judge Atkins, Sir Tho. Rams being high Sheriff: The second before Serjeant Glym, who defiring me to print it, I thought meet to print the former with it.

§ 162. 7. Also I published my Apology against divers that had printed Books against many things which I had written. It consisted of five parts: 1. An Answer to Mr. Blake. 2. An Answer to Dr. Kendal. 3. A Confutation of Ludumaeus Colinus. 4. An Answer to Mr. Grandon. 5. An Answer to Mr. Eyres.

The first, Mr. Blake, a reverend worthy Man of my acquaintance, in a Treatise of the Censtes had written much, I thought miftakingly against me; and though I replied without any sharpness, it was very displeasing to him.

Dr. Kendal was a little quick-Spirited Man, of great Obliteration and a Confid-erable Orator and Scholar: He was driven on farther by others than his own inclina- tion would have led him: He thought to get an Advantage for his Reputation, by a Triumph over John Goodwin and me; for those that let him on work would needs have him conjoin us both together, to intimate that I was an Arminian; while I was replying to his first Assault, he wrote a second; and when I had begun a Reply to that, meeting me at London, he was so earnest to take up the Con- trovertly, engaging Mr. Vines to persuade me that Bishop Ufher might determine it, and I was so willing to be eafed of such work, and to end any thing which might be made a Temptation against Charity, that I quickly yielded to Bishop Ufers Arbhtiment, who owned my Judgment about Univerfal Redemption, Per- severance, &c. but defired us to write against each other no more; and so my Se- cond Reply was suppress.

As for Ludumaeus Colinus, it is Ludowicus Molinaeus a Doctor of Phyfick, and Son to Pet. Molinaeus, and publick Professor of History in Oxford: He wrote a small Latin Tractate against his own Brother Cyrus Molinaeus, to prove that Jufification is before Faith: I thought I might be bold to confute him who chose the Truth and his own Brother to oppose. Another small Assault the fame Author made against me (instead of a Reply) for approving of Camera and Amiralbus's way about universal Redemption and Grace: To which I answered in the Preface to their Book: But these things were so far from alienating the Esteem and Affection of the Doctor, that he is now at this Day one of those Friends who are injurious to the Honour of their own Understandings by overvaluing me, and would tain have spent his time in translating some of my Books into the French Tongue.

Mr. Grandon was a Man that had run from Arminianism into the Extream of half Antinomianism, and having an exceffive Zeal for his Opinions (which seem to be honoured by the extolling of Free-grace,) and withal being an utter Stranger to me, he got a deep conceit that I was a Papift, and in that perfuasion wrote a large Book against my Aphorisms, which moved laughter in many, and pity in others, and troubled his Friends, as having disadavantaged their Cause. As soon as the Book came abroad, the news of the Author's death came with it, who died a fortnight after his birth. I had before hand got all fave the beginning and
and end, out of the Press, and wrote so much of an Answer as I thought it worthy, before the publication of it.

Mr. Eyres was a Preacher in Salisbury of Mr. Crandon's Opinion; who having preached there for J ustification before Faith, (that is, the J ustification of Elect Infidels) was publicly confuted by Mr. Warren, and Mr. Woodbridge (a very judicious Minifter of Newbury, who had lived in New England): Mr. Woodbridge printed his Sermon, which very perfcpciously opened the Doctrine of J ustification after the method that I had done. Mr. Eyres being offended with me as a Partner, gave me some part of his opposition, to whom I returned an Answer in the end: And a few words to Mr. Caryl who licenfed and approved Mr. Crandon's Book, (for the Antinomians were commonly Independants.) No one of all the Parties replied to this Book, save only Mr. Blake to some part of that which touched him.

§ 162. 8. Because my Aphorisms had so provoked so many, and the noise was very loud against them, to make the Passages plainer which offended them (about J ustification, Sanctification, Merit, Punishment, &c.) I wrote a Book, called The Confession of my Faith about thofe matters: which I gave the World to save any more of them from misunderstanding my Aphorisms, and declared my Subfcription of my Aphorisms till I should reprint them, intending only to correct two or three Passages, and elucidate the rest: But afterward I greatly affected to bring them into a small System of Divinity, which having never yet had time to write, I have omitted the reprinting of them to this day; (but fome have surreptitiously printed them againft my will).

In my Confession I opened the whole Doctrine of Antinomianifm which I oppofed, and I brought the Testimonies of abundance of our Divines, who give as much to other Acts besides Faith, in J ustification as I. And I opened the weakness of Dr. Owen's Realonings for J ustification before Faith, in his former Anfwer to me. To which he wrote an Anfwer, annexing it to his Conflation of Biddle and the Cracovian Catechifm (to intimate that I belonged to that Party) that I thought it unfit to make any Reply to it, not only becaufe I had no vacancy from better work, but becaufe the quality of it was fuch as would unavoidably draw me, if I confuted it, to fpeak fo much and fo offenfive to the Perfon, as well as the Doctrine, that it would have been a Temptation to the further weakening of his Charity, and increafing his defire of Revenge: And I thought it my duty (when the Readers good required me not to write) to forbear replying, and to let him have the laft word, becaufe I had begun with him. And I perceived that the common diftaff of Men againft him and his Book made my Reply the more unnec

But for all the Writings and Wrath of Me which were provoked againft me, I mull here record my Thanks to God for the Success of my Controversial Writings against the Antinomians: when I was in the Army it was the predominant Infection: The Books of Dr. Criff, Paul Hobfon, Salmarif, Cradock, and abundance fuch like were the Writings moft applauded; and he was thought no Spiritual Chriftian, but a Legalift that favoured not of Antinomianifm, which was ligared with the Title of Free-grace; and others were thought to preach the Law, and not to preach Chrift. And I confefs, the darknes of many Preachers in the Mysteries of the Gospel, and our common neglect of studying and preaching Grace, and Gratitude, and Love, did give occasion to the prevalency of this Sect, which God no doubt permitted for our good, to review our apprehenion of thofe Evangelical Graces and Duties which we barely acknowledged, but in our practice almoft over-lookt. But this Sect that then fo much prevailed, was fo suddenly almoft extinct, that now they little appear, and make no noise among us at all, nor have done thofe many years! In which effect thofe ungrateful Controversial Writings of my own have had fo much hand, as obligeth me to very much Thankfulnes to God.

§ 164. About that time having been at London, and preached fome Sermons there, one scrap of a Sermon preached in Westminster-Abbey to many Members of Parliament, was taken by fome one and printed; which is nothing but the naming of a few Directions which I then gave the Parliament Men for Church Reformation and Peace, according to the flate of thofe Times which it was preached in. (In Oliver Cromwell's time.)

§ 165. 10. And when I was returned home I was solicited by Letters to print many of the Sermons which I had preached in London; and in fome of them I gratified their desires: One Sermon which I publifhed was againft Men making light
The LIFE of the

light of Christ, upon Matt. 22. 5. This Sermon was preached at Lawrence Jury, where Mr. Vines was Pastor: though I went the day before to secure room for the Lord Brogill, and the Earl of Suffolk, with whom I was to go in the Coach, yet when I came, the Crowd had so little respect of Persons, that they were Eain
to go home again, because they could not come within hearing, and the old Earl of Warwick (who lived in the Abbey) brought me home again: And Mr. Vines himself was full to get up into the Pulpit, and sit behind me, and I to stand be-
tween his Legs: which I mention that the Reader may understand that Verfe in my Poem concerning him which is printed, where I say, That

At once one Pulpit held us both.

§ 166. 11. Another of those Sermons which I published was, A Sermon of Judg-
ment, which I enlarged into a Small Treatise. This was preached at Pauls at the
desire of Sir Christopher Pack, then Lord Mayor, to the greatest Auditory that I ever

§ 167. 12. Another Sermon which I preached at Martins Church, I printed
with enlargement, called, Catholic Uniy; shewing the great necessity of Unity
in real Holiness: It is fitted to the prophanes and ignorant People, who are still cry-
ing out against Errors and Divisions about letter matters, while they themselves
do practically and dammably err in the Foundation, and divide themselves from
God, from Christ, from the Spirit, and from all the living Members of Christ:
And it sheweth how greatly Ungodliness tendeth to Divisions, and Godliness to the
truest Unity and Peace.

§ 168. 13. About that time I had preached a Sermon at Worceser, which (though
rude and not polished) I thought meet to print, under the Title of The true Cath-
ilick, and The Catholic Church defcried: It is for Catholicism against all Sects; to
shew the Sin and Folly and Miftich of all Sects that would appropriate the Church
to themselves, and trouble the World with the Question, Which of all these Par-
ties is the Church? as if they knew not that the Catholic Church is that whole
which containeth all the Parts, though some more pure, and some lefs: especially
it is founded against the Roman Claim, which damneth all Christians besides them-
sef, and it detecteth and confuteth dividing Principles: For I apprehended it a
Matter of great Neceffity to imprin true Catholicism on the Minds of Christians;
it being a most lamentable thing to observe how few Christians in the World there
be, that fall not into one Sect or other, and wrong not the common Intefft of
Christianity, for the promoting of the Interest of their Sect: And how lamenta-
ibly Love is thereby destroyed, fo that most men think not that they are bound to
love thofe, as the Members of Chrift, which are againft their Party, and the Lea-
ders of most Sects do not flick to perfeceive thofe that differ from them, and think
the Blood of thofe who hinder their Opinions, and Parties, to be an acceptable Sa-
crifice to God. And if they can but get to be of a Sect which they think the bo-
Ifeft (as the Anabaptifs and Separatifs), or which is the largeft, (as the Greeks and
Papifls) they think then that they are sufficiently warranted, to deny others to be
God's Church, or at leaff to deny them Chriftian Love and Communion.

To this small Book I annexed a Pamphlet against a ridiculous Pamphlet of one
Malpas, an oldandalous neighbour Minifler, who was permitted to stay in by
the Parliament, (so far were they from being over-fright in their Reforma-
tion of the Clergy) and now is a considerable Man among them.

§ 169. 14. When we fet on foot our Association in Worceserfoure, I was defired
to print our Agreement, with an Explication of the severall Articles: which I did
in a small Book, called, Christian Concord: In which I gave the reafons
why the Epifcopal, Presbyterian, and Independants might and shoule unite
on fuch Terms, without any change of any of their Principles: But I confefs that
the new Epifcopal Party, that follow Gratius too far, and deny the very being of
all the Miftichfs and Churches that have not Diocefan Bifhops, are not capable of
Union with the refi upon fuch Terms: And hereby I gave notice to the Gentry
and others of the Royalifts in England, of the great danger they were in of chang-
ing their Ecclefialical Caufe, by following new Leaders that were for Gratianism.
But this Acclamation did greatly offend the Guilty, who now began to get the
Rins; though the old Epifcopal Proteflants confessed it to be all true. There is
nothing bringh greater hatred and fufferings on a Man, than to foreknow the
miftichfs that Men in power are doing, and intend, and to warn the World of it:
For while they are relolutely going on with it, they will proclaim him a Slanderer
that
that revealed it, and use him accordingly, and never be ashamed when they have done it, and thereby declared all which he foretold to be true.

§ 170. 15. Having in the Prefcript of my True Catholic, given a short touch against a bitter Book of Mr. Thomas Pierce's, against the Puritans and me, it pleased him to write another Volume against Mr. Hickman and me, just like the Man; full of malignant bitterness against Godly men that were not of his Opinion; and breathing out blood-thirsty malice, in a very Rhetorical fluent style. Abundance of Lies also are in it against the old Puritans, as well as against me; and in particular in charging Hacker's Villany upon Cartwright as a Contederate: which I instance in, because I have (out of old Mr. Aphi's Library) a Manuscript of Mr. Cartwright's containing his full Vindication against that Calumny, which some fain have fastened on him in his time.

But Mr. Pierce's principal business was to defend Grotius: In answer to which I wrote a little Treatise, called, The Grotian Religion disprov'd, in the imitation of Mr. Thomas Pierce: In which I cited his own words, especially out of his Digression Apologetici Rerum, wherein he opened his Terms of Reconciliation with Rome, viz. That it be acknowledged the Mixtrefs Church, and the Pope have his Supreme Government, but not Arbitrary, but only according to the Canon; To which end he defended the Council of Trent it self, Popes,Pint's Oath, and all the Councils, which is no other than the French sect of Popery: I had not then heard of the Book written in France, called Grotian Papizans, nor of Sarrasians Epistles, in which he witnessed it from his own mouth. But the very words which I cited contain an open Profession of Popery. This Book the Printer abused, printing every Section so dilatant, to fill up Paper, as if they had been several Chapters.

And in a Preface before it, I vindicated the Synod of Dort (where the Divines of England were chief Members) from the abusive virulent Accusations of one that called himself Tilenus junior. Hereupon Pierce wrote a much more railing malicious Volume than the former, (the liveliest Express of Satan's Image, malignity, bloody malice, and falseness, covered in handsome railing Rhetoric, (that ever I have seen from any that called himself a Protestant.) And the Preface was answer'd just in the same manner by one that filled himself Ptole-Tilenus. Three such Men as this Tilenus junior, Pierce and Gunning, I have not heard of besides in England: Of the Jesuites Opinion in Doctrinal, and of the old Dominican Complexion: the ablest Men that their Party hath in all the Land; of great diligence in study and reading; of excellent Oratory (especially Tilenus junior and Pierce); of temperate Lives; but all their Parts so sharpened with a furious percuting Zeal, against those that dislike Arminianism, high Prelacy, or full Conformity, that they are like the Briars and Thorns which are not to be handled, but by a fenced hand, and breathe out Torments against God's Servants better than themselves; and feem unfasted with blood and bruises, and still cry, Give, Give; bidding as loud defiance to Christian Charity, as ever Arria or any Hereck did to Faith.

This Book of mine of the Grotian Religion greatly offended many others: but none of them could speak any Sense against it, the Citations for Matter of Fact being unanswerable. And it was only the Matter of Fact which I undertook, viz.

To prove that Grotius professed himself a moderate Papist: But for his faults in so doing, I little meddled with it.

§ 171. Mr. Blake having replied to some things in my Apology, especially about Right to Sacraments, or the just Subject of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, I wrote five Disputations on those Points, proving that it is not the reality of a Dogmatical (or Justifying) Faith, nor yet the Profession of bare Assent (called a Dogmatical Faith by many); but only the Profession of a Saving Faith, which is the Condition of Mens title to Church-Communion (coram Ecclesia): and that Hypocrites are but Analogically or Equivoctly called Christians, and Believers, and Saints, &c. with much more to decide the most troublesome Controversie of that Time, which was about the Necessary Qualification and Title of Church-Members and Communicants: Many men have been perplexed about that Point, and that Book. Some think it cometh too near the Independents, and fome that it is too far from them; and many think it very hard, that [A Credible Profession] of True Faith and Repentance, should be made the stated Qualification; because they think it incredible that all the Jewish Members were such: But I have fitted this Point more exactly and diligently in my thoughts, than almost any Controversie whatever: And fain I would have found some other Qualification to take up with, (1. Either the Profession of some lower Faith than that which hath the Promise of Salvation; 2. Or at least such a Profession of Saving Faith, as needeth not to Q. be
be credible at all, &c.) But the Evidence of Truth hath forced me from all other ways, and suffered me to rest no where but here. That Profession should be made necessary without any respect at all to Credibility, and consequently to the very of the Faith professed, is incredible, and a Contradiction, and the very word Profession signifies more. And I was forced to observe, that those that in Charity would believe another Profession to be the title to Church-Communion, do greatly crofs their own design of Charity: And while they would not be bound to believe men to be what they profess, for fear of excluding many whom they cannot believe, do leave themselves and all others as not obliged to love any Church-Member as such, with the love which is due to a True Christian, but only with such a Love as they owe to the Members of the Devil; and to deny them the Kernel of Charity, by giving the Shell to a few more than elfe; they would do. Whereas upon my deepfli Search, I am satisfied that a Credible Profession of true Christianity, is it that denominates (the Adult) visible Christians: And that this mult contain Attent and Content, even all that is in the Baptifmal Covenant, and no more; and therefore Baptifm is called our Chrisrifying: But withal, that the Independants bring in Tyranny and Confufion, whilf they will take no Profession as Credible, which hath not more to make it credible than God and Charity require: And that indeed every man's word is to be taken as the Credible Profession of his own mind, unlefs he forfeit the Credit of his word, by gross ignorance of the Matter professed, or by a Contrary Profession, or by an inconstant Life: And therefore a Profession is credible as much, of it fell, till he that questioneth it doth disprove it. Effe the Rules of Humene Converse will be overthrown: for who knoweth the Heart of another so well as he himself: And God who will save or damn men, not for other mens Actions but their own, will have mens own choosing or refusing to be their infer or exclusion, both as to Saving Mercy, and to a Church State: And if they be Hypocrites in a falle Profeflion, the fin and los will be their own. But I confess mens Credibility herein hath very various degrees: But though my fears are no f-ever great, that a man diffembles and is not sincere, yet if I be not able to bring in that Evidence to invalidate his Profession, which in foro Eccle- fie fhall prove it to be incredible, I ought to receive him as a credible Professor, though by a Humane, and perhaps moft debile Belief.

§ 172. 17. After that I published four Dilutations of Justification, clearing up further thefe Points in which some Reverend Brethren blamed my Judgment; and answering Reverend Mr. Burges (who would needs write somewhat against me in his Treatife of Impputed Righteousnefs); and also answering a Treatife of Mr. Warner's of the Office and Objefl of Justifying Faith: The Failacies that abufe many about thefe Points are there fully opened.

If the Reader would have the Sum of my Judgment about Justification, in brief, he may find it very plainly in a Sermon on that Subject, among the Morning Exercises at St. Giles's in the Fields, preached by my worthy Friend Mr. Gibbons of Black-Fryars, (in whole Church I ended my Publick Miniftiy); a Learned Judicious Man, now with God. And it is as fully opened in a Latin Dilutation of Monfters le Blane's of Sedan; and Placems in Thef. Salmu. Vol. i. de Jufitif. hath much to the fame purpofe.

§ 173. 18. Near the fame time I published a Treatife of Conversion, being some plain Sermons on that Subject, which Mr. Baldwin (an honest young Miniftier that had lived in my Houfe, and learn'd my proper Characters, or Short-hand, in which I wrote my Sermon Notes) had transcribed out of my Notes. And though I had no leisure, for this or other Writings, to take much care of the flile, nor to add any Ornaments, or Citations of Authors, I thought it might better pass as it was, than not at all; and that if the Author wift of the Applause of the Learned, yet the Book might be profitable to the Ignorant, as it proved through the great Mercy of God.

§ 174. 19. Also I published a shorter Treatife on the fame Subject, entitled, A Call to the Unconverted, &c. The Occafion of this was my Converse with Bishop Ufher while I was at London, who much approving my Method or Directions for Peace of Confeffion, was importunate with me to write Directions suited to the various States of Christians, and also against particular Sins: I reverenced the Man, but disregarded these Perufalions, supposing I could do nothing but what is done as well or better already: But when he was dead his Words went deeper to my Mind, and I purpofed to obey his Counsel; yet fo as that to the first part of Men (the Ungedy) I thought vehement Perufalions meeter than Directions only: And fo for in h I published his little Book; which God hath blessed with unexpected Suc-
PART I. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

cefs beyond all the rest that I have written (except The Saints Rest): In a little more than a Year there were about twenty thousand of them printed by my own Content, and about ten thousand since, besides many thousands by stolen Imprefions, which poor, Men stole for Lucre fake: Through God's Mercy I have had Information of almost whole Households converted by this small Book, which I let go light by: And as if all this in England, Scotland and Ireland were not Mercy enough to me, God (since I was silenced) hath lent it over on his Meslage to many beyond the Seas; for when Mr. Ellis had printed all the Bible in the Indian Language, he next translated this my Call to the Unconverted, as he wrote to us here: And though it was here thought prudent to begin with the Practice of Piety, because of the envy and diflaffe of the times against me, he had finifhed it before that Advice came to him. And yet God would make some farther use of it; for Mr. Steep the Paffor of the French Church in London, being driven hence by the difpleasure of Superiors, was pleased to tranflate it into elegant French, and print in it a very curious Letter, and I hope it will not be unprofitable there; nor in Germany, where it is printed in Dutch.

§ 175. 20. After this I thought, according to Bishop Ullar's Method, the next fort that I should write for, is that of are under the work of Converfion, because by Half-Converfions Multitudes proved deceived Hypocrites: Therefore I published a small Book entitled, Directions and Persuasions to a new Converfion, which though I thought more apt to move the former, yet through the Fault of the covetous Bookfellers, and because it was held at too high a Price (which hindered many other of my Writings), there were not past two or three Imprefions of them fold.

§ 176. 21. About that time being apprehensive how great a part of our Work lay in catechifing the Aged who were Ignorant, as well as Children, and especially in feries Conference with them about the Matters of their Salvation, I thought it bel Katho to draw in all the Minifters of the Country with me, that the Benefit might extend the farther, and that each one might have the left Oppofition. Which having procured, at their desire I wrote a Catechifm, and the Articles of our Agreement, and before them an earnen Exhortation to our Ignorant People to submit to this way (for we were afraid left they would not have submitted to it): And this was then publifhed. The Catechifm was also a brief Confeffion of Faith, being the Enlargement of a Confeflion which I had before printed in an open Sheet, when we let up Church Discipline.

§ 177. 22. When we fet upon this great Work, it was thought bel Katho to begin with a Day of Fasting and Prayer by all the Minifters at Worcester, where they defired me to preach: But Weaknes and other things hindered me from that Day; but to commefrate that, I enlarged and publifhed the Sermon which I had prepared for them, and entitled the Treatife, Gildas Saluenus (because I imitated Gildas and Saluenus in my Liberty of Speech to the Paffors of the Churches or The reformed Paffor: I have very great Caufe to be thankful to God for the Succes of that Book, as hoping many thousand Souls are the better for it, in that it prevailed with many Minifters to fet upon that Work which I there exhorted them to: Even from beyond the Seas, I have had Letters of Request, to direct them how they might bring on that Work according as that Book had convinced them that it was their Duty. If God would but reform the Miniftrey, and lef them on their Duties zealously and faithfully, the People would certainly be reformed: All Churches either ftre or fall as the Miniftrey doth ftre or fall,(not in Riches and worldly Grandure) but in Knowledge, Zeal and Ability for their Work. But since Bishops were restored this Book is ufelefs, and that Work not meddled with.

§ 178. 23. When the part of the Parliament called the Rump or Commonwealth was fettling, the Anabaptifts, Seekers &c. fiw so high againft Tythes and Miniftry, that it was much feared left they would have prevailed at laft: Wherefore I drew up a Petition for the Miniftrey, which is printed under the Name of the Worcesterfiire Petition, which being presented by Coll. John Bridges and Mr. Thomas Foley, was accepted with Thanks, and seemed to have a considerable ten-dency to fome good Reformations.

§ 179. But the Sectaries greatly raged againft that Petition, and one wrote a vehement Inveftige againft it; which I anfwered in a Paper called, The Defence of the Worcesterfiire Petition (which by an Over-fight is mannered by the want of the Anfwer to one of the Accusers Queries). I knew not what kind of Perfon he was that I wrote againft, but it proved to be a Quaker, they being juft now rising, and this
this being the first of their Books, (as far as I can remember) that I had ever seen.

§ 180. 24. Presently upon this the Quakers began to make a great Stirr among us, and acted the Parts of Men in Raptures, and spake in the manner of Men inspired, and every where railed against Tythes and Ministers. They sent many Papers of Queries to divers Ministers about us: And to one of the chief of them I wrote an Answer, and gave them as many more Questions to answer, entituling it, The Quakers Catechism: Thse Pamphlets being but one or two Days Work, were no great Interruption to my better Labours, and as they were of small Worth, I allo of small Cost. The same Ministers of our Country that are now silenced, are they that the Quakers most vehemently opposed, medling little with the rest. The marvellous concurrence of Instruments telleth us, that one principal Agent doth act them all. I have oft asked the Quakers lately, why they chose the same Ministers to revile, whom all the Drunkards and Sweaters rail against? And why they cryed out in our Assemblies, Come down thou Deceiver, thou Hireling, thou Dog; and now never meddle with the Pastors or Congregations? And they answer, 1. That these Men fin in the open Light, and need none to discover them. 2. That the Spirit hath his times both of Severity, and of Lenity. But the Truth is, they knew then they might be bold without any Fear of Suffering by it: And now it is time for them to save their Skins; they suffer enough for their own Assemblies.

§ 181. 25. The great Advancement of the Popish Interest by their secret agency among the Sectaries, Seekers, Quakers, Beheminsts, &c. did make me think it necessary to do something directly against Popery; and so I published three Dissensions against them, one to prove our Religion safe, and another to prove their Religion unsafe; and a third to shew that they overthrew the Faith by the ill Revolution of their Faith. This Book I entituled, The Safe Religion.

§ 182. 26. About the same time I fell into trouble, by acquaintance with one Clement Writer of Worcefter, an ancient Man that (had long leamed a forward Professor of Religiousness, and of a good Conversation, but was now perverced to I know not what: A Seeker he professed to be, but I easily perceived that he was either a judging Papist or an Inskel; but I more suspected the latter: He had written a forcornful Book against the Ministry, called Just Divinum Prebyteri, and after two more against the Scripture, and against me, one called Fides Doyna, the other's Title I remember not: His Affirition to me was, that no Man is bound to believe in Christ that doth not see confirming Miracles himself with his own Eyes.

By the Provocations of this Apoflate, I wrote a Book, called, The unreaatable perseverance of Infidelity, consiling of four Parts: The first, of the eurinick Witness of the Spirit by Miracles, &c. to which I annexed a Difputation against Clement Writer, to prove that the Miracles wrought by Christ and his Apoiftles, oblige us to believe that did not see them. The second part was of the intrinsic Witness of the Spirit, to Christ and Scripture. The third was of the Sin or Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. And the fourth was to reprove the Arrogancy of reafoning against Divine Revelations. All this was intended but as a Supplement to the Second Part of The Saments Reft, where I had pleaded for the Truth of Scripture: But this Subject I have since more fully handled in my Reasons of the Christian Religion.

At that time Mr. Gilbert, a learned Minifter in Shropshire wrote a small compinc Tractate in Latin (as against a Book of Dr. Owen's, though his intimate Friend) to prove that Christ's Death was not necessary absolutely, but of Divine Free Choice; and in answer to that Book, I wrote a brief Premonition to my Tractate against Infidelity to decide that Controversy.

§ 183. 27. Mr. Tho. Foley being High SHERiff, defined me to preach before the Judges; which I did on Gal. 6. 16. and enlarged it to a Tractate, entituled, The Cruelty of the World by the Crofs of Christ; for Mortification; and put an Epiflile somewhat large before it to provoke rich Men to good Works.

§ 184. 18. Some Men about this time persauded me, that if I would write a few finge Sheets on severa Subjects, though the Style were not very moving, yet it would do more good than larger Volumes, because most People will buy and read them, who will neither buy nor read the larger. Whereupon I wrote fift, One Sheet against the Quakers, containing thofe Reasons which should confid the Sober Men against their way.

§ 185. 25. The second Sheet I called A Winding Sheet for Popery containing a Summary of Moderate and Effectual Reasons against Popery: (which fingle sheet no Papist hitherto hath anfwered.)

§ 186.
§ 186. 32. The third Sheet was called [One Sheet for the Ministry, against the Magis-
trants of all sorts]; containing those Reasons for the present Ministry which shewed
the greatness of the Sin of those that set against them. It was intended then to
attack the Quakers and other Sectarian Enemies to the Ministry: but it is as useful
for these Times, and against those that on other pretences hate, and silence, and
suppress them; and might tell their Confidences what they do,
§ 187. 31. The fourth Sheet I called [A Second Sheet for the Ministry]; being a
Defence of their Office as continued, against the Seekers, who pretend that the
Ministry is ceased and loft: And it may serve against the Papists that question our
Call for want of a Succession; and all their Spawn of Sectaries that are still fret-
ting themselves against the Ministry, and against the Sacred Scriptures.
§ 188. 32. Mr. William Montford being chosen Baylliff of Kilderminster, desired me
to write him down a few brief Instructions for the due Execution of his Office
of Magistracy, that he might so pass it as to have Comfort and not Trouble in the
Review; which having done, considering how many Mayors, and Baylliffs, and
Country Justices needed it as well as he, I printed it in an open Sheet to flock
upon a Wall, Entituled, Directions for Justices of Peace, especially in Corporations;
for the Discharge of their Duties to God; (suited to those Times.)
§ 189. 33. Mr. John Dury having spent thirty Years in Endeavours to recon-
cile the Lutherans and Calvanists, was now going over Sea again upon that Work,
and defined the Judgment of our Aflociation how it should be successfully expedited;
which at their desire I drew up more largely in Latin, and more briefly in English:
The English Letter he printed, as my Letter to Mr. Dury for Pacification.
§ 190. 34. About that time Mr. Jonathan Hamer of Devonshire wrote a Trea-
stie for Conformation, as the most expedient means to reform our Churches, and
conciliate all that disagree about the Qualification of Church Members: I liked the
Design so well (having before written for it in my Treatie of Baptism) that being
requested, I put a large Epistle before it; and after that, when some Brethren
defined me to produce more Scripture Proof for it than he had done, I wrote a small Treatise called, [Conformation and Reconciliation the necessary means to Reformation and Reconciliation.] But the times changed before it could be much practised.
§ 191. 35. Sergeant Shepheard, an honest Lawyer, wrote a little Book of Simplicity
and Hypocrisy; and, in the end of it Mr. Tho. Barlow (afterward Bishop of Lincoln)
 wrote (without his Name) an Appendix in Confitution of a fuppofed Opinion of
mine, that Saving Grace differeth not Specie but Gradu from Common Grace: To
which I replied in a short Discourse called [Of Saving Faith, &c.] I had most
highly valued the Author whom I wrote against, long before, for his Six Exer-
citations in the end of Schiller's Metaphysics; But in his Attempt against me, he
came quite below himself, as I made manifest; and he resolved to make no Anfwer
to it. In this Tractate the Printer plaid his part so shamefully, that the Book is
fearcely to be understood.
§ 192. 36. Being greatly apprehensive of the Commonnefs and Danger of the Sin of
Selfishnefs, as the Summ and Root of all positive Evil, I preached many Ser-
mons against it; and at the Requeft of some Friends I published them, entituled A
Treatie of Self-denial; which found better acceptance than most of my other, but
yet prevented not the ruine of Church and State, and Millions of Souls by that Sin.
§ 193. 37. After that I published, Five Disputations about Church-Government, in
order to the Reconciliation of the differing Parties: In the first I proved that the
English Diocofe Pefiacy is intolerable (which none hath anfwered): In the fecond
I have proved the Validity of the Ordination then exercised without Dioces-
anes in England (which no Man hath anfwered, though many have urged Men to
be re-ordained). In the third I proved that there are divers Sorts of Epifi-
cacy lawful and defeirable. In the fourth and fifth I shew the lawnefs of fame
Ceremonies and of a Liturgy, and what is unlawful here.
This Book being published when Bishops, Liturgy and Ceremonies were most de-
dreaded and oppofed, was of great use to declare my Judgment when the King
came in; for if I had faid as much then, I had been judged but a Temporizer:
But as it was effectual to settle many in a Moderation, fo it made abundance of
Conformifh afterwards (or was pretended at leaft to give them Satisfaction): Though it never medled with the greatest Parts of Conformity (Renouncing Vows, Affent and Content to all things in three Books, &c.) and though it un-
answerably confined our Pefiacy and Re-ordination, and consequently the Re-
unciation of the Vow againft Pefiacy; and oppofed the Crofs in Baptism. But Sic
vitans
vitam Stulti Vitia (as my Aphorisms made some Arminians). If you discover an
Error to an injudicious Man, he reeleth into the contrary Error, and it is hard
to stop him in the middle Verity.

§ 194. 28. At the same time I published another Book against Popery, fit for the
defensive Part, and instructing Protestants how to answer any Papist. It is entituled,
A Key for Catholicks, to open the jugling of the Jesuits, and satise all that are
but truly willing to understand whether the Cause of the Roman or Reformed Churches be
of God.

In this Treatise, proving that the Blood of the King is not by Papists to be
charged upon Protestants, I plainly hazarded my Life against the Powers that
then were; and grievously incensed Sir H. Vane (as is before declared) : And yet
Mr. J. N. was so tender of the Papists Interest, that having before been offended
with me for a Petition against Popery, and (a Justice of all times) spake against
it on the Bench, and his Displeasure encraved by this Book; he took occasion since
the King came in, to write against me for those very Passages which condemned
the King-killers: Because comparing the Case with the Doctrine and Practice of the
Papists, I shewed that the Sectarians and Cromwelians had of the two a more plau-
nable Pretence, (which I there recited) he confuteth those Pretences of theirs as if
they had been my own; thereby to make the World believe that I wrote for the
King's Death, in the very Pages where to the hazard of my Life I wrote against
it; when he himself took the Engagement against the King and the House of
Lords, and was a Justice under Oliver, and more than so, signed Orders for the fe-
quering of others of the King's Party. But the great indignation against this
Book and the former, is, that they were by Epifites directed to Rs. Cromwell as
Lord Protector, which I did only to provoke him that had Power, to use it well,
when the Parliament had sworn Fidelity to him; and that without any Word of
Approbation to his Title.

Yet those that were not prejudiced by partiality against this Book (my Key for Ca-
tholicks) have let me know that it hath not been without Success: It being indeed
a sufficient Armory, for to furnish a Protestant to defend his Religion against all
the Affluents of the Papists whatsoever, and teacheth him how to answer all their
Books. The second part doth briefly deal with the French and Grotian Party, that are
for the Supremacy of a Council, at least as to the Legislative Power, and sheweth
that we never had a general Council, nor can it be at all expected.

§ 195. 19. But the Book which hath furnished my Enemies with matter of Re-
viling (which none mult dare to answer) is my Holy Commonwealth: The Occa-
Sion of it was this; when our Pretorian Sectarian Bands had cut all Bonds and pull'd
down all Governments, and after the Death of the King had twelve Years kept out
his Son, few Men saw any probability of his Restitution; and every self-conceited
Fellow was ready to offer his Model for a new Form of Government: Mr. Hobbs
his Leviathan had pleased many: Mr. Tho. White the great Papist, had written his
Politicks in English for the Interest of the Protector, to prove that Subjects ought
to submit and subject themselves to such a Change: And now Mr. James Harrington
(they fly by the help of Mr. H. Nevill) had written a Book in Folio for a
Democracy, called Oceana, seriously describing a Form near to the Venetian, and
setting downe the Defiles of a Change: And after this Sir H. Vane and his Party were about their Sectarian Democratical Model, which Stubbs defended;
and Rogers and Needham (and Mr. Bighaw had written against Monarchy be-
fore). In the end of an Epistle before my Book of [Crucifying the World] I had
spoken a few Words against this Innovation and Opposition to Monarchy; and hav-
ing especially touched upon Oceana and Leviathan, Mr. Harrington seemed in a
Bartholomew Rage; for by way of Scorn he printed half a Sheer of foolish Jeers, in
such Words as Ides or Drunkards use, railing at Minifters as a Pack of Fools and
Knaves, and by his gibberifh Derision persuading Men that we deferved no other
Answer than such Scorn and Nonfence as befemeth Fools: And with most inof-
lenent Pride he carried it, as if neither I nor any Minifters understood at all what
Policy was; but prated against we knew not what, and had presumed to speak
against other Mens Art, which he was Mafter of, and his Knowledge to fuch Ide-
os as we incomprehensible. This made me think it fit, having given that Gen-
ereal hint against his Oceana, to give a more particular Charge, and wish'd to give
the World and him an Account of my Political Principles, and to shew what I
held as well as what I denied; which I did in that Book called, Political Aphorisms,
or A Holy Commonwealth, as contrary to his Heathenish Commonwealth: In which I
plead the Caufe of Monarchy as better than Democracy and Aristocracy; but as
under
under God the Universal Monarch. Here Bishop Morley hath his Matter of Charge against me; of which one part is that I spake against Unlimited Monarchy, because God himself hath limited all Monarchies. If I had said that Laws limit Monarchis, I might among some men be thought a Traytor, and unexceptionable: but to say that God limited Monarchies, I thought had never before been chargeable with Traelon, or opposed by any that believed that there is a God. If they are indeed unlimited in respect of God, we have many Gods or no God. But now it is dangerous to meddle with these matters: Moff man say now, Let God defend himself.

In the end of this Book is an Appendix concerning the Cause of the Parliament first War, which was thus occasioned: Sir Francis Netherole a Religious Knight, who was against the lawfulness of the War on both sides, lent his man to me, with Letters to advise me to tell Cromwell of his Uprising, and to counsel him to call in the King; of which when I had given him satisfaction, he lent him again with more Letters and Books, to convince me of the unlawfulness of the Parliament's War: And others attempting the same at the same time; and the Confusions which the Army had brought upon us, being such as made me very much disposed to think ill of those beginnings which had no better an end, I thought it best to publish my Detestation and Lamentation for those Rebellious Proceedings of the Army, (which I did as plainly as could be born, both in an Epistle to them, and in a Meditation in the end), and withal to declare the very Truth, that hereby I was made suspicious and doubtful of the beginnings or first Cause, but yet was not able to anwser the Arguments which the Lawyers of the Parliament then gave, and which had formerly inclined me to that side. I conceived, that it mens Milcarriages and ill Accidents would warrant me to Condemn the beginnings which were for another Cause, then I should have condemned them: But that being not the way, I found my self yet unable to answer the first Reasons; and therefore laid them down together, defining the help of others to answer them, professing my own suspicion, and my daily Prayers to God for just satisfaction. And this Paper is it that containeth all my Crimes. Against this, one Tomkins wrote a Book, called, The Rebels Plea. But I wait in silence till God enlighten us.

In the beginning of this Book having reprehended the Army, I answer a Book of Sir Henry Vane's, called, The Healing Question. It was published when Richard Cromwell was pull'd down, and Sir H. Vane's New Commonwealth was forming.

§ 196. 40. About the same time, one that called himself W. Johnson, (but I hear his Name is Mr. Terret) a Papift, engaged me in a Controversie, about the perpetual visibility of the Church; which afterwards I published; the story of which you have more at large in the following part of this Book. In the latter I inferred a Letter of one Thomas Smyth a Papift, with my Answer to it, which it seemeth occasioned his recovery from them, as is manifeft in a Letter of Mr. Thomas Stanley his Kinsman (a sober godly man in Breadstreet) which I by his own consent subjoined. To this Book Mr. Johnson hath at last replied; and I have since return'd an Answer to him.

§ 197. 41. Having been desir'd in the time of our Associations, to draw up those Terms which all Christian Churches may hold Communion upon; I published them, though too late for any such use (till God give men better minds) that the World might see what our Religion and our Terms of Communion were; and that if after Ages prove more peaceable, they may have some light from those that went before them. It consisteth of three parts:

The first containeth the Christian Religion, which all are positively to profess, that is, Either to subscribe the Scriptures in general, and the ancient Creeds in particular; or at most, the Confession (or Articles) annexed: e.g. [I do believe all the Sacred Canonical Scripture, which all Christian Churches do receive; and particularly I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c.]

The second Part (instead of Books of unnecessary Canons) containeth seven or eight Points of Practice for Church-Order, which, so it be practised, it is no great matter whether it be subcribed or not. And here it must be understood that these are written for Times of Liberty, in which Agreement rather than Force doth procure Unity and Communion.

The third Part containeth the larger Description of the Office of the Ministry, and consequently of all the Ordinances of Worship; which need not be subscribed, but none should preach against it, nor omit the practice; except Peace require that the Point of Infant Baptism be left free.
This small Book is called by the Name of Universal Concord; which when I wrote, I thought to have published a Second Part; viz. a large Volume containing the particular Terms of Concord, between all Parties capable of Concord. But the Change of the Times hath necessarily changed that purpose.

§ 158. 42. The next published was a Sermon before the Parliament, the day before they voted in the King, being a Day of Humiliation appointed to that end. It is called A Sermon of Repentance, of which more afterward.

§ 159. 43. The next published was a Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at Paul's, being on their Day of Rejoycing for General Monk's Success to bring in the King: It is called A Sermon of Right Rejoycing.

§ 200. 44. The next was a Sermon of the Life of Faith, preached before the King, being all that ever I was called to preach before him, when I had been sworn his Chaplain in Ordinary: of which more afterward.

§ 201. 45. The next was called A Believer's last Work, being prepared for the Funeral of Mrs. Mary Hammer, Mother to my Wife (then intended, but after married): Its use is to prepare for a Comfortable Death.

§ 202. 46. Before this (which I forgot in its proper place) I published a Treatise of Death, called, The last Enemy to be overcome, shewing the true Nature of the Enmity of Death, and its ufe: Being a Funeral Sermon for Mrs. Elizabeth Baker, Wife to Mr. Joseph Baker Minister at Worcester; with some Notes of her Life.

§ 203. 47. Another was called, The vain Religion of the Formal Hypocrite: A Discovery of the Nature and Milk Chief of a Formal vain Religion, preached at Westminister-Abbey: with a Sermon annexed of the Prosperity of Fools. This being preached at Covent-Garden was unjustly accused, and published by way of Vindication, with the former.

§ 204. 48. The next was a Treatise on Luke 10. 42. One thing is needful; called, A Saint or a Brat? shewing the Necessity, Utility, Safety, Honour and Pleasure of a Holy Life, and wincing the Truth of our Religion against Atheists and Infidels and Prophane ones.

§ 205. 49. The next was a Treatise of Self-knowledge, preached at Dunfan's Well, called, The Mischiefs of Self-Ignorance, and Benefits of Self-acquaintance; which was published partly to vindicate it from many false Accusations, and partly at the desire of the Countes of Balcarres to whom it was directed. It was fitted to the Dilectes of this furious Age, in which each man is ready to devour others, because they do not know themselves.

§ 206. 50. The next was a Treatise called The Divine Life: which contains three Parts; The first is of the Right Knowledge of God, for the imprinting of his Image on the Soul, by the knowledge of his Attributes, &c. The second is, Of walking with God. The third is, Of improving Solitude to converse with God, when we are forfaken by all Friends, or separated from them.

The Occasion of the publishing of this Treatise was this; The Countes of Balcarres being going into Scotland, after her abode in England, being deeply sensible of the loss of the Company of those Friends which she left behind her, designed me to preach the last Sermon which she was to hear from me on those words of Christ, John 16. 52. Behold the hour cometh, yea is now come, that ye shall be scattered every man to his own, and shall leave me alone; and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me.] At her request I preached on this Text; and being afterward desired by her to give it her in Writing, and the Publication being her design, I prefixed the two other Treatises to make it more considerable, and published them together. The Treatise is upon the most Excellent Subject, but not elaborate at all; being but Popular Sermons preached in the midst of diverting Busineses, Accusations, and malicious Clamours

When I offered it to the Prefe, I was fain to leave out the quantity of one Sermon in the end of the second Treatise [That God took Henoch]; wherein I shewed what a mercy it is to one that hath walked with God, to be taken to him from this World; because it is a dark, a wicked, a malicious, and imachable, a treacherous deceitful World, &c. All which the Bishop's Chaplain must have expunged, because men would think it was all spoken of them! And to the World hath got a Provocation against the force of our Baptifmal Vow.

§ 207. Because I have said so much in the Epilfles of these two Books of the Countes of Balcarres, the Reader may expect some further Satisfaction of her Quality, and the Caufe.
She is since married to the Earl of Argyle.

She is since married to the Earl of Argyle.
§ 210. 53. At that time one Mr. Nathaniel Lane wrote to me to interest me to write one sheet or two for the use of poor Families, who will not buy or read any bigger Books. Though I knew that brevity would unavoidably cause me to leave out much necessary matter, or else to write in a style so concise and close as will be little moving to any but close judicious Readers, yet I yielded to his persuasions, and thought it might be better than nothing, and might be read by many that would read no larger; and so I wrote two Sheets for poor Families: The first containing the method and motives for the Conversion of the Ungodly. The second containing the Description or Character of a true Christian, or the necessary Parts of Christian Duty, for the direction of Beginners in a Godly Life. These three last Sheets were printed by the favour of the Archbishop's Chaplain, when the Bishop of London's Chaplain had put me out of hope of printing any more.

With all these Writings I have troubled the World already: and these are all except Epistles to other mens Works; (as one before Mr. Swinnock's Book of Regeneration; one before Mr. Hopkin's Book; one before Mr. Eedes; one before Mr. Matthew Poul's Model for Advancing Learning; one before Mr. Benjamin Baxter's Book; one before Mr. Jonathan Hamner's Exercitation of Confirmation; one before Mr. Lawrence of Sickness; two before two of Mr. Tomne's Books; and some others; (of which there are two that I must give some account of)

The Bookseller being to print the Assembly's Works, with the Texts cited at length, defined me by an Epistle to recommend it to Families: I thought it a thing arrogant and unfit for a single Person, who was none of the Synod, to put an Epistle before their Works. But when he made me know that it was the desire of some Reverend Ministers, I wrote an Epistle, but required him to put it into other mens hands, to publish or suppress, according to their Judgment; but to be sure that they printed all or none. The Bookseller gets Dr. Mansio to put an Epistle before the Book, who inferred mine in a differing Character in his own, (as mine, but not naming me): But he leaveth out a part, which it seems, was not pleasing to all. When I had commended the Catechisms for the use of Families, I added, That I hoped the Assembly intended not all in that long Confession and those Catechisms, to be insipid as a Text of Christian Communion; nor to deform all that scraped any word in it; If they had I could not have commended it for any such use, though it be useful for the instruction of Families, &c.] All this is left out, which I thought meet to open, left I be there misunderstood.

Also take notice that the Poem prefixed to Mr. Viny's Book of the Sacrament, was not printed by any order of mine. Having received the printed Book from the Stationer as a Gift, it renewed my Sorrow for the Author's Death; which provoked me to write that Poem the fame Night, in the Exercise of my Sorrow, and gave it the Donor for his Book; and he printed it without my knowledge.

§ 211. Manuscripts that are yet unprinted, which by me, are these following.

1. *A Treatise in Folio, called, A Christian Directory, or Sum of Practical Divinity, in four Tomes: The first called Christian Ethics; The second Christian Ecclesiastics; The third, Christian Oeconomicks; The fourth, Christian Politicks. It containeth bare Directions for the practice of our Duties in all these respects; as Christians, as Church-Members, as Members of the Family, and as Members of the Commonwealth: But there is a sufficient Explication of the Subject utihally premised, and the Directions themselves are the Answers of most useful Cafes of Conscience thereabouts, though the Cafes be not named by way of Question: But where it was necessary the Cafes are distinctly named and handled.

My intent in writing this, was at once to satisfy that motion soearnestly made by Bishop Usher, mentioned in the Preface to my Call to the Unconverted, which I have been hindered from doing by parts before: And I had some little respect to the request which was long ago lent to him from some Tranmarine Divines, to help them to a Sum of Practical Divinity in the English method: But though necessary brevity hath deprived it of all life and luster of Stile, it being but a Skeleton of Practical Heads; yet is it so large by reason of the multitude of things to be handled, that I see it will not be of so common a use as I first intended it. To young Ministers, and to the more intelligent and diligent part of Malters of Families, (who would have a Practical Directory at hand to teach them every Christian Duty,) and how to help others in the practice it may be not unserviceable.

2. Ano—
Another Manuscript is called [* A Christian indeed *]: It consists of two Parts; The first is a Discovery of the Calamities which follow the weakness and faultiness of many true Christians, and Directions for their strengthening and growth in Grace; which was intended as the third particular Treatise in fulfilling the foresaid request of Bishop Usher; The Call to the Unconverted being for that Part, and the Directions for a sound Conversion, being for the second Part, who are yet as it were in the birth: And this being for the weaker and faultier fort of Christians, which are the third fort. To which is added a second Part, containing the just Description of a sound confirmed Christian (whom I call a Christian indeed) in sixty Characters or Marks; and with each of them is adjointed the Character of the weak Christian, and of the Hypocrite about the same part of Duty. But all is but briefly done (the Heads being many) without any life or ornament of Stile.

This short Treatise I offered to Mr. Thomas Grigg, * the Bishop of London's Chaplain, to be licensed for the Press, (a man that but lately Conformed, and professed special respect to me); but he utterly refused it; pretending that it favoured of Discontent, and would be interpreted as against the Bishops and the Times. And the matter was, that in several Passages I spake of the Prosperity of the Wicked, and the Adversity of the Godly, and described Hypocrites by their Enmity to the Godly, and their fortaking the Truth for fear of Suffering, and described the Godly by their undergoing the Enmity of the wicked World, and being fleed from whatever it shall call them, &c. And all this was interpreted as against the Church or Prelati's. I asked him whether they would license that of mine which they would do of another man's against whom they had no displeasure (in the same words): And he told me No: because the words would receive their interpretation with the Readers from the mind of the Author. And he asked me, whether I did not think my self that Nonconformists would interpret it as against the Times. I answered him, Yes, I thought they would; and so they do all those Passages of Scripture which speak of Persecution and the Suffering of the Godly; but I hoped Bibles should be licensed for all that. I asked him whether that was the Rule which they went by, that they would license nothing of mine which they thought any Readers would interpret as against the Bishops or their Party. And when he told me plainly, that it was their Rule or Resolution, I took it for my final Answer, and purposed never to offer him more: For I despair of writing that which men will not interpret according to their own Condition and Opinion; especially against those whose Crimes are notorious before the World. This made me think what a troublesome thing is Guilt, which, as Seneca faith, is like a Sore, which is pained not only with a little touch, but sometime upon a conceit that it is touched; and maketh a man think that every Bryan is a Sergeant to Arrest him; or with Cain, that every one that feeth him would kill him! A Cainites heart and life both usefully the attendance of a Cainites Conference. I did but try the License with this small inconsiderable Script, that I might know what to expect for my more valued Writings! And I told him that I had troubled the World with so much already, and paid enough for one man's part, that I could not think it very necessary to say any more to them; and therefore I should accept of his dischARGE. But I was unwilling to publish them alone, while the Practical Writings are refuted. And I give God thanks that I once saw Times of greater Liberty (though under an Ushper) or else as far as I can discern, scarce any of my Books had ever seen the Light.

Another Manuscript that lieth by me, is a Disputation for some Universality of Redemption *, which hath lain by me near Twenty years unfinished, partly because many narrow minded Brethren would have been offended with it; and partly because at first came out after Amphilochus, and Davenant's Disputations, a Treatise of Daleus, which contained some things, but especially the same Telemmonies of concordant Writers which I had prepared to produce.

There is also by me an imperfect Manuscript of Predetermination.

And divers Disputations of sufficient Questions in Divinity, curiously managed at our Monthly Meetings.

And my two Replies to Mr. Cartwright's Exceptions against my Aphorisms *.

And my two Replies to Mr. Lawson's Animadversions on the same Book.

* Since printed.

* Since published.

* Since printed as Directions for weak Christians.
9. And my Reply to Mr. John Warren's Animadversions (which being first done is slightly digested).

10. And the beginning of a Reply to Dr. Wallis's Animadversions.

11. And a Discourse of the Power of Magistrates in Religion, against those that would not have them to meddle in such Matters, being an Allusion sermon preach'd at Stratford when Coll. Thomas Hunt was Sheriff.

12. And some Fragments of Poetry.

13. And a Multitude of Theological Letters.

14. And an imperfect Treatise of Christ's Dominion, being many popular Sermons preach'd twenty Years ago; and very rude and undigested; with divers others.

§ 212. And concerning almost all my Writings I must confess, that my own Judgment is, that fewer well studied and polished had been better: but the Reader who can fairly censure the Books is not fit to censure the Author, unless he had been upon the Place, and acquainted with all the Occasions and Circumstances: Indeed for the Saints Rest I had Four Months Vacancy to write it (but in the midst of continual Languishing and Medicine): But for the rest I wrote them in the Crowd of all my other Employments, which would allow me no great Leisure for Polishing and Exactness, or any Ornament; so that I scarce ever wrote one Sheet twice over, nor laboured to make any Blots or Intermixtures, but was fain to let it go as it was first conceived: And when my own Desire was rather to lay upon one thing long, than run over many, some sudden Occasions or other extorted almost all my Writings from me: and the Apprehensions of Present Usefulness or Necessity prevailed against all other Motives. So that the Divines which were at hand with me fill'd me on and approved of what I did, because they were moved by present Necessities as well as I: But those that were far off, and felt not those nearer Motives, did rather wish that I had taken the other way, and published a few elaborate Writings; and I am ready my felt to be of their Mind, when I forgot the Cafe that then I flood in, and have lost the Sense of former Motives. The opposing of the Amateurs, Separatists, Quakers, Antinomians, Seekers, &c. were Works which then seem'd necessary; and to do the Debates about Church Government and Communion which touch'd our present Practice; but now all those Reasons are past and gone, I could wish I had rather been doing some work of more durable Usefulness. But even to a foreseeing Man, who knoweth what will be of long-er life, it is hard to discern how far that which is presently needful may be omitted, for the sake of a greater future Good. There are some other works, wherein my Heart hath more been let than any of those forementioned; in which I have met with great Obstructions. For I must declare that in this as in many other Matters I have found that we are not the Choosers of our own Employments, no more than of our own Successes.

§ 213. Because it is Soul-Experiments which those that urge me to this kind of Writing, do expect that I should especially communicate to others, and I have said little of God's dealing with my Soul since the time of my younger Years, I shall only give the Reader so much Satisfaction, as to acquaint him truly what Change God hath made upon my Mind and Heart since those unriper times, and where-in I now differ in Judgment and Disposition from my felt: And for any more particular Account of Heart-Occurrences, and God's Operations on me, I think it somewhat unaffordable to recite them; seeing God's Dealings are much what the same with all his Servants in the main, and the Points wherein he varieth are usually so small, that I think not such fit to be repeated: Nor have I any thing extraordinary to glory in, which is not common to the rest of my Brethren, who have the same Spirit, and are Servants of the same Lord. And the true Reason why I do adventure so far upon the Centurion of the World, as to tell them wherein the Cafe is altered with me, is that I may take off young unexperienced Christians from being over confident in their first Apprehensions, or overvaluing their first degrees of Grace, or too much applauding and following uninitrified unexperienced Men; but may somewhat be directed what Mind and Course of Life to prefer, by the Judgment of one that hath tried both before them.

1. The Temper of my Mind hath somewhat altered with the Temper of my Body. When I was young, I was more vigorous, affectionate, and fervent in Preaching, Conference and Prayer, than (ordinarily) I can be now; my Stile was more extemporaneous and laxe, but by the Advantage of Affection, and a very familiar moving Voice and Utterance, my preaching then did more affect the Auditory, than many of the last Years before I gave over Preaching; but yet what I delivered was much
much more raw, and had more Passages that would not bear the Trial of accurate Judgments; and my Discourses had both less Substance and less Judgment than of old.

2. My understanding was then quicker, and could easily manage any thing that was newly presented to it upon a sudden; but it is since better furnished, and acquainted with the ways of Truth and Error, and with a Multitude of particular Mistakes of the World, which then I was the more in Danger of, because I had only the Faculties of Knowing them, but did not actually know them. I was then like a Man of a quick Understanding that was to travel a way which he never went before, or to cast up an Account which he never laboured in before, or to play on an Instrument of Music which he never saw before: And I am now like one of somewhat a fl upper Understanding (by that presatisa senetis which weaknesses and excessive bleedings brought me to) who is travelling a Way which he hath often gone, and is casting up an Account which he hath often cast up, and hath ready at hand, and that is playing on an Instrument which he hath often played on: So that I can very confidently say, that my Judgment is much founded and firmer now than it was then; for though I am now as competent Judge of the Adding of my own Understanding then, yet I can judge of the Effects: And when I peruse the Writings which I wrote in my younger Years, I can find the Footsteps of my unfurnished Mind, and of my Emptyness and Inefficiency: So that the Man that followed my Judgment then, was liker to have been misled by me, than he that should follow it now.

And yet, that I may not say worse than it deserves of my former measure of Understanding, I shall truly tell you what change I find now, in the perusal of my own Writings. Those Points which then I thoroughly studied, my Judgment is the same of now, as it was then; and therefore in the Substance of my Religion, and in those Controversies which I then searcht into, with some extraordinary Diligence, I find not my mind disposed to a Change: But in divers Points that I studied slightly and by the halves, and in many things which I took upon trust from others, I have found since that my Apprehensions were either erroneous, or very lame. And those things which I was Orthodox in, I had either insufficient Reasons for, or a mixture of some found and some insufficient ones, or else an insufficient Apprehension of those Reasons: so that I scarcely knew what I seemed to know: And though in my Writings I found little in substance which my present Judgment differeth from, yet in my Apologies and Saints Reft (which were my first Writings) I find some raw unmeet Expressions; and one common Infirmity I perceive, that I put off Matters with some kind of Confidence, as if I had done something new or more than ordinary in them, when upon my more mature Reviews, I find that I said not half that which the Subject did require: As E. g. in the Doctrine of the Covenants, and of Justification, but especially about the Divine Authority of the Scripture in the second part of the Saints Reft; where I have not said half that should have been said; and the Reason was, because that I had not read any of the fuller fort of Books that are written on those Subjects, nor conversed with those that knew more of my self, and so all these things were either new or great to me, which were common and small perhaps to others; and because they all came in by the way of my own Study of the naked matter, and not from Books, they were apt to affect my mind the more, and to seem greater than they were. And this Token of my Weaknesses accompanied those of my younger Studies, that I was very apt to start up Controversies in the way of my Practical Writings, and also more defirous to acquaint the World with all that I took to be the Truth, and to assault those Books by Name which I thought did tend to deceive them, and did contain unsound and dangerous Doctrine: And the Reason of all this was, that I was then in the vigour of my youthful Apprehensions, and the new Appearance of any sacred Truth, it was more apt to affect me, and be higher valued, than afterward; when common sense had dulled my Delight; and I did not sufficiently discern then how much in most of our Controversies is verbal, and upon mutual Mistakes. And withall I know not how impatient Divines were of being contradicted, nor how it would stir up all their Powers to defend what they have once said, and to rise up against the Truth which is thus thrust upon them, as the mortal Enemy of their Honour: And I knew not how hardly Mens Minds are charged from their former Apprehensions be the Evidence never to plain. And I have perceived, that nothing so much hindeth the Reception of the Truth, as urging it on Men with too harsh Importunity, and falling too heavily on their Errors: For hereby you engage their Honour in the business, and
and they defend their Errors as themselves, and stir up all their Wit and Ability to oppose you: In controversies it is fierce Opposition which is the Bellows to kindle a resiling Zeal; when if they be neglected, and their Opinions lie a while defpised, they usually cool and come again to themselves (though I know that this holdeth not when the Greediness and Increase of his Followers, doth animate a Sectary, even though he have no Opposition). Men are so loth to be drenched with the Truth, that I am no more for going that way to work; and to confest the Truth, I am lately much prone to the contrary Extremes, to be too indifferent what Men hold, and to keep my Judgment to my self, and never to mention any thing wherein I differ from another, or any thing which I think I know more than he; or at least, if he receive it not pretendly to silence it, and leave him to his own Opinion: And I find this Effect is mixed according to its Causes, which are some good, and some bad: The bad Causes are. 1. An Impatience of Mens weaknefs and mislaking frowardnefs and Self-conceitnednefs. 2. An Abatement of my fonfible Esteem of Truth, through the long abode of them on my Mind: Though my Judgment value them, yet it is hard to be equally affected with old and common things, as with new and rare ones. The better Causes are 1. That I am much more fensible than ever of the neceffity of living upon the Principles of Religion, which we are all agreed in, and uniting there; and how much Michief Men that overvalue their own Opinions have done by their Controversies in the Church; how some have destroyed Charity, and some caufed Schisms by them, and molt have hindered Godlynefs in themselves and others, and used them to divert Men from the serious perfuading of a holy Life; and as Sir Francis Bacon faith, (in his Effay of Peace) that it's one great benefit of Church-Peace and Concord, that writing Controversies is turned into Books of practical Devotion for increafe of Piety and Virtue. 2. And I find that it's much more for molt Mens Good and Edification, to converse with them only in that way of Godlinefs which all are agreed in, and not by touching upon Differences to ftrum their Corruptions; and to tell them of little more of your Knowledge, than what you find them willing to receive from you as meer Learners; and therefore to faic till they crave Information of you (as Musculus did with the Anabaptifts; when he visited them in Prifon, and conversed kindly and lovingly with them, and fliewed them all the Love he could, and never talked to them of their Opinions, till at laft they who were wont to call him a Deceiver and idle Prophet, did intreat him to inftruct them, and received his Infructions:) We mistake Mens Difeafe when we think there needeth nothing to cure their Errors; but only to bring them the Evidence of Truth: Alas! there are many Diftempers of Mind to be removed, before Men are apt to receive that Evidence. And therefore that Church is happy where Order is kept up, and the Abilities of the Minifters command a reverend Submission from the Hearers; and where all are in Chriff's School in the distinct Ranks of Teachers and Learners: For in a learning way Men are ready to receive the Truth, but in a Difputing way they come armed againft it with Prejudice and Animofity.

3. And I must lay farther, that what I laft mentioned on the by, is one of the notablehy Changes of my Mind: In my youth I was quickly past my Fundamentals, and was running up into a multitude of Controversies, and greatly delighted with metaphatical and scholafick Writings (though I must needs lay, my Preaching was still on the necessary Points): But the elder I grew the finaller Coke I layd upon these Controversies and Curiosities (though still my intellect abhorreth Confusion), as finding far greater Uncertainties in them, than I at firft discerned, and finding its Uffulnefs comparatively, even where there is the greateft Certainty. And now it is the fundamental Doctrines of the Catechifm, which I highliht value, and daily think of; and find most useful to my self and others: The Creed, the Lords Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, do find me now the moft acceptable and plentiful matter, for all my Meditations: They are to me as my daily Bread and Drink: And as I can read and write of them over and over again; so I had rather read or hear of them, than of any of the School Niecesies, which once so much pleafed me. And thus I observed it was with old Bishop Ufher, and with many other Men: And I conjecture that this Effect also is mixt of good and bad, according to its Caufes.

The bad Caufe may perhaps be fonme natural Infirmity and Decay: And as Trees in the Spring shoot up into Branches, Leaves and Blossoms; but in the Autumn the Life draws down into the Root; so poftibly, my Nature conscious of its Infirmity and Decay, may find it felt insuffiuent for numerous Particles, and Acquifcence to the attempting of difficult things; and so my Mind may retire to the Root of Christian
Christian Principles; and also I have often been afraid, left ill-rooting at first, and many Temptations afterwards, have made it more necessary for me than many others to retire to the Root, and secure my Fundamentals. But upon much Observation I am afraid left most others are in no better a Case; and that at the first they take it for a granted thing, that Christ is the Saviour of the World, and that the Soul is Immortal, and that there is a Heaven and a Hell, &c. while they are studying abundance of Scholastic Superstructures, and at last will find cause to study more fondly their Religion it self, as well as I have done.

The better Causes are these: 1. I value all things according to their Use and Ends; and I find in the daily Practice and Experience of my Soul, that the Knowledge of God and Christ, and the Holy Spirit, and the Truth of Scripture, and the Life to come, and of a Holy Life, is of more Use to me than all the most curious Speculations.

2. I know that every Man must grow (as Trees do) downwards and upwards both at once; and that the Roots increase as the Bulk and Branches do.

3. Being nearer Death and another World, I am the more regarding of those things which my Everlasting Life or Death depend on. 4. Having most to do with ignorant miserable People, I am commanded by my Charity and Reason, to treat with them of that which their Salvation lyeth on; and not to dispute with them of Formalities and Niceties, when the Question is prefently to be determined whether they shall dwell for ever in Heaven or in Hell.

In a Word, my Meditations must be most upon the matters of my Practice and my Interest: And as the Love of God, and the seeking of Everlasting Life is the Matter of my Practice and my Interests, so must it be of my Meditation. That is the best Doctrine and Study which maketh Men better, and tendeth to make them happy. I abhor the Folly of those unlearned Persons, who revile or despise Learning because they know not what it is: And I take not any piece of true Learning to be useless: And yet my Soul approveth of the Resolution of Holy Paul, who determined to know nothing among his Hearers, (that is, comparatively to value and make Oblation of no other Wisdom) but (the Knowledge of) a Crucified Christ; to know God in Christ is Life Eternal. As the Stock of the Tree afforded Timber to build Houses and Cities, when the small though higher multiform Branches are but to make a Crows Nest, or a Blaze: So the Knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ, of Heaven and Holynefs, doth build up the Soul to endles Bleffednefs, and affordeth it bold Peace and Comfort; when a multitude of School Niceties serve but for vain Janglings and hurtful Diversions and Contentions: And yet I would not diffuade my Reader from the perusal of Aquinas, Scotus, Ockam, Arminius, Durandus, or any such Writer; for much Good may be gotten from them: But I would persuade him to study and live upon the essential Doctrines of Christianitv and Godlinness, incomparably above them all. And that may know that my Testimony is somewhat regardable, I presume to say, that in this I as much gainly my natural Inclination to Subtilty and Accurate nefis in Knowing, as he is like to do by his, if he obey my Counsell. And I think if he lived among Infidels and Enemies of Christ, he would find that to make good the Doctrine of Faith and of Life Eternal, were not only his noblest and most useful Study; but also that which would require the height of all his Parts, and the utmost of his Diligence, to manage it skillfully to the Satisfaction of himself and others.

4. I add therefore that this is Another thing which I am changed in; that whereas in my younger Days I never was tempted to doubt of the Truth of Scripture or Christianitv, but all my Doubts and Fears were exercised at home, about my own Sincerity and Interest in Christ, and this was it which I called Unbelief; since then my Forest Affaire have been on the other side, and such they were, that had I been void of internal Experience, and the Adhesion of Love, and the special help of God, and had not differed more Reason for my Religion than I did when I was younger, I had certainly Apostatized to Infidelity (though for Abjefion or Ungodliness, my Reason feeth no stronger Arguments, than may be brought to prove that there is no Earth or Air, or Sun). I am now therefore much more Appreciative than heretofore, of the Necessity of well grounding Men in their Religion, and especially of the Witness of the indwelling Spirit: For I more sensitively perceive that the Spirit is the great Witness of Christ and Christiannity to the World: And though the Folly of Fanatics tempted me long to over-look the Strength of this Testimony of the Spirit, while they placed it in a certain internal Affection, or enthusiasm Inspiration; yet now I see that the Holy Ghost in another manner is the Witness of Christ and his Agent in the World: The Spirit in the Prophets was
his first Witness; and the Spirit by Miracles was the second; and the Spirit by Renovation, Sanctification, Illumination and Consolation, afflimating the Soul to Christ and Heaven is the continued Witness to all true Believers: And if any Man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his, Rom. 8. 9. Even as the Rational Soul in the Child is the inherent Witness or Evidence, that he is the Child of Rational Parents. And the more ungodly Persons have a great disadvantage in their resisting Temptations to unbelief, and it is no wonder if Christ be a stumbling block to the Jews, and to the Gentiles foolishness. There is many a one that hideth his Temptations to Inidelity, because he thinketh it a shame to open them, and because it may generate doubts in others; but I doubt the imperfection of most men: care of their Salvation, and of their diligence and resolution in a holy Life, doth come from the imperfection of their belief of Christianiety and the Life to come. For my part I must profess, that when my belief of things Eternal and of the Scripture is most clear and firm, all goeth accordingly in my Soul, and all Temptations to sinful Compliances, Worldliness or Flesh-pleasing, doth signify worse to me, than an invitation to theStocks or Ballast. And no Petition seemeth more necessary to me than [Lord in create our Faith: I believe, help thou my unbelief.]  

5. Among Truths certain in themselves, all are not equally certain unto me; and even of the Mysteries of the Gospel, I must needs say with Mr. Richard Hooker, Eccl. Polis, that whatever men may pretend, the subjective Certainty cannot go beyond the objective Evidence: for it is caused thereby as the print on the wax is caused by that on the seal: Therefore I do more of late than ever discern a necessity of a methodical procedure in maintaining the Doctrine of Christianiety, and of beginning at Natural Verities, as presupposed fundamentally to supernatural (though God may when he pleaseth reveal all at once, and even Natural Truths by Supernatural Revelation): And it is a marvellous great help to my Faith, to find it built on sure Foundations, and so consonant to the Law of Nature. I am not so foolish as to pretend my certainty to be greater than it is, more because it is a dishonour to be less certain; nor will I by shame be kept from confessing those Infirmities, which those have as much as I, who hypocritically reproach me with them. My certainty that I am a Man, is before my certainty that there is a God; for Quod factum est non est magis notum: My certainty that there is a God, is greater than my certainty that he requireth love and holiness of his Creature: My certainty of this is greater than my certainty of the Life of Reward and Punishment hereafter: My certainty of that, is greater than my certainty of the endless duration of it, and of the immortality of individual Souls: My certainty of the Deity is greater than my certainty of the Christian Faith: My certainty of the Christian Faith in its Essentials, is greater than my certainty of the Perfection and Infallibility of all the Holy Scriptures: My certainty of that is greater than my certainty of the meaning of many particular Texts, and of the truth of many particular Doctrines, or of the Canonicals of some certain Books. So that as you see by what gradations my Understanding doth proceed, so also that my Certainty differeth as the Evidence differeth. And they that have attained to greater Perfection, and a higher degree of Certainty than I, should pity me and produce their Evidence to help me. And they that will begin all their Certainty with that of the Truth of the Scripture, as the Principium Cognoscendi, may meet me at the same end; but they must give me leave to undertake to prove to a Heathen or Infidel, the Being of a God; and the necessity of Holiness, and the certainty of a Reward or Punishment, even while he yet denieth the Truth of Scripture, and in order to his believing it to be true.  

6. In my younger years my trouble for Sin, was most about my Actual failings in Thought, Word, or Action, (except Hardness of Heart, of which more anon.) But now I am much more troubled for how far Defects, and omission or want of the Vital Duties or Graces in the Soul. My daily trouble is so much for my Ignorance of God, and weakens of Belief, and want of greater love to God, and frangeness to him, and to the Life to come, and for want of a greater willingness to die, and longing to be with God in Heaven, as that I take not some Immoralities, though very great, to be in themselves so great and odious Sins, if they could be found as separate from these. Had I all the Riches of the World, how gladly should I give them, for a fuller Knowledge, Belief, and Love of God and Everlasting Glory! These wants are the greatest burden of my Life, which oft maketh my Life itself a burden. And I cannot find any hope of reaching so high in these, while I am in the Flesh, as I once hoped before this time to have attained: which maketh me the weariest of this sinful World, which is honoured with so little of the Knowledge of God.  

7.Here.
7. Heretofore I placed much of my Religion in tenderness of heart, and grieving for sin, and penitential tears; and left of it, in the love of God, and studying his love and goodness, and in his joyful praises, than now I do. Then I was little sensible of the greatness and excellency of Love and Praise; though I coldly spake the same words in its commendations, as now I do: And now I am less troubled for want of grief and tears (though I more value humility, and refuse not needful Humiliation): But my Conscience now looketh at Love and Delight in God, and praising him, as the top of all my Religious Duties, for which it is that I value and use the rest.

8. My Judgment is much more frequent and serious Meditation on the heavenly Bleffednefs, than it was heretofore in my younger days. I then thought that a Sermon of the Attributes of God, and the Joys of Heaven were not the most excellent; and was wont to say, Every body knoweth this, that God is great and good, and that Heaven is a bleflled place; I had rather hear bow I may attain it. And nothing pleased me so well as the Doctrine of Regeneration, and the Marks of Sincerity; which was because it was fuitable to me in that state: but now I had rather read, hear or meditate, on God and Heaven, than on any other Subject: for I perceive that it is the Object that altereth and elevateth the Mind; which will be fuch as that is, which it moft frequently feedeth on: And that it is not only useful to our comfort, to be much in Heaven in our believing thoughts; but that it must animate all our other Duties; and ftrong us against every Temptation and Sin; and that the Love of the end is it that is the peace or spring, which feteth every Wheel a going, and muft put us on to all the means: And that a Man is no more a Chriftian indeed than he is Heavenly.

9. I was once wont to meditate moft on my own heart, and to dwell all at home, and look little higher: I was still poring either on my Sins or Wants, or examining my Sincerity; but now, though I am greatly convinced of the need of Heart-acquaintance and employment, yet I fee more need of a higher work; and that I should look often upon Chrift, and God, and Heaven, than upon my own Heart. At home I can find Distemper to trouble me, and fome Evidences of my Peace: but it is above that I muft find matter of Delight and Joy, and Love and Peace it self. Therefore I would have one thought at home upon my felf and fins, and many thoughts above upon the high and amiable and beautyfing Objects.

10. Heretofore I knew much less than now; and yet was not half fo much acquainted with my Ignorance: I had a great delight in the daily new Discoveries which I made, and of the Light which shined in upon me (like a Man that cometh into a Country where he never was before): But I little knew either how imperfectly I Understood thofe very Points, whole difcovery fo much delighted me, nor how much might be gain'd against them; nor how many things I was yet a stranger to: But now I find far greater Darkness upon all things, and perceive how very little it is that we know in comparison of that which we are ignorant of, and have fome meaner thoughts of my own Understanding, though I muft needs know that it is better furnifh'd than it was then.

11. Accordingly I had then a far higher opinion of Learned Perfons and Books, than I have now; for what I wanted my felf, I thought every Reverend Divine had attained, and was familiarly acquainted with: And what Books I understood not by reafon of the strangeness of the Terms or Matter, I the more admired and thought that others understood their worth. But now Experience hath constrained me againft my will to know, that Reverend Learned Men are imperfect, and know but little as well as I; especially tho' that think themselves the wifteft: And the better I am acquainted with them, the more I perceive that we are all yet in the dark: And the more I am acquainted with holy Men, that are all for Heaven, and pretend not much to Subtleties, the more I value and honour them. And when I have fludied hard to understand some abfolute admired Book, (as De Scientia Dei, De Providentia circa malum, de Decretis, de Pradeterminatione, de Libertate Creaturae, &c.) I have but attained the Knowledge of Humane Imperfection, and to fee that the Author is but a Man as well as I.

12. And at firft I took more upon my Author's Credit, than now I can do: And when an Author was highly commended to me by others, or pleafed me in some part, I was ready to entertain the whole; whereas now I take and leave in the fame Author, and difent in some things from him that I like beft, as well as from others.
13. At first I was greatly inclined to go with the bigtest in Controversies, on one side or other; as with Dr. Twisse, and Mr. Rutherford, and Spanheimus de Providentia, & gratia, &c. But now I can so easily see what to lay against both extremes that I am much more inclinable to reconciling Principles. And whereas then I thought that Conciliators were but ignorant men, that were willing to please all, and would pretend to reconcile the World by Principles which they did not understand themselves; I have since perceived that if the amiables of Peace and Concord had no hand in the business, yet greater Light and stronger Judgment usually is with the Reconcilers, than with either of the contending Parties (as with Davenant, Hall, Uper, Lad. Crocinus, Bergius, Strangian, Camera, &c.) But on both accounts their Writings are most acceptable, (though I know that Moderation may be a pretext of Errors).

14. At first the Stile of Authors took as much with me as the Argument, and made the Arguments seem more forcible: But now I judge not of Truth at all by any such Ornaments or Accidents, but by its naked Evidence.

15. I now see more Good and more Evil in all Men than heretofore I did: I see that Good men are not so good, as I once thought they were, but have more Imperfections: And that nearer approach and fuller trial, doth make the best appear more weak and faulty, than their Admirers at a distance think. And I find that few are so bad, as either their malicious Enemies, or censorious separating Professors do imagine. In some indeed I find that Humane Nature is corrupted into a greater likeness to Devils, than I once thought any on Earth had been. But even in the wicked usually there is more for grace to make advantage of, and more to extolise for God and Holiness, than I once believed there had been.

16. I less admire Gifts of Utterance and bare Profession of Religion than I once did; and have much more Charity for many, who by the want of Gifts, do make an obnoxious Profession than they. I once thought that almost all that could pray movingly and fluently, and talk well of Religion, had been Saints. But Experience hath opened to me, what odious Crimes may confit with high Profession; and I have met with divers obscure Persons, not noted for any extraordinary Profession, or forwardness in Religion, but only to live a quiet blameless Life, whom I have after found to have long lived, as far as I could discern, a truly godly and sanctified Life; only their Prayers and Duties were by accident kept secret from other men's observation. Yet he that upon this pretence would confound the Godly and the Ungodly, may as well go about to lay Heaven and Hell together.

17. I am not so narrow in my special Love as heretofore: Being less censorious, and talking more than I did for Saints, it must needs follow that I love more as Saints than I did before. I think it not lawful to put that Man off with bare Church Communio, and such common Love which I must allow the Wicked, who professeth himself a true Christian, by such a Profession as I cannot disprove.

18. I am not too narrow in my Principles of Church Communion as once I was; I more plainly perceive the difference between the Church as Congregate or visible, and as Regenerate or Mythical: and between Sincerity and Profession; and that a Credible Profession is proof sufficient of a Man's Title to Church Admission: and that the Profession is Credible in foro Ecclesiae, which is not disproved. I am not for narrowing the Church more than Christ himself allowed us; nor for robbing him of any of his Stock. I am more sensible how much it is the Will of Christ that every Man be the chooser or refuser of his own felicity, and that it lieth most on his own hands, whether he will have Communion with the Church or not; and that if be an Hypocrite it is himself that will bear the los.

19. Yet am I more apprehensive than ever of the great use and need of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and what a fin it is in the Paffors of the Church, to make no distinction, but by bare Names and Sacraments, and to force all the unmeet against their own wills, to Church Communion and Sacraments (though the ignorant and erroneous may sometime be forced to hear instruction): And what a great dishonour to Christ it is, when the Church shall be as vicious as Pagan and Mahometan Assemblies, and shall differ from them only in Ceremony and Name.

20. I am much more sensible of the Evil of Schism, and of the Separating Humour, and of gathering Parties, and making several Sects in the Church than I was heretofore. For the Effects have shewed us more of the mischiefs.
21. I am much more sensible how prone many young Professors are to Spiritual Pride and Self-conceitedness, and Unrulines and Divition, and so to prove the Grief of their Teachers, and Firebrands in the Church; and how much of a Miniher’s work lieth in preventing this, and humbling and confirming such young unexperienced Professors, and keeping them in order in their progress in Religion.

22. Yet am I more sensible of the Sin and Mischiefs of using Men cruelly in Matters of Religion, and of pretending Mensgood, and the Order of the Church, for Acts of Inhumanity or Uncharitableness: Such know not their own Infinity, nor yet the nature of Pastoral Government, which ought to be Paternal and by Love; nor do they know the way to win a Soul, nor to maintain the Churches Peace.

23. My Soul is much more afflicted with the thoughts of the miserable World, and more drawn out in desire of their Conversion than heretofore: I was wont to look but little further than England in my Prayers, as not considering the state of the rest of the World; Or if I prayed for the Conversion of the Jews, that was almost all. But now as I better understand the Cafe of the World, and the method of the Lord’s Prayer, so there is nothing in the World that lyeth so heavy upon my heart, as the thought of the miserable Nations of the Earth: It is the most affecting part of all God’s Providence to me, that he so far forlaketh almost all the World, and confineth his special Favour to so few: That so small a part of the World hath the Profession of Christianity, in comparison of Heathens, Mahometans and other Infidels! And that among professed Christians there are so few that are freed from gross Delusions, and have but any competent Knowledge: and that among those there are so few that are seriously Religious, and truly set their hearts on Heaven. I cannot be affected so much with the Calamities of my own Relations, or the Land of my Nativity, as with the Cafe of the Heathen, Mahometan, and ignorant Nations of the Earth. No part of my Prayers are so deeply serious, as that for the Conversion of the Infidel and Ungodly World, that God’s Name may be sanctified, and his Kingdom come, and his Will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven: Nor was I ever before so sensible what a Plague the Division of Languages was which hindereth our speaking to them for their Conversion; nor what a great Sin tyranny is, which keepeth out the Gospel from most of the Nations of the World. Could we but go among Tartarians, Turks, and Heathens, and speak their Language, I should be but little troubled for the silencing of Eighteen hundred Miniaters once in England, nor for all the rest that were cast out here, and in Scotland and Ireland: There being no Employment in the World so desirable in my Eyes, as to labour for the winning of such miserable Souls: which maketh me greatly honour Mr. John Eliot, the Apostle of the Indians in New-England, and whoever else have laboured in such work.

24. Yet am I not so much inclined to pass a peremptory Sentence of Damnation upon all that never heard of Christ; having some more reason than I knew of before, to think that God’s dealing with such is much unknown to us! And that the Ungodly here among us Christians are in a far worse Cafe than they.

25. My Censures of the Papists do much differ from what they were at first: I then thought that their Errors in the Doctrines of Faith were their most dangerous Mistakes, as in the Points of Merit, Jufification by Works, Assur ance of Salvation, the Nature of Faith, &c. But now I am assured that their mis-expressions, and misunderstanding us, with our mif takings of them, and inconvenient expres ing our own Opinions, hath made the difference in these Points to appear much greater than they are; and that in some of them it is next to none at all. But the great and unreconcilable Differences ly, in their Church Tyranny and Uniformations, and in their great Corruptions and Abasement of God's Worship, together with their befriending of Ignorance and Vice. At first I thought that Mr. Perkins well proved that a Papist cannot go beyond a Reprobate: but now I doubt not but that God hath many sanctified Ones among them, who have received the true Doctrine of Christianity so practically, that their contradictory Errors prevail not against them, to hinder their Love of God, and their Salvation: but that their Errors are like a conquerable Dole of Poyson which Nature doth overcome. And I can never believe that a Man may not be saved by that Religion, which doth but bring him to the true Love of God, and to a heavenly Mind and Life: nor that God will ever cast a Soul into Hell that truly loveth him. Also at first it would disgrace any Doctrine with me, if I did but hear it called Popery and Antichristian: but I have long learned to be more impartial, and so dislike Men for...
bad Doctrine, rather than the Doctrines for the Men; and to know that Satan can use even the Names of Popery and Antichrist, against a Truth.

26. I am deeper afflicted for the disagreements of Christians than I was when I was a younger Christian. Except the Cate of the Infidel World, nothing is so sad and grievous to my thoughts, as the Cate of the divided Churches. And therefore I am more deeply sensible of the sinfulness of those Prelates and Pastors of the Churches, who are the principal Caue of these Divisions. O how many millions of Souls are kept by them in ignorance, and ungodliness, and deluded by Faction as if it were true Religion. How is the Conversion of Infidels hindered by them! and Christ and Religion heinously dishonoured! The Conventions between the Greek Church and the Roman, the Papists and the Protestants, the Lutherans and the Calvinists, have woefully hindered the Kingdom of Christ.

27. I have spent much of my Studies about the Terms of Christian Concord, and have ever and over confidered of the severall ways, which several forts of Reconcilers have devised: I have thought of the Papists way, who think there will be no Union, but by coming over wholly to their Church: and I have found that it is neither possible nor desirable. I have thought and thought again of the way of the moderating Papists, Caflander, Grotius, Balwin, &c. and of thole that would have all reduced to the State of the Times of Gregory the First, before the Division of the Greek and Latin Churches, that the Pope might have his Primacy, and govern all the Church by the Canons of the Councils, with a Salvo to the Rights of Kings and Patriarchs and Prelates; and that the Doctrines and Worship which then were received might prevail. And for my own part, if I lived in such a State of the Church, I would live peaceably, as glad of Unity, though lamenting the Corruption and Tyranny: But I am fully assured that none of these are the true desirable Terms of Unity, nor such as are ever like to procure an Univerfal Concord: And I am as sure that the true Means and Terms of Concord are obvious and easie to an impartial willing mind. And that these three Things alone would easiely heal and unite all the Churches.

1. That all Christian Princes and Governors take all the Coercive Power about Religion into their own Hands, (though if Prelates and their Courts must be used as their Officers in exercising that Coercive Power, to be it:) And that they make a difference between the approved and the tolerated Churches; and that they keep the Peace between the Churches, and settle their several Privileges by a Law.

2. That the Churches be accounted Tolerable, who profess all that is in the Creed, Lord's Prayer and Decalogue in particular, and generally all that they shall find to be revealed in the Word of God, and hold Communion in Teaching, Prayer, Prayers, and the two Sacraments, not obstinately preaching any Heresie contrary to the particular Articles which they profess, nor seditionally disturbing the Public Peace: And that such Heretical Preaching, and such Sedition, unpeaceableness, or notorious Wickedness of Life, do forfeit their Toleration.

3. And that thole that are further Orthodox in those Particulars, which Rulers think fit to impose upon their Subjects, have their publick Maintenance and greater Encouragement. Yea, and this much is become necessairy, but upon supposition that Men will still be so self-conceited and uncharitable, as not to forbear their unnecessary Impositions. Otherwise there would be found but very few who are Tolerable, that are not also in their measure to be approved, maintained and encouraged. And if the Primitive Simplicity in Doctrine, Government and Worship, might turn, for the Terms of the Churches Union and Communion, all would be well without any more ado; supposing that where Christian Magistrates are, they keep the Peace, and reprofe the Offenders, and exercise all the Coercive Government: And Hereticks, who will subscribe to the Christian Faith, must not be punished because they will subscribe to no more, but because they are proved to prophesy or promote Heresie, contrary to the Faith which they profess.

28. I am farther than ever: I was from expecting great matters of Unity, Splendor or Prosperity to the Church on Earth, or that Saints should dream of a Kingdom of this World, or flatter themselves with the Hopes of a Golden Age, or reigning over the Ungodly, (till there be a new Heaven and a new Earth wherein dwelleth Righteousness.) And on the contrary I am more apprehensive that Sufferings must be the Churches most ordinary Lot, and Christians indeed must be self-denying Cross-makers, even where there are none but formal nominal Christians to be the Cross-makers: And though ordinarily God would have Visitations of Summer and Winter, Day and Night, that the Church may grow extensively in the Summer of Prosperity,
Part I. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Sperity, and intensively and radicately in the Winter of Adversity; yet usuall their Night is longer than their Day, and that Day its full hath its Storms and Tempests. For the Prognosticks are evidant in their Causes: 1. The Church will be still Imperfect and Sinfull, and will have those Discontents which need this bitter Remedy. 2. Rich Men will be the Rulers of the World; and Rich Men will be generally to far from true Godliness, that they must come to Heaven as by Human Incompatibilities, as a Camel through a Needles Eye. 3. The Ungodly will ever have an Enemy against the Image of God, and he that is born of the Flesh will persecute him that was born after the Spirit, and Brotherhood will not keep a Cain from killing an Abel, who offereth a more acceptable Sacrifice than himself: And the Gullet will still hate the Light, and make a Prey to their Pride and Malice of a confiderable Reformer. 4. The Pastors will be still troubling the Church with their Pride and Avarice and Contentions; and the world will be seeking to be the greatest, and they that seek it are likely to attain it. 5. He that is highest will be still imposing his Conceits upon those under him, and Lording it over God's Heritage, and with Distrephes calling out the Brethren, and ruling them by contraint, and not as Volunteers. 6. Those that are truly judicious will still comparatively be few; and consequently the Troublers and Dividers will be the Multitude; and a judicious Peace-maker and Reconciler will be neglegt, flighted, or hated by both Extremists.

7. The Tenour of the Gospel Predictions, Precepts, Promises and Threatenings, are fittest to a People in a suffering State. 8. And the Grace of God in a Believer are mostli sued to a State of Suffering. 9. Christians must imitate Christ, and suffer with him before they reign with him; and his Kingdom was not of this World. 10. The Observance of God's dealing hitherto with the Church in every Age confirmeth me: and his befooling them that have dreamed of glorious Times. It was such Dreams that transported the Munstock Anabaptists, and the Followers of David George in the Low Countries, and Campanellis, and the Illuminati among the Papists, and our English Anabaptists and other Fanatics here, both in the Army and the City and Country. When they think the Golden Age is come, they shew their Dreams in their extravagant Actions: And as our Fifth Monarchy Men, they are profently upon some unquiet rebellious Attempt, to set up Christ in his Kingdom whether he will or not. I remember how Abraham Scultetus in Curriculo Vite sua confelleth the common Vanity of himself and other Protestants in Germany, who feeing the Princes in England, France, Bohemia, and many other Countries, to be all at once both Great and Wise, and Friends to Reformation, did profently expect the Golden Age: But within one year either Death, or Ruines of War or Back-fidings, had exposd all their Expectations to Scorn, and laid them lower than before.

29. I do not lay to great a Stress upon the external Modes and Formes of Worship, as many young Professors do. I have suspected my self, as perhaps the Reader may do, that this is from a cooling and declining from my former Zeal (though the truth is, I never much complied with Men of that Mind): But I find that Judgment and Charity are the Causes of it, as far as I am able to discove. I cannot be fo narrow in my Principles of Church-Communion as many are: that are so much for a Liturgy, or so much against it, so much for Ceremonies or so much against them, that they can hold Communion with no Church that is not of their Mind and Way. If I were among the Greeks, the Lutherans, the Independants; yea, the Anabaptists (that own no Hereity, nor set themselves against Charity and Peace;) I would hold sometimes occasional Communion with them as Christians (if they will give me leave, without forcing me to any sinful Subscription or Action): Though my most usual Communion should be with that Society, which I thought most agreeable to the Word of God, if I were free to chuse. I cannot be of their Opinion that think God will not accept him that prayeth by the Common-Prayer-Book, and that such Forms are a self-invented Worship which God rejecteth: Nor yet can I be of their Mind that say the like of extemporary Prayers.

30. I am much lesse regardful of the Approbation of Man, and set much lighter by Contempt or Applause, than I did long ago. I am oft suspicous that this is not only from the increase of Self-denial and Humility; but partly from my being gretted and surfeited with human Applause: And all worldly things appear most vain and unsatisfactory when we have tryed them most. But though I feel that this hath some hand in the Effect, yet as far as I can perceive, the Knowledge of Man's Nothingness, and God's transcendent Greatness, with whom it is that I have most to do, and the fene of the brevity of humane things, and the nearness of
of Eternity are the principal Causes of this Effect; which some have imputed to Self-conceitedness and Morosity.

31. I am more and more pleased with a solitary Life; and though in a way of Self-denial I could submit to the most publick Life, for the service of God, when he requireth it, and would not be unprofitable that I might be private; yet I must confess, it is much more pleasing to my will, to be retired from the World, and to have very little to do with Men, and to converse with God and Conscience and good Books; of which I have spoken my Heart in my Divine Life, Part III.

32. Though I was never much tempted to the Sin of Covetousness, yet my fear of dying was wont to tell me, that I was not sufficiently loosed from this World. But I find that it is comparatively very easy to me to be loose from this World, but hard to live by Faith above. To despise Earth is easy to me; but not so easy to be acquainted and convervant in Heaven. I have nothing in this World which I could not easily let go; but to get satisfying Apprehensions of the other World is the great and grievous Difficulty.

33. I am much more apprehensive than long ago, of the Oditousness and Danger of the Sin of Pride; scarce any Sin appeareth more odious to me: Having daily more Acquaintance with the lamentable Naughtiness and Frailty of Man, and of the Mischiefs of that Sin; and especially in Matters Spiritual and Ecclesiastical: I think so far as any Man is proud he is kin to the Devil, and utterly a Stranger to God and to himself: It's a Wonder that it should be a pollute Sin, to Men that still carry about with them, in Soul and Body, such humbling matter of Remedy as we all do.

34. I more than ever lament the Unhappiness of the Nobility, Gentry, and great ones of the World, who live in such Temptation to Sensuality, Curiosity and walling of their time about a multitude of little things; and whole Lives are too often the Transcript of the Sins of Sodom; Pride, fulnes of Bread, and abundance of Idlenes, and want of Compassion to the Poor. And I more value the Life of the poor Labouring Man; but especially of him that hath neither Poverty nor Riches.

35. I am much more sensible than heretofore, of the Breadth, and Length, and Depth of the radical, universal, odious Sin of Selfishness, and therefore have written so much against it: And of the Excellency and Necessity of Self-denial, and of a publick Mind, and of loving our Neighbour as our selves.

36. I am more and more sensible that most Controversies have more need of right stating than of Debating; and if my Skill be increas'd in any thing it is in that, in narrowing Controversies by Explication, and separating the real from the verbal, and proving to many Contenders, that they differ less than they think they do.

37. I am more solicitous than I have been about my Duty to God, and less solicitous about his Dealings with me; as being assure'd that he will do all things well; and as acknowledging the Goodness of all the Declarations of his Holynes, even in the Punishment of Man; and as knowing that there is no Rest but in the Will and Goodness of God.

38. Though my Works were never such as could be as any Temptation to me to dream of obliging God by proper Merit, in commutative Justice; yet one of the most ready, constant, undoubted Evidences of my Uprightnes and Interest in his Covenant, is the Concioufnnes of my living as devoted to him: And I the earlier believe the Pardon of my Failings through my Redeemer, while I know that I serve no other Matter, and that I know no other End, or Trade, or Business; but that I am employed in his Work, and make it the Business of my Life, and live to him in the World, notwithstanding my Infirmities: And this Bent and Business of my Life, with my longings Desires after Perfection, in the Knowledge and Belief and Love of God, and in a Holy and Heavenly Mind and Life, are the two standing, constant, discernible Evidences, which must put me out of doubt of my Sincerity: And I find that constant Action and Duty is it that keepeth the first always in Sight; and constant Wants and Weaknesses, and coming short of my Desires, do make those Desires still the more troublesome, and so the more easily still perceived.

39. Though my habitual Judgment and Resolution and Scope of Life be still the same, yet I find a great Mutability as to actual Apprehensions, and Degrees of Grace; and consequently find that no mutable thing as the Mind of Man, would never keep its left if God were not its Keeper. When I have been seriously musing upon the Reasons of Christianity, with the concurrent Evidences methodically
PART I. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.


dically placed in their just Advantages before my Eyes, I am so clear in my Belief of the Christian Verities, that Satan hath little room for a Temptation. But sometimes when he hath on a sudden for some Temptation before me, when the foreaid Evidences have been out of the Way, or left upon my Thoughts, he hath by such Surprizes amazed me, and weakened my Faith in the present Act: So also as to the Love of God, and truth in him, sometimes when the Motives are clearly apprehended, the Duty is more easy and delightful: And at other times, I am meere passiv and dull, if not guilty of actual Defpondency and Distrust.

40. I am much more cautious in my Belief of History than heretofore: Not that I run into their Extrem that will believe nothing because they cannot believe all things. But I am abundantly satisfied by the Experience of this Age, that there is no believing two forts of Men, Ungodly Men and Partial Men (though an honest Heathen of no Religion may be believed, where Enmity against Religion byaffift him not; yet a debauched Christian, besides his Enmity to the Power and Practice of his own Religion, is seldom without some farther Byas of Interest or Faction; especially when their concur, and a Man is both ungodly and ambitious, espousing an Interest contrary to a holy heavenly Life, and allo Faction, embodying himself with a Sect or Party tied to his Spirit and Designs, there is no believing his Word or Oath. If you read any Man partially bitter against others as differing from him in Opinion, or as cross to his Greatnes, Interest or Designs, take heed how you believe any more, than the Historical Evidence distinct from his Word compelleth you to believe. The prodigious Lies which have been published in this Age in matters of Fact, with unblushing Confidence, even when thousands or Multitudes of Eye and Ear-Witnesses knew all to be false, doth cal Men to take heed what History they believe, especially where Power and Violence affordeth that Privilege to the Reporter, that no Man dare answer him or detect his Fraud, or if they do their Writings are all suppreft. As long as Men have Liberty to examine and contradist one another, one may partly conjecture by comparing their Words, on which side the Truth is like to lie. But when great Men write History, or Flatteries by their Appointment, which no Man dare contradist, believe it but as you are constrained. Yet in these Cases I can freely believe History: 1. If the Perfon shew that he is acquainted with what he faith. 2. And if he shew you the Evidences of Honesty and Confidence, and the Fear of God (which may be much perceived in the Spirit of a Writing). 3. And if he appear to be Impartial and Charitable, and a Lover of Goodnes and of Mankind; and nor poleet with Malignity, or personal ill Will and Malice, nor carried away by Faction or personal Interest: Conscionable Men dare not lye; but Faction and Interest abate Mens Tendernes of Confidence. And a charitable impartial Heathen may speak Truth in a love to Truth, and hatred of a Lye: But ambitious Malice and false Religion, will not flock to serve themselves on any thing. It's easy to trace the Footsteps of Veracity in the Intelligence, Impartiality, and Ingeniosity of a Thucydem, a Guicciardine, a Paulus Venet. though Papifts, and of Socrates and Sozomen, though accused by the Faction of favouring the Novations; and many Protestant in a Melanchton, a Bucholzer, and many more; and among Physicians in such as Crato, Platerus, &c. But it's as easy to see the Footsteps of Partiality and Faction and Desigh, in a Genebrard, a Barenus, and a Multitude of their Companions; and to see reason of Suspicion in many more. Therefore I confed I give but halting Credit to most Histories that are written, not only against the Albigensers and Waldenses, but against most of the Ancient Hehticks, who have left us none of their own Writings, in which they speak for themselves, and I heartily lament that the Historical Writings of the Ancient Schismatics and Heretics (as they were called ) perillied, and that partiality suffered them not to survice, that we might have had more Light in the Church-Affairs of those times, and been better able to judge between the Fathers and them. And as I am prone to think that few of them were so bad as their Adverfaries made them; so I am apt to think that such as the Novations, and Luciferians, and Indians, &c. whom their Adverfaries commend, were very good Men, and more Godly than most Catholics, however mistaken in some one Point. Sure I am, that as the Lies of the Papifts, of Luther, Zwinglius, Calvin, and Beza, are visibly malicious and impudent, by the common plenary contradicting Evidence; and yet the Multitude of such Seduced ones believe them all in delight of Truth and Charity; so in this Age there have been such things written against Parties and Persons whom the Writers design to make odious; so notoriously fall as you would think that the Senec of their Honour at least, should have made it impossible for such Men to write: My own Eyes
Eyes have read such Words and Actions affected with most vehement reiterated unblushing Confidence, which abundance of Ear-Witneffes, even of their own Parties must needs know to have been altogether false: and therefore having my fell now written this History of my self, notwithstanding my Protestation that I have not in any thing wilfully gone against the Truth, I expect no more Credit from the Reader, than the self-evidencing Light of the matter, with concurrent rational Advantages, from Perffons, and Things, and other Witneffes, shall contrain him to; if he be a Perfon that is unacquainted with the Author himfelf, and the other Evidence of his Veracity and Credibility. And, I have purposely omitted almost all the Descriptions of any Perffons that ever oppofed me, or that ever I or my Brethren fuffered by, because I know that the appearance of Interest and Partiality might give a far excufe to the Readers incredulity: (Although indeed the true Description of Perffons is much of the very Life of History, and especially of the History of the Age which I have lived in; yet to avoid the fufpicion of Partiality I have left it out). Except only when I speak of the Cromwellians and Sectaries, where I am the more free, because none fuppofeth my Interest to have engaged me againft them; but (with the refit of my Brethren) I have oppofed them in the obedience of my Conience, when by plying them I could have had almost any thing that they could have given me, and when before-hand I expected that the prefent Governors fhould silence me, and deprive me of Maintenance, Houfe and Home, as they have done by me and many hundreds more. Therefore I fuppofed that my Descriptions and Cenfures of thofe Perffons which would have enriched and honoured me, and of their Actions againft that Party which hath silenced, impoverished and accufed me, and which before-hand I expected fhould do fo, are beyond the Sufpicion of Envvy, Self-intereft or Partiality: If not, I there alfo am content that the Reader exerfe his Liberty, and believe no worfe even of thofe Men, than the Evidencc of Fact constraineth him.

Thus much of the Alterations of my Soul, since my younger years, I thought befit to give the Reader, instead of all thofe Experiences and Actual Motions and Affections, which I fuppofe him rather to have expected an account of. And having tranferred thus much of a Life which God hath read, and Conience hath read, and mufi further read, I humbly lament it and beg pardon of it, as finful and too unequal and unprofitable: And I warn the Reader to amend that in his own, which he findeth to have been amis in mine; confefling alfo that much hath been amis which I have not here particularly mentioned, and that I have not lived according to the abundant Mercies of the Lord. But what I have recorded, hath been especially to perform my Vows, and declare his Praises to all Generations, who hath filled up my days with his unvaluable Favours, and bound me to blefs his Name for ever: And alfo to prevent the defective performance of this Task, by fome overvaluing Brethren, who I know intended it, and were uniffer to do it than my fel. And for fuch Reafons as fumption, Scalation, Thumat, and many others have done the like before me. The principal of which are thefe three: 1. As Travellers and Seamen did to do after great Adventures and Deliverances, I hereby latisifie my Conience, in praising the Blessed Author of all thofe undeserved Mercies which have filled up my Life. 2. Forefencing by the Attempts of Bishop Akeley, what Prelates and Papifts are like to fay of me, when they have none to contradict them, and how poifible it is that fome that never knew me may believe them, though they have loft their hopes with all the ref, I take it to be my Duty to be fo faithful to that Stock of Reputation which God hath intrudfed me with, as to defend it at the rate of opening the Truth. Such as have made the World believe that Labor was confluted with the Devil, that Calvin was a ftrigmatized Sodomite, that Beca turned Papift, &c. to blast their Labours, I know are very like to fay any thing by me, which their Inteff or Malice tell them will any way advantage their Caufe, to make my Writings unprofitable when I am dead. 3. That young Christians may be warned by the Mifftakes and Failings of my unriper Times, to learn in patience, and live in watchfulness, and not be fierce and proudly confident in their refit Conceptions; And to reverence ripe expierenced Age, and to take heed of taking fuch for their Chief Guides as have nothing but immature and unexpierenced Judgments, with fervent Affections, and fierce and confident Expreffions; but to learn of them that have (with holiness) fudy, time and trial, looked about them as well on one fide as the other, and attamed to cleanfefs and impartiality in their Judgments.

1. But
1. But having mentioned the Changes which I think were for the better, I must add, that as I confessed many of my Sins before, so have I been guilty of many, which because materially they seemed small, have had the less reflation, and yet on the review to trouble more than if they had been greater done in ignorance: It can be no small sin formally which is committed against Knowledge and Confidence, and Deliberation, whatever excuse it have. To have finned while I preached and wrote against Sin, and had such abundant and great obligations from God, and made so many promises against it, doth lay me very low: for too much in fear of Hell, as in great displeasure against my self, and such self abhorrence as would cause revenge upon my self, were it not forbidden. When God forgave me I cannot forgive my self; especially for any rash words or deeds, by which I have been injurious, and left tender and kind than I should have been to my near and dear Relations, whose Love abundantly obliged me; when such are dead, though we never differed in point of Interest or any great Matter, every low or crook provoking word which I gave them, makes me almost unreconcilable to my self: and tells me how Repentance brought some of old to pray to the Dead whom they had wronged, to forgive them, in the hurry of their Paffion.

2. And though I before told the Change of my Judgment against provoking Writings, I have had more will than skill since to avoid such. I must mention it by way of penitent Confession, that I am too much inclin'd to such words in Controversial Writings which are too keen, and apt to provoke the Perfon whom I write against. Sometimes I suspect that Age fowereth my Spirit, and sometimes I am apt to think that it is long thinking and speaking of such things that maketh me weary, and left patient with others that undertaing them not: And sometimes I am ready to think that it is out of a hatred of the flattering humour which now prevaieth fo in the World, that few Perfons are able to bear the Truth: And I am sure that I cannot only bear my self such Language as I use to others, but that I expect it. I think all these are partly Caules; but I am sure the principal Caule is a long Custom of studying how to speak and write in the keeneft manner to the common, ignorant, and ungodly People (without which keenness to them, no Sermon nor Book does much good;) which hath so habituated me to it, that I am still falling into the fame with others; forgetting that many Ministers and Profeflers of Sainctiefs do deifie the greatest sharpnefs to the Vulgar, and to their Adverfaries, and the greatest lenity and smoothnefs and comfort, if not honour to themselves. And I have a strong natural inclination to speak of every Subject just as it is, and to call a Spade a Spade, & verba revbros aptar; so as that the thing spoken of may be fullifft known by the words; which methinks is part of our speaking truly. But I unlesingly confefs that it is fauley, because imprudent; (for that is not a good means which doth harm, because it is not fitted to the end;) and because whilst the Readers think me angry, (though I feel no Paffion at such times in my self;) it is scandalous and a hinderance to the usefulness of what I write: And especially because (though I feel no Anger, yet which is wore) I know that there is some want of Honour and Love or Tenderness to others; or else I should not be apt to use such words as open their weaknefs and offend them: And therefore I repent of it, and with all over-sharp paffages were expunged from my Writings, and desire forgiveness of God and Man. And yet I must fay that I am oft afraid of the contrary Extrem, left when I speak against great and dangerous Errors and Sins, (though of Perfons otherwife honest;) I should encourage men to them, by speaking too easily of them (as Ely did to his Sons); and left I should favour the Perfon as may befriend the Sin, and wrong the Church. And I must fay as the New-England Synodifs in their Defence against Mr. Davenpor, pag. 2. Pref. [We heartily defire that as much as may be, all Expressions and Reflections may be forborn that tend to break the Bond of Love. Indeed such is an Infirmity, that the naked discovery of the fallacy or invalidity of othes Allegations or Arguments is apt to provoke. Thus in Difficulties is unavoidable.] And therefore I am left for a disputing way than ever; believing that it tempteth Men to bend their Wits, to defend their Errors and oppose the Truth, and hindereth usfally their information: And the Servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle to all Men, &c. Therefore I am most in Judgment for a Learning or a Teaching way of Converfe: In all Companies, I will be glad either to hear thefpeake that can teach me, or to be heard of thofe that have need to learn.
And that which I named before on the by, is grown one of my great Difeaes: I have loft much of that Zeal which I had, to propagate any Truths to others, save the meer Fundamentals. When I perceive People or Minifters (which is too common) to think they know what indeed they do not, and to dispute those things which they never throughly studied, or expect I should debate the Cafe with them, as if an hours talk would serve instead of an acute understanding and seven years study, I have no Zeal to make them of my Opinion, but an impatience of continuing Discourse with them on such Subjects, and am apt to be silent or to turn to something else: which (though there be some reason for it) I feel cometh from a want of Zeal for the Truth, and from an impatient Temper of Mind. I am ready to think that People should quickly understand all in a few words; and if they cannot, lazily to despair of them, and leave them to themselves: And I the more know that it is sinful in me, because it is partly so in other things; even about the Faults of my Servants or other Inferiours, if three or four times warning do no good on them, I am much tempted to despair of them, and turn them away and leave them to themselves.

I mention all these Discontents, that my Faults may be a warning to others to take heed, as they call on my self for Repentance and Watchfulness. O Lord, for the Merits and Sacrifice and Interceflion of Christ, be merciful to me a Sinner, and forgive my known and unknown Sins.
THE LIFE OF THE REVEREND Mr. Richard Baxter.

L I B. I. P A R T II.

§ 1. In the Time of the late unhappy Wars in these Kingdoms, the Controversies about Church Government, were in most Mens mouths, and made the greatest Noise, being hotly agitated by States-men and Divines, by Words and Writings: which made it necessary to me, to set my self to the most serious Study of those Points: The Result of which was, this confident and settled Judgment, that of the four Contending Parties, (the Episopalian, Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Independent) each one had some Truths in peculiar, which the other overlooked, or took little notice of; and each one had their proper Mistakes which gave advantage to their Adversaries; though all of them had so much Truth in common among them, as would have made these Kingdoms happy, if it had been unanimously and soberly reduced to Practice, by prudent and charitable Men.

§ 2. I. The Erafians, I thought, were thus far in the right, in asserting more fully than others the Magistrates Power in Matters of Religion; that all Coercive Power (by Multis or Force) is only in their hands (which is the full Fence of our Oath of Supremacy); and that no such Power belongeth to the Pastors or People of the Church; and that thus (as Dr. Ludov. Molines pleaded) there should not be any Imperium in Imperio, or any Coercive Power challenged by Pope, Prelate, Presbytery, or any, but by the Magistrate alone: that the Pastoral Power is only Persuasus, or exercised on Volunteers; yet not priuate, such as belongeth to every Man (to persuade) that hath a Persuading Faculty, but Publick and Authoritative by Divine appointment: And not only to persuade by Sermons or general Speeches, but by particular oversight of their particular Flocks! much like the Authority of Plato or Zeno in his School, or a Master in any Academy of Volunteers, or of a Physician in his Hospital, supposing these were Officers of God's Institution, who could as the ground of their persuasus, produce his Commission or Command for what they said and did.

But though the Diocclians, and the Presbyterians of Scotland (who had Laws to enable them) opposed this Doctrine or the Party at least, yet I perceived that indeed, it was but on the ground of their Civil Advantages, as the Magistrate had impowered by them by his Laws (which the Erafians did not contradict); except some few of the higher Ritter; for, who pleaded as the Papists, for somewhat
more, which yet they could not themselves tell what to make of: But the generality of each Party indeed owned this Doctrine; and I could speak with no lesser Judicious Prelates, Presbyterian, or Independant, but confessed that no Secular, or Forcing Power, belonged to any Pastors of the Church as such; and unless the Magistrates authorized them as his Officers, they could not touch men’s Bodies or Etates, but the Conscience alone *(which can be of none but of Allenters).

§ 3. 2. The Episcopal Party seemed to have reason on their side in this, that in the Primitive Church there were some Apollis, Evangelists, and others, who were general unfixed Officers of the Church, not tied to any particular Charge; and had some Superiority (some of them) over-fixed Bishops or Pastors! And though the extraordinary Parts of the Apollis Office ceased, with them, I saw no proof of the Cessation of any ordinary part of their Office, such as Church Government is confessed to be. All the doubt that I saw in this was, Whether the Apollis themselves were constituted Governours of other Pastors, or only over-ruled them by the Eminency of their Gifts and Priviledge of Infallibility. For it seemed to me unmeet to affirm without proof, that Christ setled a Form of Government in his Church, to endure only for one Age, and changed it for a New one when that Age was ended.

And as to fixed Bishops of particular Churches that were Superiors in degree to Presbyters, though I saw nothing at all in Scripture for them, which was any whit cogent, yet I saw that the Reception of them in all the Churches was so timely (even in the days of one of the Apollis in some Churches), and so general, that I thought it a most improbable thing, that if it had been contrary to the Apollis mind, we should never read that they themselves, or any one of their Disciples that converted with them, nor any Christian or Heretick in the World, should once speak or write a word against it, till long after it was generally settled in the Churches. This therefore I resolved never to oppose.

§ 4. 3. And as for the Presbyterians, I found that the Office of Preaching Presbyters was allowed by all that desire the Name of Christians; and that this Office did participate (subserviently to Christ) of the Prophetical (or Teaching) the Priestly (or worshipping) and the Governing Power; and that both Scripture, Antiquity, and the perpetual Nature of Church Government, clearly shew that all Presbyters were Church Governours, as well as Church Teachers! and that to deny this was to destroy the Office, and to endeavour to destroy the Churches. And I saw in Scripture, Antiquity and Reason, that the Association of Pastors and Churches for Agreement, and their Synods in Cases of Necessity, are a plain duty: and that their ordinary stated Synods are usually very convenient.

And I saw that in England the Persons which were called Presbyterian were eminent for Learning, Sobriety and Piety: and the Pastors so called were they that went through the Work of the Ministry, in diligent serious preaching to the People, and edifying Men’s Souls, and keeping up Religion in the Land.

§ 5. 4. And for the Independants, I saw that most of them were Zealous, and very many Learned, discreet and godly Men; and fit to be very serviceable in the Church. And I found in the search of Scripture and Antiquity, that in the beginning a Governed Church, and a stated worshipping Church, were all one; and not two several things: And that though there might be other by-Meetings in places like our Chappels or private Housjes, for such as Age or Persecution hindered to come to the more solemn Meetings, yet Churches then were no bigger (in number of Persons) than our Parishes now (to grant the most): And that they were Societies of Christians united for Personal Communion; and not only for Communion by Meetings of Officers and Delegates in Synods, as many Churches in Association be. And I saw if once we go beyond the bounds of [*Personal Communion*] as the end of particular Churches, in the Definition, we may make a Church of a Nation, or of ten Nations, or what we please, which shall have none of the Nature and Ends of the Primitive particular Churches. Alfo I saw a commendable care of serious Holiness and Discipline in most of the Independant Churches: And I found that some Episcopal Men (as Bishop Uher himself did voluntarily profes his Judgment to me) did hold that every Bishop was independant, as to Synods, and that Synods were not proper Governours of the particular Bishops, but only for their Concord.

§ 6. 5. And for the Anabaptists themselves (though I have written and said so much against them,) as I found that most of them were Persons of Zeal in Religion, so many of them were sober godly People, and differed from others but in the Point of Infant Baptism, or at most in the Point of Predestination and Free-will
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

will and Perseverance, (as the Tefuits differ from the Dominicans, the Lutherans from the Calvinists, and the Arminians from the Centra-Renovators;) And I found in all Antiquity, that though Infant Baptism was held lawful by the Church, yet some with Tertullian and Nazianzen, thought it most convenient to make no halfe, and the rest left the time of Baptism to every one liberty, and forced none to be baptized: Infomuch as not only Confantine, Theodorus, and such others as were converted at Years of Discretion, but Augustine and many such as were the Children of Christian Parents (one or both,) did defer their Baptism much longer than I think they should have done. So that in the Primitive Church none were Baptized in Infancy, and some at ripe Age, and some a little before their Death; and none were forced, but all left free: and the only Penalty (among men) of their delay, was, that so long they were without the Privileges of the Church, and were numbered but with the Catechumens, or Excommunicants.

§ 7. 6. As to Doctrinal Differences also (between Arminians and Anti-Arminians.) I soon perceived that it was hard to find a Man that differed the true State of the several Controversies; and that when unrevealed points (uncertain to all) were laid aside, and the Controversies about Words were justly separated from the Controversies about things; the Differences about things which remained were fewer and smaller than most of the Contenders perceived or would believe.

§ 8. 7. Yea, I found that our Doctrinal Controversies with the Papists themselves, were very much darkened, and seldom well stated; and that in the Points of Merit, Justification, Assurance of Salvation, Perseverance, Grace, Freewill, and such others, it was common to misunderstand one another, and rare to meet with any that by just Distinction and Explanation, did well state the Controversies, and bring them out of the Dark.

§ 9. What I begin to write about any of these Doctrinal Differences, in my Aphorisms, Confession, Apology, &c. I will now pass by, and the manifold Centuries and Encounters which I had thereupon, and the many Manuscripts of worthy Brethren animadverting upon my Aphorisms, which I was (privately) put to answer: Because it is not such Differences that now I am to speak of.

§ 10. I perceived then that every Party beforementioned, having some Truth or Good, in which it was more eminent than the rest, it was no impossible thing to separate all that from the Error and the Evil, and that among all the Truths which they held either in Common or in Controversy, there was no Contradiction: And therefore, that he that would procure the Welfare of the Church must do his best to promote all the Truth and Good which was held by every part, and to lay out all their Errors and their Evil; and not take up all that any Party had espoused as their own.

§ 11. The things which I disliked as erroneous or evil in each Party were these:

1. In the Erafians I disliked, 1. That they made too light of the Power of the Ministry and Church; and did not distinguish sufficiently of a pernicious Power which is but private, and is founded only in the Reason of the Speaker, and a pernicious Power which is publick in an Officer of Christ (which Camera well calleth Do®toral,) and is founded conjunctly in his Authority (by God's Commission) and his Arguments.
2. That they made the Articles of the Holy Catholic Church, and the Communion of Saints too insignificant, by making Church Communion more common to the impenitent than Christ would have it; and so dishonoured Christ by dishonouring his Church, and making it too like to the Heathen World, and breaking down the Hedge of Spiritual Discipline, and laying it almost in common with the Wilderness.
3. That they misunderstood and injured their Brethren, supposing and affirming them to claim as from God a coercive Power over the Bodies or Persons of Men, and so setting up Imperium in Imperio; whereas all temperate Christians (at least except Papists) confess that the Church hath no Power of Force, but only to manage God's Word unto Mens Consciences.

§ 12. In the Diocesan Party I utterly disliked
1. Their Extirpation of the true Discipline of Christ, as we conceive, by consequence, though not intentionally; not only as they omitted it, and corrupted it; but as their Principles and Church State had made it unpracticable and impossible, while one Bishop with his Conistory, had the sole Government of a thousand or many hundred Churches, even over many thousands whole Faces they were never like to see; not letting up any Parochial Government under them: But just as if the Archbishops (or rather the Patriarchs) in Confianine's days, should have deposed
depofed all the Bishops in the Empire, and have taken all their Charges upon themselves.

2. That hereby they altered the Species of Churches, and either would deface all particular Churches, and have none but affiliated Diocesan Churches, (who hold the Communion by Delegates and not personally;) or else they would turn all the particular Parochial Churches into Christian Oratories and Schools, while they gave their Pasteurs but a Teaching and Worshipping Power; but not a Governing.

3. That hereby they altered the ancient Species of Presbyters, to whose Office the Spiritual Government of their proper Folks as truly belonged, as the Power of preaching and worshipping God did.

4. That they extinguished the ancient Species of Bishops, which was in the times of Ignatius, when every Church had one Altar and one Bishop; and there were none but Itinerants or Archbishops that had many Churches.

5. That they set up Courts that were more Secular than Spiritual, in the manner of other Secular Courts; and that the Government of the Church by Excommunion, Sufferings, Ablutions, &c. was exercised by a Chancellor, who was a civil Lawyer, and a Lay man even against Ministers themselves, unless for a blind, some Priest did formally pronounce the Sentence.

6. That the great Church Busines of these Bishops and Courts, was to vex honest Chriftians that durft not worship God by such Ceremonies as their Conventions thought unlawful, and to silence able godly Preachers that durft not subscribe and wear Obedience to them, and use every one of their Forms and Ceremonies, and profess the Lawfulness of all this; and that by gratifying the multitude of the ungodly, and expounding a Caufe fo perrnicious to the Church, which multitudes of sober Chriftians would dislike, they had engaged themselves into a way of Enmity and Violence against a very considerable Number of as able Ministers, and holy Chriftians as any were in the Land or in the known World.

7. And hereby it came to pafs that the Multitude of the Ignorant and ungodly People were become the zealous Pleaders for the Prelacie, and made it the Breviary to exercise their Enmity against the ferius Practice of Religion.

8. And that ignorant drunken Readers (unit to live in Chriftian Communion) were the only Pastors (under the Prelates) of abundance of the Churches in the land.

9. And that their zeal for Formality and Ceremonies, and their Enmity to the most serious way of Preaching, Praying, yea, and Living, did greatly tend to the Suppression of Godliness, and the increas of Ignorance and Prophaneness in the People.

10. And lastly, That they were set upon a way of uncharitable Censuring, Reproaching, Cruelty and Force, for the carrying on of so ill a Caufe; wherein their carnal Interest did evidently manage a War against the Interest of Chrift and Godliness and the Souls of Men.

§ 13. 3. In the Presbyterian way I disliked.

1. Their Order of Lay-Elders who had no Ordination, nor Power to Preach, nor to administer Sacraments: For though I grant that Lay-Elders, or the Chief of the People, were oft employed to express the Peoples Content, and preserve their Liberties, yet these were no Church-Officers at all, nor had any Charge of private Overfight of the Flocks: And though I grant that one Church had oft more Elders, than did use to preach, and that many were most employed in private Overight, yet that was but a prudent dividing of their Work, according to the Gifts and parts of each, and not that any Elders wanted Power of Office to preach or Administer Sacraments when there was Caufe.

2. And I disliked the Course of some of the more rigid of them, that drew too near the way of Prelacie, by grasping at a kind of secular Power; not using it themselves; but binding the Magistrates to confiscate or imprison Men, merely because they were excommunicate; and so corrupting the true Discipline of the Church, and turning the Communion of Saints, into the Communion of the Multitude that must keep in the Church against their Wills, for fear of being undone in the World. When as a Man whose Conscience cannot feel a just Excommunication, unless it be made with Confutation or Imprisonment, is no fitter to be a Member of a Christian Church in the Communion of Saints, than a Corps is to be a Member of a Corporation. It's true they claim not this Power as pure Divine (though some fancy that the Magistrate is bound to execute these Penalties on Men merely as excommunicate;) nor no more do the Prelates, when yet the Writ of Excommunication Capiendo,
Capítulo, is the Life of all their Centuries); But both Parties too much debate
the Magistrate, by making him their ever Executioner, when as he is the Judge where-
ever he is the Executioner, and is to try each Cause at his own Bar before he be
obliged to punish any; and they corrupt the Discipline of Christ by mixing it
with secular Force; and they reproach the Keys or Ministerial Power, as if it were
a Sword, and not worth a Straw unless the Magistrates Sword ensorce it.
(And what then did the Primitive Church for three hundred Years?) And, worst of
all, they corrupt the Church by forcing in the Rabbles of the unit and unwil-
ing; and thereby tempt many Godly Christians to Schisms and dangerous Separati-
s. In all this I deny not, but that the Magistrate must restrain all forts of Vice:
But not as a Hangman only, that executeth the Judgment of another; nor so No-
mine to punish a Man because he is Excommunicate (that is most heavily punished
already by others): Till Magistrates keep the Sword themselves, and learn to de-
ny it to every angry Clergyman that would do his own Work by it, and leave
them to their own Weapons, the Word and Spiritual Keys; & valent quantum
valere possunt, the Church shall never have Unity and Peace; huculque probatum
off.

3. And I disliked some of the Presbyterians, that they were not tender enough
difficent Brethren; but to much against Liberty as others were too much for
it; and thought by Votes and Number to do that which Love and Reason should
have done.

4. And when the Independents said [A Worshipping Church and a Governed Church
is and must be all one: ] And the Presbyterians said [They may be all one though it be
not necessary]; yet in their Practice they would have it feared, that they should
now where be all one, but ten or twelve worshipping Churches should have made one
Governed Church; which prepared the way to the Diocesan Frame; though I
confes it is incomparably better (because ten or Twelve Churches is not fo ma-
ny as a thousand or many hundred; and because the Pastor of every Church had
the Government of his own Flock, in Conjunction with the Presidency or Synod,
though not alone).

§ 14. 4. And in the Independent way I disliked many things: As
1. That they made too light of Ordination.
2. That they also had their Office of Lay-Eldership.
3. That they were commonly Stricter about the Qualification of Church Mem-
bers, than Scripture, Reason, or the Practice of the Universal Church would al-
low; not taking a Man's bare Profession as Credible, as a sufficient Evidence of his Ti-
te to Church Communion, unless either by a holy Life, or the Particular Narrati-
on of the Passages of the Work of Grace, he satisfied the Pastors (yes, and all the
Church) that he was truly Holy; whereas every Man's Profession is the valid
Evidence of the thing professed in his Heart, unless it be disproved by him that
questioneth it, by proving him guilty of Heresies or Impiety, or Sins inconsistent
with it. And if once you go beyond the Evidence of [a verse sober Profession]
as a credible and sufficient sign of Title, you will never know where to rest; but
the Churches Opinion will be both Rule and Judge, and Men will be let in or
kept out, according to the various Latitude of Opinions or Charity in the several
Officers or Churches: and he will be palatable in one Church who in another is in-
tolerable; and so the Churches will be heterogeneous and confused. And there is
in all this a little (if not more than a little) spiritual Pride of the Weaker fort of
Professors, affecting to be visibly set at a greater Distance from the colder Profes-
sors of Chilipinian, than God would have them, so they may be more observ-
able, and conspicuous for their Holynes in the World: And there is too much
uncheckedness in it, when God hath given sincere Professors the Kernel of his
Mercies, even Grace and Glory, and yet they will grudge to hold Hypocritical
Professors, so small a thing as the outward Shell, and visible Communion and ex-
ternal Ordinances; Yea, though such are kept in the Church for the Sakes and
Service of the Sincere.

4. And I disliked also the lamentable tendency of this their way to Divisions and
Sub-divisions, and the nourishing of Heresies and Sects.

5. But above all I disliked, that most of them made the People by majority of
Votes to be Church-Governors, in Excommunications, Absolutions, &c. which
Christ hath made an Act of Office, and so they governed their Governors and
themselves.

6. All
6. Also that they too much exploded Synods, refusing them as slated, and admitting them but upon some extraordinary Occasions:

7. Also their over-rigidness against the Admission of Christians of other Churches to their Communion.

8. And their making a Minifter to be as no Minifter to any but his own Flock, and to act to others but as a private Man; with divers others such Irregularities, and dividing Opinions: Many of which the moderation of the New England Synod hath of late corrected and disowned; and so done very much to heal these Breaches.

§ 15. 5. And for the Anabaptists I knew that they injuriously excluded the Infants of the Faithful from solemn entrance into the Covenant and Church of God, and as finfully made their Opinion a Ground of their Separations from the Churches and Communion of their brethren; and that among them grew up the Weeds of many Errors and Divisions, Sub-divisions, Reproach of Minifters, Faction, Pride, and scandalous Practices were fomented in their way.

§ 16. The cafe standing thus with all these Parties, I thought it my Duty, 1. To labour to bring them all to a concordant Practice of fo much as they all agreed in. 2. To fet all that together which was True and Good among them all, and to promote that so far as I was able, and to reject the rest. 3. And especially in order to thefe, to labour the reviving of Christian Charity, which Faction and Difpufes had lamentably extinguish'd. But how to accomplish this, was beyond the Prospect of my Hope.

§ 17. Besides the Hinderances which are contained in Mens Principles, I found three others which were exceeding Powerful: One is in Mens Company and another in their feeming Interests, and the chiefest of all in the Dilpofition and Quality of their Minds.

§ 18. 1. Some that were most converfant with fober, peaceable, experienced Men, and were under the Care of peaceable Minifters, I found very much inclined to Charity and Peace. But multitudes of them converfed moft with ignorant,proud, unexperienced, Passionate, Uncharitable Perfons; who made it a part of their Zeal and Ingenuity to break a Jet in Reproach and Scorn of them that differed from them; and who were ordinarily Backbiters, and bold unrighteous Confufers of others, before they well understood them, or ever heard them give a Reafon of their Judgments or Practices, or fpeak for themselves. And the hearing and converving with fuch Perfons as thefe both powerfully difpole Men to the fame Difefale, and to fbin imperfenfion after their Example. Especially when Men are incorporated into a Sect or uncharitable Party, and have captivated themfelves to a human Servitude in Religion, and given up themfelves to the Will of Men, the Stream will bear down the plaineft Evidence, and carry them to the foulefs Errors.

§ 19. 2. And as it is carnal Interfe that ruleth the carnal World, fo I found that 1. Among Sefh Men, there were as many Interfes and Ends, as Perfons; and every one had an Interfe of his own which governed him, and fet him at a very great Emnity to the most neceflary means of Peace. 2. And that ever Man that had once given up himfelf to a Party, and drowned himfelf in a Faction, did make the Interfe of that Faction or Party to be his own: And the Interfe of Chriffia-

nity, Catholicifm, and Charity, is contrary to the Interfe of Sefh, as fuch. And it is the Nature of a Sefh, that he preferreh the Interfe of his Opinion, Sefh or Party, before the Interfe of Chriffianity, Catholick and Charity, and will facrifice the latter to the Service of the former.

§ 20. 3. But the Grand Impediment I found in the temper of Mens Minds; and there I perceived a manifold difference. Among all thefe Parties I found that fome were naturally of mild and calm and gentle Dilpofitions, and fome of lower, froward, passionate, peevifh, or furious Natures: Some were young and raw and unexperienced, and thofe were like a young Fruit, flur and harh; addicted to pride of their own Opinions, to Self-conceitednes, Turbulency, Conformities and Teme-rity, and to engage themfelves for a Caufe and Party before they understood the matter: and were led about by thofe Teachers and Books that had once won their higheft Esteem; judging of Sermons and Perfons by their Fervency, more than by the founfnes of the Matter and the Caufe. And fome I found on the other fide, to be ancient and experienced Christians that had tried the Spirits, and feen what was of God, and what of Man, and noted the Events of both in the World; and thofe were like ripe Fruit, Mellow and fweet, firft pure, then peaceable, gently, eafy to be intricated, full of Mercy and good Fruits, without Partiality, without Hypocrif, who being Makers of Peace, did fow the Fruits of Righteousnes
in peace, James 3. 17, 18. I began by experience to understand the meaning of those words of St. Paul, 1 Tim. 3. 6. [Not a Novicy, left being lifted up with pride, be fall into the condemnation of the Devil.] Novices, that is, young, raw, unexperienced Christians, are much apter to be proud, and cenobrious, and licentious, than old experienced, judicious Christians.

§ 21. But the Difference between the Godly and the Ungodly, the Spiritual and the Carnal worshippers of God, was here the most considerable of all. An humble, holy, upright Soul is sensitive of the interest of Christ and Souls; and a gracious Person is ever a charitable Person, and loveth his Neighbour as himself; and therefore judgeth of him, as he would be judged of himself; and speaks of him as he would be spoken of himself, and useth him as he would be used himself: And it is as much against his charitable inclination to disagree or separate from his Brethren, much more to prosecute them or call them out, as it is against the nature of the body to dismember it, by cutting off any of the parts. And it is safe to bring such Persons to Agreement, at least to live in Charitable Communion. But on the other side the Carnal, Selfish and Unfaithful, (of what Party or Opinion soever) have a Nature that is quite against holy Concord and Peace. They want that love which is the natural Balm for the Churches wounds: They are every one Selfish, and ruled by Self-Interest, and have as many Ends and Centres of their Desires and Actions, as they are individual Men. They are easily deceived and led into Error, especially in Practicals, and against Spiritual Truths, for want of Divine Illumination, and Experience of the Things of God, and a Nature suitable there to. Their Designs are Carnal, Ambitious, Covetous, as Worldly Felicity is their Idol and their End: God is not taken for their highest Governor, his Laws must give place to the Desires of their Flesh: Their very Religion is but Pride and Worldliness, or subject to it. They have a secret Enmity against a holy, spiritual Life, and therefore against the People that are holy: They love not them that are serious in their own Religion, and that go beyond their dead Formality: This Enmity, provoked by Self interest or Reproof, doth easily make them Persecutors of the Godly, if they have but power. And their carnal worldly hearts incline them to the carnal worldly side in any Controversies about Religion, and to corrupt it, and make it a carnal thing. These Hypocrites in the Church do betray its Purity and Peace, and fell Christ's Interest and the Gospel for as small a price as Judas fold his Lord for. And though in a time, when God's Providence leteth his own Cause on the higher ground, and giveth it the advantage of holy Governors, these Men may possibly be serviceable to its welfare, as finding it to serve their carnal Ends; yet ordinarily they will fell the Peace of the Church for Preferment; and are either imposing persecuting Dividens, or discomfited numerous Dividens; and hardly brought to the necessary terms of a just and holy and durable Peace, (of whom I have more largely written in my Book called Catholic Unity.) Thence, and many more Impediments do rise up against all conciliatory endeavours.

§ 22. But I found not all these alike in all the disagreeing Parties, though some of both Sorts in every Party. The Erastian Party is most composed of Lawyers and other Secular Persons, who better understand the Nature of Civil Government, than the Nature, Form and Ends of the Church, and of those Offices appointed by Christ for Men's Spiritual Edification and Salvation. The Diocesan Party (with us) consisted of some grave, learned, godly Bishops, and some sober godly People of their mind; and withal of almost all the carnal Politicians, Temporizers, Prophane, and Haters of Godliness in the Land; and all the Rabble of the ignorant, ungodly Vulgar: Whether this came to pass from any thing in the Nature of their Diocesan Government, or from their accommodating the ungodly Sort by the formal way of their Publick Worship; or from their heading and pleasing them by running down the stricter sort of People whom they hated; or all these together; and also because the words and most do always fall in with the Party that is uppermost, I leave to the Judgment of the considerate Reader. The Presbyterian Party consisted of grave, orthodox, godly Ministers, together with the hopeful of the Students and young Ministers, and the sober, godly, ancient Christians, who were equally averse to Persecution and to Schism; and of those young ones who were educated and ruled by these: As also in those places where they most prevailed, of the soberest sort of the well-meaning Vulgar, who liked a godly Life, though they had no great knowledge of it: And this Party was most defirous of Peace. The Independant Party had many very godly Ministers and People, but with them many young injudicious Persons, inclined much to Novelties and Separations, and abounding more in Zeal than Knowledge; usually doing more
for Subdivisions, than the few sober Persons among them could do for unity and Peace; too much mistaking the Terms of Church Communion, and the difference between the Regenerate (invisibly) and the Congregate (or visibly) Church. The Anabaptists Party consisted of some (but fewer) sober, peaceable Persons, and orthodox in other Points; but withal, of abundance of young transported Zealots, and a medley of Opinionists, who all hastened directly to Enthusiasm and Subversion, and by the Temptation of Prosperity and Success in Arms, and the Policy of some Commanders, were led into Rebellions, and hot Endeavours against the Ministry, and other scandalous Crimes; and brought forth the horrid Sects of Ranters, Seekers, and Quakers in the Land.

§ 23. But the greatest Advantage which I found for Concord and Pacification, was among a great number of Ministers and People who had addicted themselves to no Sect or Party at all; though the Vulgar called them by the Name of Presbyterians: And the truth is, as far as I could discover, this was the Cafe of the greatest number of the godly Ministers and People throughout England. For though Presbytery generally took in Scotland, yet it was but a stranger here: And it found some Ministers that lived in conformity to the Bishops, Liturgies and Ceremonies (however they withd for Reformation); and the most (that quickly after were ordained) were but young Students in the Universities, at the time of the change of Church Government, and had never well studied the Point on either side: And though most of the Ministers (then) in England law nothing in the Presbyterian way of practice, which they could not cheerfully concur in, yet it was but few that had resolved on their Principles: And when I came to try it, I found that most (that ever I could meet with) were against the "sum Dominum of Lay Elders, and for the moderate Primitive Episcopacy, and for a narrow Congregational or Presbyterian Extent of ordinary Churches, and for an accommodation of all Parties, in order to Concord, as well as my self. I am sure as soon as I proposed it to them, I found most inclined to this way, and therefore I suppose it was their Judgment before: Yea, multitudes whom I had no converfe with, I understood to be of this mind; so that this moderate Number, (I am loth to call them a Party, because they were for Catholicism against Parties), being no way pre-engaged, made the Work of Concord much more hopeful than else it would have been, or than I thought it to be when I first attempted it.

§ 24. Things being in this Cafe, I stood still some years, as a looker on, and contented my self to wish and pray for Peace, and only drop now and then a word for it in my practical Writings; which hath since been none of my smallest troubles. The Reasons were, 1. Because I was taken up in Practicals, and in such Controversies as tended to Doctrinal Agreement. 2. Because I looked when some abler and more eminent Divines attempted it. 3. But the chief Reason was, Delfair: I was so conscious of my meaness and in considerableness in the Church, that verily thought, but very few will regard what I said. But when I once attempted it, God convinced me of this Error, and showed me how little Instruments signify, when he will work: and that his Ministers and People were more humble to hear the meanness of their Brethren, than I before believed. At last the workings of my earnest Desire, and the apprehension of my Duty, to do my best, and leave the Success to God, engaged me as followeth.

§ 25. I first began in Conference and Writing to Reverend Mr. Anthony Burgess, and some others, to put the main Question, Whether all Church Government be not, as Cameron holdeth, only Perjusive, not by private, but publick or authorized Doctrinal Perversion, and so can work on none but the Conficientious or Affidants? And whether the usurpation of a strictly Legislative and Judicial Power (lave only to judge what we are to execute), or a power of binding Dissenters, even Civil errants, especially binding Magistrates to execute by Corporal Penalties and Multis, and other Punishments, Eo nomine, because by Excommunication the Church hath punished them, I lay, whether this be not a robbing the Magistrate of his Power, and making the Exercife of the Keys, to be too like a coercive Secular Judgment, and so the Ground of all the Quarrels in the Church? For I lay plainly that the Papists, and those Prelates and Presbyterians who are for such an unexamined Judicial Power, do but strive for that which belongeth to none of them all. Upon the raising of these doubts I was suspected to be an Erastian, and had no other Answer, or Satisfaction; but the study of the Point somewhat cleared my own Judgment.

§ 26.
§ 26. Next this I wrote to Reverend and Judicious Mr. Richard Vines, about an attempt for Concord with all, but especially the Episcopal Party: And also about Lay-Elders; and his Judgment fully concurred with me, and (besides others) he wrote to me the following Letter.

SIR,

Though I should havedesired to have understood your thoughts about the Point of Sacrilege, that so I might have formed up my thoughts into some better order and clearer issue than I did in my last: yet to flow unto you how much I value this Correspondence with you, I am willing to make some return to your self: And thus touching the Schoolmaster intended, &c.—The Accommodation you speake of is a great and a good work for the gaining into the Work such useful parts and interests as might very much heal the Diford, and unite the strength of Men to oppose destructive ways, and in my opinion more feasible with those men than any other, if they be moderate and godly: for we differ with them rather upon some Pinciles of the Temple, than the Foundation or Abbettrefes thereof. I would not have much time spent in a formula of Doltrine or Worship: for we are not much distant from them, and happy no more than with one another. But I would have the Agreement attempted in that very thing which chiefly made the Diviision, and that is Government; heal that breach and heal all; there begin, and therein labour all you can. What influence this may have upon others, I know not, in this exulceration of mens minds: but the Work speaks it self good, and your Reasons for the attempting of it are very considerable. For the Assembly, you know, they can meddle with just nothing but what is sent unto them by Parliament, or one House thereof (as the Order faith) and for that reason never took upon them to intermeddle therein. What they do in such a thing, must be done as private persons, and not in the capacity of Assembly-men, except it come to them recommended by the Parliament. The great business is to find a temperament in Ordination and Government, in both which the Exclusion or Admission of Presbyters (dics Caua) for a shadow, was not regular; and no doubt the Presbyters ought and may both teach and govern, as men that must give account of Souls. For that you say of every particular Church having many Presbyters, it must be confidered in our Assembly, and the Scripture speaks fair for it, but then the Church and City was of one Extent: No Parishes or Bounds assigned out to particular men (as now) but the Minister preached in circuits, or in common, and good in relation to the Churches as to one Church, though meeting daily in divers houses or places (as is with the manner of some Cities in the Low Countries.) If you will follow this model, you must lay the City all into one Church particular, and the Villages half a dozen of them into a Church: which is a business here in England of vast design and consequent. And for that you say of a Bishop over many Presbyters, not over many Churches; I believe no such Bishop would please our men: but the Nation, as you conceive it, hath been, and is the Opinion of learned Men. Grotius in his Commentary on the Acts, in divers places, and particularly in chap. 17, faith, That as in every particular Synagogue (many of which was in one City there was one Bishop,) so was the Primitive Bishop: and doubtless the first Bishops were over the Community of Presbyters, as Presbyters in joint relation to one Church or Region; which Region being upon the increas of Believers, divided into more Churches, and in after times those Churches assigned to particular men: yet be, the Bishop continued Bishop over them still. For that you say, he had a negative voice, that's more than ever I saw proved, or ever shall, I believe for the first two hundred years; and yet I have laboured to enquire into it. That makes him Angelus princeps, not Angelus prades, as Dr. Reignolds faith; Calvin denies that, and makes him Confulin Senatu. Or as the Speaker in the House of Parliament, which as I have heard that D. B. did say, was but to make him Foreman of the Jury. Take heed of yielding a Negative Voice. As touching the introduction of Ruling Elders, such as are modelled out by Parliament, my judgment is sufficiently known: I am of your judgment in the Point. There should be such Elders as have power to preach as well as rule: I say power; but how that will be affected here I know not, except we could or would return to the primitive nature and constitution of particular Churches: and therefore it must be helped by the combination of more Churches together into one as to the matter of Government, and let them be still defined as to Word and Sacraments. That is the easiest way of Accommodation that yet occurs to my thoughts. Sir, if I trouble you too long, but it is to shew how much I value you and join Letters to me, for which I thank you, and rest

Yours in the best Bonds,

R. Vines.
§ 27. Something also I wrote to Reverend and Learned Mr. Th. Gataker, whose Judgment I had seen before in his own Writings : And having the encouragement of such Content, I motioned the Busines to some London Ministers to have it let on foot among themselves, because if it came from them, it would be much more taking than from us : But they thought it unfit to be managed there, for several Reasons, and so we must try it, or only sit still and with well as we had done.

§ 28. Next this, the state of my own Congregation, and the necessity of my Duty, constrained me to make some Attempt. For I must administer the Sacraments to the Church, and the ordinary way of Examining every Man before they come, I was not able to prove necessary, and the People were averse to it: So that I was forced to think of the matter more seriously; and having determined of that way which was, I thought, most agreeable to the Word of God, I thought, if all the Ministers did accord together in one way, the People would much more easily admit, than to the way of any Minifier that was singular. To attempt their Content I had two very great Encouragements: The one was an honest, humble, tractable People at home, engaged in no Party, Prelatical, Presbyterian, or Independant; but loving Godliness and Peace, and hating Schism as that which they perceived to tend to the ruine of Religion. The other was a Company of honest, godly, pious, humble Ministers in the Country where I lived, who were not one of them (that Associated) Presbyterian or Independant, and not past four or five of them Episopall; but disengaged faithful Men. At a Lecture at Wroughton I first procured a Meeting, and told them of the Design, which they all approved: They imposed it upon me, to draw up a Form of Agreement. The Matter of it was to consist [So much of the Church Order and Discipline, as the Episopall, Presbyterian, and Independant are agreed in, as belonging to the People of each particular Church]. The Reasons of this were, 1. Because we all believed that the practice of so much as all are agreed in, would do very much to the Order and Reformation of the Churches; and that the controverted Parts are those of least necessity or weight. 2. Because we would not necessitate any Party to refuse our Association, by putting in a word which he disowneth: for we intended not to dispute one another into nearer Agreement in Opinions, but first to agree in the practice of all that which was owned by us all.

According to their desire I drew up some Articles for our Content which might engage us to the most effectual practice of so much Discipline as might reduce the Churches to order, and satisfy Ministers in administering the Sacraments, and stop the more religious People from Separation, to which the unreformedness of the Churches through want of Discipline inclined them, and yet might not at all contradict the Judgments of any of the three Parties: And I brought in the Reasons of the several Points: which alter sufficient Deliberation and Examination (with the alteration of some few words) were confered to by all the Ministers that were present; and after several Meetings we subscribed them, and so associated for our mutual help and concord in our Work. The Ministers that thus associated were for Number, Parts and Piety, the most considerable part of all that County, and some out of some neighbouring Counties that were near us. There was not, that I know of, one through Presbyterian among them, because there was but one such that I knew of in all the County, and he lived somewhat remote: Nor did any Independant subscribe, save one; for there were, (that I knew of) but five or six in the County, and two of the weightiest of them approved it in words, and the rest withdrew from our Debates, and gave us no reason against any thing-proposed. Those that did not come near us, nor concur with us, were all the weaker part of Ministers, whole Sufficiency or Conversation was questioned by others, and knew they were of little esteem among them, and were neither able or willing to exercise any Discipline on their Flocks: As also some few of better parts of the Episcopall way, who never came near us, and knew not of our Proposals, or resolved to do nothing, till they had Episcopacy restored; or such whose Judgments esteemed such Discipline of no great necessity: And one or two very worthy Ministers, who approved of our Agreement, subscribed it not, because they had a People so very Refractory, that they knew they were not able to bring them to submit to it.

Having all agreed in this Association, we proposed publishly to our People so much as required their Content and Practice, and gave every Family a Copy in Print, and a sufficient time to consider and understand it, and then put it in Execution; and I published it with the Reasons of it, and an Explication of what seemed doubtful in it, in a Book which I called [Christian Concord] which pleased me, and displeased others.

§ 29.
§ 29. There were at that time, two sorts of Episcopal Men, who differed from each other, more than the more moderate sort differed from the Presbyterians. The one was the old common moderate sort, who were commonly in Doctrine Calvinists, and took Episcopacy to be necessary "ad benefic Ministrorum & Ecclesiae, but not ad offici, and took all those of the Reformed that had not Bishops, for true Churches and Ministers, wanting only that which they thought would make them more compleat. The other sort followed Dr. H. Hammond, and (for ought we knew) were very new, and very few: Their Judgment was (as he afferteth in "Anno. in Afl. 11. & in Defarat,) that all the Texts of Scripture which speak of Presbyters, do mean Bishops, and that the Office of Subject-Presbyters was not in the Church in Scripture Times, (but before Ignatius wrote it was) but that the Apostles planted in every Church only a Bishop with Deacons, but with this intent (afferted but never proved) that in time, when the Christians multiplied, these Bishops (that had then but one Church a piece) should ordain Subject-Presbyters under them, and be the Pastor of many Churches: And they held that Ordination without Bishops was invalid, and a Ministry fo ordained was null, and the Reformed Churches that had no Bishops, nor Presbyters ordained by Bishops, were no true Churches, though the Church of Rome be a true Church, as having Bishops: These Men in Doctrine were such as are called Arminians: And though the other sort were more numerous and elder, and some of them laid that Dr. H. Hammond had given away their Cause (because here he confesseth that de facet, the Churches were but Congregational or Parochial, and that Every Church had a Bishop, and no Subject Presbyters were ordained by the Apostles, or in Scripture times, which is almost all that the Presbyterians desire) yet Dr. H. Hammond and the few that at first followed him, by their Parts and Interest in the Nobility and Gentry, did carry it at last against the other Party. Now in my Christian Concord, I had confessèd that it was only the moderate ancient Episcopal Party which I hoped for Agreement with; it being impossible for the Presbyterian and Independant Party to associate with them that take them and their Churches, and all the reformed Ministers and Churches that have not Episcopal Ordination, for null: And knowing that this Opinion greatly tended to the Division of the churchian Churches, and gratifying the Papists, and offending the Protestants, I spake freely against it, which alienated that party from me.

Having jested our Association Dr. Warmerstry (after Dean of Worcester) and Dr. Thomas Good (after Prebend of Hereford) were willing to have a Conference with us, in order to bring in the Episcopal Party in Shropshire (where they then lived) to our Association: Accordingly we met with them at Cleobury in Shropshire; and our Articles were read over by Dr. Warmerstry, and examined one by one, and in the conclusion they professed their very good liking of our Design, and that they purposed to join with us, but they thought it not meet at that present, being but two, to subscribe their full Assent left it should seem over hastily to their Brethren, and should hinder the Association, which they Deified to promote: But yet at present they subscribed as followeth:

Sept: 20. 1653.

§ 30. We whose Names are under written, having had Conference with divers of our Brethren of the Ministry of Worcestershire, concerning their Agreement and Association, for the promoting of Peace and Unity, and Reformations of their respective Congregations: according to the Word of God, do by these Presents approve of their Christian Intentions in the general, as being such that in Reference to the present Condition of the Church, we conceive to conduct very much to the Glory of God, the Promotion of Holiness, the restraints of Sin, the removing of Scandal, and the setting of God's People on Christian Unity and Concord. Witness our Hands, the Day and Year above written,

T H O. W A R M E S T R Y.
T H O. G O O D.

(This is that Dr. Warmerstry, who, when I was silenc'd by Bishop Morley, and he made Dean of Worcester, came purposely to my Flock, to preach those vehement tedious Invectives of which more hereafter.)

§ 31. In our Association we agreed upon a Monthly Meeting at certain Market-Towns for Conference about such Cases of Discipline as required Consultation and
and Content: Accordingly at Eversham and Kidderminster they were constantly kept up: In the Town where I lived we had once a Month a Meeting of Three Justices of the Peace (who lived with us) and three or four Ministers (for so many were in the Parish, my self and Affiliants) and three or four Deacons, and twenty of the ancient and godly Men of the Congregation, who pretended to no Office, as Lay-Elders, but only met as the Justices of the whole Church, to be present and secure their Liberties; and do that which any of the Church might do; and they were chosen once a year hereunto (as Gratios de imperio juro Post.) because all the People could not have leisure to meet so oft, to debate things which required their Content: At this meeting we admonished those that remained impenitent in any scandalous Sin, after more private Admission before two or three; and we did with all possible tenderness persuade them to repentance, and labour to convince them of their Sin and danger; and pray with them if they confented: And if they could not be prevailed with to repent, we required them to meet before all the Ministers at the other monthly Meeting, which was always the next Day after this parochial Meeting. There we renewed our Admonitions and Exhortations, and some Ministers of other Parishes laboured to set it home, that the Offender might not think it was only the Opinion of the Pastor of the Place, and that he did it out of ill Will or Partiality. If he yielded penitently to confefs his Sin and promise Amendment (more or less publicly according to the Nature of the Scandal) we then joined in Prayer for his true Repentance and Forgiveness, and exhorted him farther to his Duty for the future: But if he still continued obstinately impenitent, by the Consent of all, he was by the Pastor of the Place to be publickly admonished and prayed for by that Church, usually three several days together; and if still he remained Impenitent, the Church was required to avoid him, as a Person unfit for their Communion; as is more fully opened in the Articles of our Agreement.

§ 32. This monthly Meeting of the Ministers proved of exceeding great Benefit and comfort to us; where when we had dined together, we spent an Hour or two in Dilputation on some Question which was chosen the Week before; and when the Respondent and Opponent had done their Part, they were pleased to make it my Work to determine: And after that, if we had any Church-business (as aforesaid) we consulted of it. And many Ministers met with us, that were not of our Association, for the Benefit of those Dilutations. I must confess this was the comfortablest time of all my Life, through the great delight I had in the Company of that Society of honest, sincere, laborious, humble Ministers of Christ: Every Week on the Lecture Day I had the plesant Company of many of them at my Houfe, and every Month at our appointed Meeting I had the Company of more; I so well knew their Self-denial, Impartiality, Peaceableness, and exemplary Lives, together with their Skill and faithful Diligence for the Good of Souls (however almost all of them have been since silenced and cast out) that its plesant to me to remember the Convers I had with them: so amiable are sincere and upright Men, whose singleness of Heart doth imitate the State of the primitive Believers, when proud, self-seeking refused Hypocrites, do turn their best Endowments into a Reproach.

§ 33. When Dr. Warrisfry and Dr. Good had subscrib'd as above, a while after Dr. Warrisfry consulted with his London Brethren: and he received a Paper of Animadversions (not against the Articles of our Agreement, but) against my Explication of them, and my Passages which oppose those Episcopal Divines who deny the Ministry and Churches which have not Prelatical Ordination: These Animadversions he sent to me with a Letter, which signified his desire of Peace in general, but that he must not strike a League with Faction, &c. There was no Name to this Paper, but long time after I learnt that it was Mr. Peter Gunning's, afterwards Bishop of Ely. I presently wrote an Answer to it, and offered the Doctor to lend it him, if he would tell me the Author. Because it is too long to be inserted here, I have put the Paper and Answer together in the End, where you may read them.

After this I received from Sir Ralph Clare these ensuing Papers, as from some Courtiers (which are of the same Strain with Dr. Gunning's); which with my brief Answer I adjoin.
SIR,

THE Influence and Power you have in the present Pator of your Church (who is much esteemed abroad, and bad in a reverend Esteem as well for Piety of Life, as for his Learning, Moderation, and desiring the Peace of the Church,) gives Encouragement to your old Acquaintance, and Associates in that One-glorious Court of England to desire the Favour that this inclosed Paper may be presented to his Christian View and Consideration; presuming so great is his Charity, that he will not leave any wounded Soul unhealed, wherein he is able to bestow his Bless. In this he extends not his Charity alone, as to a single Person, but (in me) there are many more of your Friends included; who would have appeared in Person, or met in Conference, were it not our Mansions are at too great a distance, and the Malignity and Jealousy of Times challenges Retirements, rather than Assemblies.

It is not civil in us to chazz the Method of Answering the Queries; yet for Enseement Sake and Brevity, it will be satisfying his free Concessions of any Proposals in the Affirmative to be true without any Enlargement of Reasons; and for these Queries which may and must admit Divisions, Distinctions, and Discourse on the Cape, let the reverent Gentleman use his own Form, Judgment and Discretion; as believing he will proceed with such Candor and Impartiality, as become a Man of his Calling and Emanuence; waving all By-Interests and Relations to any Party or Faction, either regnant or eclips; which All will deservedly hazzon the high Esteem he is valued at, and your self by this Honour done, engage me and many more of your old Friends (in me) to subscribe our selves,

Your Servants,

Theophilus Church.

(A feigned Name)

April 20. 1655.

Certain Queries and Scruples of Conscience offered to some Learned Divines for Resolution and Satisfaction.

1. Whether a Christian Magistrate tolerate Liberty of Conscience in Religion and Church Discipline without Scandal?
2. Whether may and ought a tender Conscience exercise and use his Liberty and Freedom without Violence enforced by Superiors?
3. Whether in Matters of Government Ecclesiastical depending only of Fact, the general and perpetual Practice of the Church from Age to Age, be not a sufficient Evidence and Warrant of the Right, Truth, and certainty of the thing?
4. Whether the Vocation of Bishops be an Order Lawful in itself?
5. Whether the Regiment Ecclesiastical by Bishops hath not continued throughout the Christian Church ever since the Apostles, until Calvin's days? No Church Orthodox differing.
6. Whether was there ever since the Apostles' days so much as one national Church governed by a Presbytery without a Bishop until Calvin's Days? If so, where was the Original? in what Place? by what Persons? of what continuance? and bow was it lost, or changed into Episcopacy, and upon what Grounds or Motives?
7. Whether the present Ministry in the Church of England (as it now separated from their lawful Superiors or Bishops) be not Schismatical?
8. Whether all these Ministers that have taken the Oath of Canonical Obedience to their Bishops, and have subscribed and submitted to those Powers that violently deprived the said Bishops of their legal Powers and Jurisdictions, by yielding a voluntary Obedience to their Ordinances, are not under a high Censure of Perjury and Schism?
9. Whether thes Ministers now pretended to be made and ordained in the Church of England only by their Fellow Ministers without a Bishop, be true Ministers or no; or else mere Lay Persons, and bold Upjumpers of the Sacred Function and Order, like Corah and his Companions?
10. Whether all these Ministers which are now in actual possession of the late Incumbent Parsonages and Cures of Souls (and deprived for their only adhering and assisting their late lawfuls Prince and their Governor, and also their Bishops) to whom they owed
all Canonical Obedience) without and beside any Legal Induction or Admission, may not be reckoned as Intruders and false Shepherds?

11. Whether it had not been an excellent part of Christian Perfection, rather to endure passively lost of Liberty, Estate, and even of Life it self for the maintenance and defence of the just and Legal Rights invested in the Church, and the Bishops it's Superintendent Powers, and the Liturgy and Service of the Church, than carnally for Self-interest and Ends, to comply and submit even against their knowing Conferences, to a violent and more prevailing power and force in the abolishing of Episcopal Power, and the daily Prayers and Service used in the Church?

12. Whether all such Persons be not guilty of Schism and of Scandal given, which Communicate and be present in such Ministers Congregations and Assemblies, whether in Church or in private Meetings, to bear their Prayers or Sermons, or receive their Sacraments according to the new present mode and form, more especially in the participation with them in the Sacrament of the Eucharist? Or how may a good Christian Communicate with such without just Scandal given or taken?

13. Whether it be lawful and just for any Orthodox Minister or Episcoparian to accept of any Benefice with Care of Souls, as the base of the English Church now stands, visible and ruling, without guilt of Schism by compliance to their Form?

14. Whether as the Condition of the present Church of England is, The Ministers therein may not legally, and so justifiably, exercise and use against the late Liturgy of the Church, there being no Statute Law prohibiting the same? And whether those that continue the Observation of the late Directory be not perturbers of the Peace of the Church, especially since the limitation of trial by a pretended Legality and Command for its observance, is expired and not reformed.

15. Whether the old Jewish Church had not set Forms of Prayer? whether St. John the Baptist our Saviour's Precursor, and our blest Saviour himself, taught not their Disciples set Forms of Prayers, and whether the Christian Church (especially since the time of Peace from the violence of Heathenish Persecution) had not, nor generally used set Forms of Prayer? And whether the Ministers now ex tempore Prayers in the Church, be not as well a set Form of Prayers to the Auditors, whose Spirits are therein bounded, as any set Form of Prayer used in the Church?

16. Whether a Christian, without Scandal given, appear to be a Godfather or Godmother to a Child in those New Assemblies, where the Minister with his own Disciples and Prayers, and not of the ancient Liturgy, except the Words of Baptism, I Baptize thee (A. B.) in the Name of the Father, &c.

17. Whether any Supreme Earthly Power or Powers Spiritual or Temporal, joint or separate, can alienate and convert to secular uses or employments any Churches, Lands, Goods, or Things once devoted, offered and dedicated to God and his Church, without grand Sacrilege and Prophanation; although by Corruption of Persons and Times they have been either suprinsingly abused, or too prehanently employed, but rather to reduce them to their primitive Use and Donation?

18. Whether the ancient Feasting Days of the Week and Festivals of the Church, setted both by Provincial Synods in the Year 1562. and 1640. and confirmed by the then Regal Power, and also by several Statutes and Laws, ought not by all persons in Conscience to be still observed, until they be abrogated by the like Powers again? or how far the Liberty of Conscience therein may be used in observing or not observing them? the like for the usage of the Cross in Baptism, and the humble posture of Kneeling at the receiving of the blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper?

19. Which way of security and peace of Conscience may a quiet Christian order and dispose himself, his Wife, Children and Family in his Duty and Service towards God, and enjoy the right use and benefit of the Sacraments and other holy Duties, as long as that part of the Catholic Church wherein he lives, is under persecution, and the visible Ruling Church therein is false Schismatistical, if not in many particulars Heretical?

April 20th, 1655.

May
May 14th, 1655. An Answer to the foregoing Questions, sent to Sir R. Clare.

Ad Quæst. 1. Ether that Conscience oweth the right Religion and Discipline only, or the right with some tolerable accidental Errors, or a wrong Religion and Discipline in the Substance. The first the Magistrate must not only tolerate, but promote. The second he must tolerate rather than do work by suppreffing it. The third he must suppreff by all lawful means, and tolerate when he cannot help it, without a greater Evil. I suppose no Judicious Man will expect an exact Solution of so Comprehensive a Question in few words: And I find not that a large Discusion is now expected from me: There are four or five Sheets of my Manuscrips in some hands abroad on this Point, which may do more towards a satisfactory Solution, than these few words.

Ad 2. Either the tender Conscience is in the right, or in the wrong: If in the wrong, the Magistrates Liberty will not make a Sin to be no Sin; but the Party is bound by God to rectifie his Judgment, and thereby his Practice. If in the right, it is a strange Question, Whether a Man may obey God, that hath the Magistrates leave, till he be enforced by Mens violence? Dost any doubt of it?

Ad 3. Matter of Government depending only on Fact, is a Contradiction: Seeing Government confiteth in a Right, and the Exercise of it. I am not able therefore to understand this Question. Yet, if this may afford any help toward the Solution, I affirm, That the general and perpetual practice of the Church from Age to Age, of a thing not forbidden by the Word of God, will warrant our imitation. I say [of a thing not forbidden] because it hath been the general and perpetual practice of the Church, to Sin, by vain Thoughts, Words, imperfect Duties, &c. wherein our imitation is not warrantable. The general and perpetual practice includeth the Apo- files and that Age. But what is meant by [Evidencing the Right of a thing that dependeth only on Fact] or by [Evidencing the Truth and Certainty of a Fact by general and perpetual practice] (which is to prove idem per idem), I will not pre- fume that I understand.

Ad 4. I know not what Bishops you mean. A Congregational Bishop oversee- ing the People is undoubtedly lawful: so is a Congregational Bishop, being Presi- dent of a Presbytery which is over that Congregation. Where many Congregati- onal Officers are associated, I do not think that a President for a time, or during his fitness, standing and fixed, is unlawful. The like I may say of a President of many of those Associations again associated, as in a Province or Diocess: And I be- lieve it were a very easy work for wife, godly, moderate men to agree about his Power: And I would not seem so censorious as to proclaim that England wanteth such, further than the actual want of such Agreement, or just endeavours there- to, both proclaim it. I am satisfied also, that the Apoilles themselves have de jure Sucessors in all that part of their work which is to be perpetuated, or continued till now; though not in their extraordinary Endowments and Priviledges. But if the fense of your Question be, Whether one Man may be the standing chief Government of many particular Churches with their Officers, having either sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction (as some would have) or a Negative Voice in both (as others) it would seem great arrogancy in me to be the confident Determiner of such a Question, which so wise, learned, godly sober Men, have laid so much of on both sides already.

Ad 5. 1. He that knows how short Church History is in these Matters for the first Age after the Apoilles, at least, and hath read impartially what Gerflon, Bucner, Parker, Blondelius, Salmefius, Alters Damascen, have laid on one side; and Saravoa, Downham, Dr. Hammond, &c. on the other; would fure never expect that I should presume to pass any confident Sentence in the Point: And it’s like he would be somewhat moderate himself.

2. I lay as before, I know not what you mean by Bishops: I am confident that the Church was not of many Hundred years after Christ governed as ours was lately in England, by a Diocesan Bishop and a Chancellor, excluding almost all the Prefbyters.

3. Why do you say [Since the Apoilles days] when you before spoke of the [General and perpetual practice of the Church]?
Ad 6°. The word [National Church] admits of divers senses. As it was usually underwritten in England, I think there was none for divers hundred years after Chrift, either governed by Bishops or without them. They that will look after the most encouraging Presidents, must look higher than National Churches.

Ad 7°. The Question seems not to mean any particular truly-chiliasmical Party of Ministers, but the generality, that live not under the Bishops: and so I answer negatively, waiting for the Accusers proof.

Ad 8°. 1. I know not what the Oath of Canonical Obedience is: therefore cannot give a full Answer. I know multitudes of Ministers ordained by Bishops, that never took any such Oath.

2. The Powers that violently took down the Bishops, were the Secular Powers: None else could use violence. And it were a strange Oath for a Man to swear that he would never obey the Secular Powers if they took down the Bishops, when the Holy Ghost would have us obey Heavens Perfectors.

3. If it were so great a Sin to obey those Powers, I conceive it must be so to the Laity as well as the Ministry: And I know but few of the Episcopal Gentry or others called to it, that did refuse to take the Engagement to be true and faithful to that Power, when the Presbyters here accused durst not take it.

4. Most Presbyters that I know do perform all Ecclesiastical Matters upon Supposition of a Divine Direction, and not upon the Command of Humane Powers.

Ad 9°. The Ordination of meer Presbyters is not null, and the Presbyters so ordained now in England are true Presbyters, as I am ready to maintain. But wait for the Accuser’s proof of the nullity.

Ad 10°. 1. This calls me to decide the Controversie about the late Wars, which I find not either necessary or convenient for me to undertake.

2. The like I must lay of deciding the Legality of Inductions and Admissions.

3. If a worthy Man be call out, had you rather that God’s Worship were neglected, and the People perished for lack of Teaching, then any other Man should be set over them, though one that had no hand in calling him out? Must the People needs have him or none as long as he lives? Was it so when Bishops were call out heretofore by Emperors or Councils? I think I may take the Guidance of a delitute People, so I hinder not a worthy Man from recovering his Right.

4. I never desired that any should be Excluded but the Unworthy, (the Insufficient, or Scandalous, or grossly Negligent): And I know but too few of the Ejected that are not such: And this Question doth modestly pass over their Cafe; or else I should have said somewhat more to the Matter.

Ad 11°. 1. It is a necessary Christian Duty to see that we do not the least Evil for our own safety: And all God’s Ordinances must be maintained as far as we can: But as I before disclaimed the Arrogance of determining the Controversie about our Diocesan Episcopacy, so I think not every Legal Right of the Church (which it hath by Man’s Law), nor every thing in our Liturgy, to be worthy of a maintenance, as to the loss of Life; nor the loss of Peace: Nor did the late King think so, who would have let go so much. But I think that they that did this carnally for Self-interets and Ends did grievously sin, whether the thing it self were good or bad: especially if they went against their Conferences.

2. I think there is no unlawful Prayers or Service now offered to God in the Church ordinarily, where I have had opportunity to know it. And I think we pray for the same things, in the main, as we were wont to do; and offer God the same Service: And that Mr. Ball and others against the Separatists, have sufficiently proved, that it is no part of the Worship, but an Accident of it self indifferent, that I use these Words, or Thole, a Book or no Book, a Form premeditated, or not. And no Separatist hath yet well answered them.

Ad 12°. Such as you described you can hardly know, and therefore not knowledgefully cruple their Communion; for a Man’s ends and knowledge are out of your sight: You can hardly tell who did this [against Knowledge and Conscience, carnally, for Self interest]. But if you mean it of your ordinary Ministers and Congregations, I am past doubt that you are Scholasticall, if not worse, if you avoid the Assemblies, and Ordinances mentioned, upon such Accusations and Suppositions: And I shall much easier prove this, than you will make good your Separation.
Ad 13. Permitting, you to fippofe [Orthodox] and [Episcopalian] to be the same, as preffent; you may easily know that the Epifcopal are not all of a Mind, but differ, I think, much more among themselves, than the moderate Epifcopal and Presbyterian differ: some maintaining that the Ordination of meer Presby- teris is not null, with divers the like things; which the novel fort doth disclaim. The old Epifcopal Protestant may not only take a Cure of Souls now, without any Contradiction to his Principles, but may comfortably Associate with the peaceable Ministry of the Land, and may not confequently avoid it. The Novel fort be- fore mentioned, ought to reftifie their miftakes, and fo to take up their duty; but as they are, I fee not how they can do it in consiftency with their Principles, unlefs under the Jurifdiction of a Bishop.

Ad 14. For the Point of the legality of the Liturgy, you call me to determine Cafes in Law, which I find my felt unfort. And for the Directory, its Nature is (according to its Name) not to impose Words or Matter, nor bind by human Authority, but to direct Men how to understand God's Word concerning the Or- dering of his Worship. Now either it directs us right or wrong: If wrong, we must not follow such Directions: If right, it's no unlawful disturbance of the Churches Peace to obey God's Word upon their Direction: Circumstances, where- in some place moft of their Government, they very little meddle with: And in- deed I know but few that do much in the order of Worship to Nomine because it is fo in the Directory: but because they think it moft agreeable to God's Word; or moft tending to Concord, as things now stand. Would you have us avoid any Scripture or orderly Course, meerly because it is expressed in the Directory? And think you those are Ways of Peace?

Ad 15. I think (on the Credit of others) that the Jewifh Church had a Liturgy; I am sure they had Forms of Prayers and Prayer in some Cafes. I know Chrift taught his Disciples the Lord's Prayer, I will not determine whether as a Directory for Matter and Order, or whether as a Form of Words to be used, or when, or how oft used: I conjefture you regard the Judgment of Greifion, who faith in Matt. 6. 9. [σέβομαι: In hanc Seminum: Non enim praecepta Christi in verba rectatari, quoddam legitim Apostolorum fcribile, quanquam id quaque fortis cum fructa potent sed materiae praeceptum binc promover.] i.e. Pray thus; that is, to this Senfe: For Chrift doth not command the laying of the Words, nor do we read that the Apostles did it, though that also may profitably be done; but hence to fetch the Matter of Prayer.

You know the Directory adviseth the use of the Words: And how it was that John taught his Disciples to pray, I cannot tell: nor will herein pretend my felf wifer than I am. The Example of the Primitive Church is never the more imita- ble for the Ceflation of Perfection; and its Example before is moft to be regarded, that being pureft that is next the Fountain. We are fure that the Church long used extemporary Prayers, and its probable betimes, some Forms which. I think they are strangely Dark and addicted to Extremes, that think either that no Forms are lawful, or that only prefcribed or premidated Forms are lawful. And if you will condemn all publick extemporary Prayers, you will err as groffly as they that will have no other.

Ad 16. I know no neceffity of any Godfather or Godmother, beside the Pa- rents, unlefs you will call thofe fo, that in cafe of their neceffary Absence are their Delegates. Nor do I know that ordinarily among us any Dictates or Prayers are used that a fober Christian hath the leaft reafon to fcruple Communion in. Will you have a Pastor that shall not speak in the Name of the People to God? or will you call his Prayers [his own] which he puts up by Virtue of his Office, according to God's Word?

Ad 17. I think they cannot without Sacrilegious make fuch Alienation; except where God's Confeque can be proved. For Example: if the Minifters of the Church have full as much means given, as is fit for the Ends to which it is given, and yet the People will give more and more, to the Burden and enfaming of the Church, and the impoverifhing or ruin of the Common-wealth, here I think God confines not to accept that Gift, and therefore it was an Offer, and not pletarily a Gift, for want of Acceptance; for he accepts not that which he prohibits: Here there- fore the Magiftrate may refttice this to its proper ufe. But whether this were any of the Cafe of thefe (Sacrilegious) Alienations too lately made in this Land; is a far- ther Queftion: I apprehend a deep Guilt of Sacrilegious upon fame.

Ad 18. The Particulars here mentioned must be diftinctly conffidered.

X 2
3. About
The LIFE of the

1. About Facts and Feats, the Question as referring to the Obligation of the Laws of the Land, is of the same Resolution as all other Questions respecting those Laws; which being a Case more out of my way, I shall not profume to determine without a clearer Call. Only I must say that I fee little Reafon why thofe Men should think themfelves bound in this, who yet fuppofe themfelves to be from many other Laws, and who oblige many of the Laws or Ordinances of the prefent Powers.

2. I much fear that not only the Querift, but many more are much enflared in their Conferences, by mifunderftanding the Nature and ufe of Synods. It's one thing for an Affembl of Bifhops to have a Superior Governing Power directly over all particular Churches and Bifhops; and another thing for fuch an Affembl to have a Power of determining things neceffary for the Concord of the feveral Churches. I never yet laf proved it that Synods are over Bifhops in a defect Governing Order, nor are called for fuch Ends; but properly in ordine ad Unitatem, and to oblige only (more than fingle Bifhops) by Virtue of the General Precept, of maintaining Unity and Concord. This is the Opinion of the moft learned Bifhop and famous antiquary that I am acquainted with.

3. And then when the end ceafes, the Obligation is at an End. So that this can now be no Law of Unity with us.

4. All human Laws die with the Legiflator, farther than the surviving Rulers fhall continue them. The Reafon is drawn from the Nature of a Law, which is to be jufius Majefatis, in the Common-wealth, and every where to be a sign of the Rectors Will de debito, vel constituto, vel confirmando; Or his Authoritative Determination of what fhall be due from us and to us. Therefore no Rector, no Law; and the Law that is, though made by the deceased Rector, is not his Law, but the prefent Rector's Law, formally; it being the signifier of his Will: And it is his Will for the continuance of it, that gives it a new Life. In all this I fpeak of the whole Summa poefitas that hath the absolute Legiflative Power. If therefore the Church Governors be dead that made thefe Laws, and no fufficient Power succeeds them to continue thefe Laws and make them theirs, then they are dead with their Authors.

5. The prefent Paftors of the Church (though but Presbyteres) are the true Guides of it, while Bifhops are abfent (and the true Guides conjunctly with the Bifhops, if they were prefent, according to the Judgment of your own fide). Whoever is the fole exiftent Governing Power, may govern, and muft be obeyed in things Lawful. Therefore you muft (for all your unproved Acquiffion of Schifm) obey them. The Death or Depofition of the Bifhops deprives not the Presbyteres of that Power which they had before.

6. Former Church Governors have not Power to bind all that fhall come after them, where they were before free: But their Followers are as free as they were.

7. The Nature of Church Canons is to determine of Circumstances only for a prefent time, place or occasion, and not to be univerfal standing Laws, to all Ages of the Church: For if fuch Determinations had been fit, God would have made them himfelf, and they would have been contained in his perfect Word. He gives not his Legiflative Power to Synods or Bifhops.

8. Yet if your Confequence will needs perlude you to use thofe Ceremonies, you have no ground to separate from all that will not be of your Opinion.

9. For the Crofs, the Canons require only the Mififter to ufe it, and not you: and if he do not, that's nothing to you.

10. Have you impartially read what is written againft the Lawfulness of it, by Amesius's ftreth Suit, Bradshaw, Parker, and others: If you have: you may at leaft fee this, that it's no fit matter to place the Churches Unity or Uniformity in: and they that will make fuch Laws for Unity go beyond their Commission. Church Governors are to determine the Circumstances pro loco & tempero in particular, which God hath in Word or Nature made necefly in genero, and left to their Determination. But when Men will profume beyond this, to determine of things not indeed circumstantial, or no way necefly in genero nor left to their Determination (as to inftitute new flanding Symbols in and with God's Symbols or, Sacraments, to be engaging Signs to engage us to Chrift, and to Work Grace on the Soul as the Word and Sacraments do, that is by a moral Operation) and then will needs make thefe the Cement of Unity; this is it that hath been the Bane of Unity, and Caufe of Divifions.
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

11. Kneeling at the Sacrament is a Novelty introduced many hundred years after Christ, and contrary to such Canons and Customs of the Church, to which for Antiquity and Univerality, you owe much more respect, than to the Canons of the late Bishops in England.

12. If your General Rule hold that you stand bound by all Canons, not repeal
ed by equal Power, you have a greater burden on your back than you are aware of, which if you bore indeed, you would know how little this usurped Legis-
Lative Power betrifrs the Church: And among others, you are bound not to kneel in the Church on any Lord's Day, in Sacrament or Prayer. 

Ad Q. 19. 1. It's too much Self-conceitedness and Uncharitableness to pass so bold a Cenure as your Supposition doth contain, of the visible ruling Church be-
ing Schismatical, and so Heretical. Which is the ruling Church? I know none in England besides Bishops that pretend to rule any but their own Provinces; and but few that pretend Order to Regiment. Perhaps when the Schism and Heretic come to be opened, it will not be found to lye where you imagin, nor so easily pro-
vaded as rathly affirmed, or intimated.

2. Do not be too sensiblc of Persecution, when Liberty of Conscience is so pro-
claimed, though the Restraint be somewhat on your side. O the difference of your Persecution, and theirs that suffered by you!

3. The only conscionable and safe way for the Church and your own Souls, is to love, long for, pray, and confult for Peace. Close in the unanimous practice of so much as all are agreed in: In amicable Meetings endeavour the healing of all breaches: Difown the ungodly of all Parties; Lay by the new violent Opinions inconfiufant with Unity. I expect not that this advice should please the prejud-
diced: But that it's the only safe and comfortable way, is the Confident Opin-
on of

Your Brother,

Richard Baxter.

All the Disturbance I had in my own Parish was by Sir Ralph Clare's refusing to Communicate with us, unless I would give it him kneeling on a distinct Day, and not with thosle that received it fitting. To which Demand I gave him this follow-
ing Anwer.

Sir,

Upon Consultation with others and my own Conscience, I return this Anwer to your last motion; befeeching you to believe that it had been more plea-
Sing, if it would have stood with the pleasing of God and my own Confi-
cence.

1. In general it is my resolution to be so far from being the Author of any Di-
visions in any part of the Church of Christ, as that I shall do all that lawfully I can to avoid them.

2. I am so far from the Judgment and Practices of the late Prelates of England, in point of compelling all to obey or imitate them in gestures and other indifferent things, on pain of being deprived of God's greatest Ordinances (which are not in-
different), beside the ruine of their Eftates, &c. that I would become all things (lawful) to all Men for their good, and as I know that the Kingdom of God standeth not in such things, so neither would I hurt any out of his visible King-
dom for such things; as judging that our Office is to fee God's Law obeyed as far as we can procure it, and not to be Law-givers to the Church our felves, and in Circumftantials to make no more Determinations than are necessary; let them prove but Engines to enlare Mens Consciences, and to divide the Church. And as I would impose no such things on other Churches if I had power, so neither will I do it on this Church of which I have some oversight.

3. More particularly, I am certain that fitting in the receiving of the Lord's Supper is lawful; or else Christ and his Apostles, and all his Churches for many hundred years after him did fit, which cannot be. And I take it to be intolerable arrogan-

cy
cy and unmanneled (to speak easily) to call that reverence and fawthenes,
(asm any do)which Christ and the Apoftles and all the Church so long used
with one content. He better knew what pleath himself than we do: The vain
pretended difference between the Apoftles Gelfure and ours, is nothing to the
matter: He that is fitteth on the ground, fitteth as well as he that is fitteth on a Stool:
And if any difference were, it was their Gelfure that feem the more homely: and
no fuch difference can be pretended in the Christian Churches many hundred
years after. And I think it is a naked pretence (having no show of reason to co-
ver it) of them that again thefe this will plead a necfiveness of kneeling, because of
our unworthines: For, 1. The Churches of fo long time were unworthy as well
as we. 2. We may kneel as low as the Doft (and on our bare knees, if we please)
immediately before in praying for a bfeffing and for the pardon of our fins,and as
foon as we have done. 3. Man must not by his owne Conceptions make thofe things
neccffary to the Church, which Christ and his Church for fo long thought unne-
cffary. 4. On this pretence we might refufe the Sacrament it felf: for they are
more unworthy to eat the Flefe of Christ, and to drink his blood, than to fit at his
Table. 5. The Gofpel is Glad Tiftings; the Effects of it are Path and Peace and
Joy: the Benefits are to make us one with Christ, and to be his Spoufe and Mem-
bers: the work of it is the joyful Commemoration of thofe Benefits, and living in
Righteousnefs, Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghost: And the Sacramental Signs are
fuch as fuit the Benefits and Duties. If therefore Chrift have called us by his Ex-
ample, and the Example of all his Church, to fit with him at his Table to repre-
ent our Union, Communion, and joyful redeemed State, and our everlafting fit-
ting with him at his Table in his Kingdom, it is little befteems us to reject this
Mercy and Duty, becaufe of our Unworthines, as to be our owne Lawgivers.
And on the like Reafons men might fay, [ I will not be united to thee, nor be
a Member of thy Body, or married to thee, nor fit with thee on the Throne ( Rev.
3. 21.) according to thy Promife, becaufe it would be too great fawthenes in me].
Gofpel Mercies, and Gofpel Duties, and Signs, muft be alft suited, and fo Chrift
hath done them, and we may not undo them.
4. I muft profefs that upon fuch Confiderations, I am not certain that fitting
is not of commanded Necessity (as I am fure it is lawful); nor am I certain that
kneeling in the Act of Receiving, when done of choice, is not a flat fin. For I
know it is not only againft Scripture Example (where though Circumstances ap-
parently occasional bind not, as an upper Room, &c. yet that is nothing to others)
but alfo it againft the Canons of Councils, yea a General Council (at Trull. in
Conftantinople) and againft fo concurrent a Judgment and Practice of the Church
for many hundred years, that it feems to fight with Vincentian Lawmen, Catholick
Rule, good forme, ubique & ab omnibus receptum, &c. Let them therefore judge
kneeling as lawful that can, for I cannot; and therefore dare not do that which
fhall be an owning of it, when we may freely doe otherwise.
5. Yet for all this, I fo much inclines to Thoughts of Peace, and Clofe with
others, that I will not fay that fitting is of necceflity, nor that kneeling is unlaw-
ful (unles where other Circumstances make hit fo) nor condemn any that differ
from me herein: Yea, if I could not otherwife Communicate with the Church in
the Sacrament, I would take it kneeling my felf, as being certain that the Sacra-
ment is a Duty; and not certain that kneeling is a fin: and in that Cafe I believe it
is not.
6. As for them that think kneeling a Duty, becaufe of the Canons of the late
Bifhops enjoyning it, I have more to fay againft their Judgment than this Paper
will contain. Only in a word, 1. If it be the Secular Powers eftablimbing, thole
Canons that binds their Confiderations, Why do they not obey the preent Secular
Powers in all other things? It is known the King confefted to relax this: And how-
ever, this is little to them that go on the Ground of Divine or Ecclejial Right.
And if we muft fo plunge our felves into Enquiries after the Rights of Secular Go-
vernours, before we can know whether to f tand or f et at the Sacrament, we are all
uncertain what to do in greater Matters: for there are as apparent grounds for
our uncertainty of five hundred years old and more, which this is no place to
dive into. And it would be as unlawfull on this ground to read any other Pfalm or
Chapter, but what was of old appointed for the Day, as to forbear kneeling at the
Sacrament. And perhaps on the Opponents grounds, it would be still as fainful to
restrain a Child or Servant from Dancing on the Lord's Day. And if it be E-
cclial Right Authority that they flieck at, that muft be derived from Chrift, and fo
Originally Divine, or it is none. And then (not to wade fo unneceflarily into

the
II.

Besides they appeareth thus: And they are yet in force against all these. I say before all this be well done, we shall find that there must go more than a slight Supposition to the making good of their Cause. According to their own Principles, a lower Power cannot reverse the Acts of a higher. But the General Councils at Nice and Constantinople that forbade Kneeling on any Lord's Day, was a higher Power than the English Convocation: Ergo, The English Convocation cannot Repeal its Acts. (Though for my own part I think that neither of their Acts do need any Repeal to Null them to us, in such Cases.)

5. Besides this; If the Canons bind Conscience; yet, it is either by the Authority that Enacted them, or by the Authority of the present Church-Governours that impose them. If old Canons bind, without or against the present Power, then the same Canon that forbiddeth Kneeling bindeth, and many an hundred more, a great part of which are now made no Conscience of: If it be the present Authority that is above the Ancient, then 1. They that pretend to such Authority over this Congregation should produce and execute it: For if we know them not, nor receive any Commands from them, we are capable of no Disobedience to them. And in the mean time, We that are in the place must take it as our Charge; or do the Work, or for ought I know, it will in most Places be undone: For the Authority is for the Work. 3. We use to take it for the great partiality (at least) of the Church of Rome, that will be judged by none but the present Church, that is, themselves, when we would be tried by the Scripture or the Ancient Church. In a word, I do not think that when Circumstances tending to Order and Decency are so mutable, that God ever gave power to any Bishops to tie all Congregations and Ages to this or that Sacrament Gullet; nor at all to make them so necessary, as that Bodily Punishment or Excommunications should be inflicted on the Neglecters of them. And I think that Calling which hath no better Work than this to do, is not worth the regarding.

And here I should propound to the contrary-minded one Question, Whether if a Bishop should command them to stand or sit, they would do it? Yea; or if a Convocation commanded it? If they say Yea; then must they lay by all their Arguments from pretended irreverence to prove Sitting evil: for I hope they would not be irreverent, nor do evil at the command of a Bishop or Convocation: And then let our Authority (from Scripture Example and the Universal Church, and a General Council, and the present Secular Power, and the late Assembly and Parliaments, and the present Paifors or Presbyters of the Congregations) I say, let all this be at against the present Countermand of I know not who, nor for what Reason, as being not visible. But if they say, They would not obey the Bishops if they forbade them Kneeling, then let them justify us that obey them not when they command us to Kneel, having so much as is expressed to the contrary. Thus Sir, I have first given you my Reasons about the Gullet it felt. And of putting it into each Person's hands, I have thus much more to say; 1. I know nothing to oblige me to it. 2. Christ himself did otherwise, as appeareth in Matt. 26. 26. 27. [Forἀπεκλίνε, πορεύεται, πάντα ἐκ ἑαυτοῦ προσελή: take ye, eat ye, drink ye all of it.] doth shew that it was given to them all in general, and not to each man singly. 3. And in this also Antiquity is on my side, the contrary being much later. More Reasons I have that I shall not now trouble you with.

To this I may well add, That no Man can have any Rational pretence (that I know of) against the Receiving of the Sacrament upon such a General Delivery. 1. Because the contrary was never yet pleaded necessary, &c Divino that I know of. 2. And if it were a Sin, it would be the Ministers Sin for to deliver it, and not theirs, who as they have not the Rule of his Actions, so they shall not Aniwer for them. Having thus told you my thoughts of the Matters in doubt, I shall next tell you my purpose as to your Motion.

1. I did never hitherto, to my remembrance, refuse to give the Sacrament to any one, meerly because they would not take it Sitting or Standing; nor did ever forbid or repel any on that account; nor ever mean to do. If any of my Charge shall take it Standing or Kneeling, I shall not forbid them on any such account.
2. If they further expect that I should put it into each Man's hands individually, I may well expect the liberty of guiding my own Actions, according to my own Conscience, if I may not guide theirs: It is enough that in such Cases they will refuse to be Ruled by me; they should not allow the ruling of me: but let us be equal, and let me have my liberty, as I am willing to let them have theirs; and if I think they are not guilty of it: Nor have they any ground to refuse the Sacrament rather than to take it.

3. Yet if any of my Pastoral Charge shall be unsatisfied, if they will but hear my Reasons first, and if those Reasons convince them not, if they will profess, that they think it a Sin against God for them to Receive the Sacrament unless it be put into their hands Kneeling, and Ergo that they dare not in Conscience take it otherwise, I do purpose to confederate to their Weakness, and do to give it them. So that no one of them shall be ever able to say, that I wronged a truly tender Conscience, or deprived them of that holy Ordinance. My Reasons are, because I take not their Errors to be so heinous a thing, as to delive their total Exclusion from the Sacrament. Nor do I suppose it a Sin in me to so far to yield to them in case of such Weakness. Though I know Inconveniences will follow, which they, and not I, are guilty of. And thus much, as far as is necessary, I should make known.

4. But then these Persons must not expect that I should never give them my Judgment and Reasons against their Opinion: for that were to ceafe teaching them the Truth, as well as to yield to their Errors.

5. And I shall expect that at the first Receiving they will openly profess that they take not the Bread for the Substantial Body of Christ, nor Worship the Bread.

6. But as for those that are not of my Pastoral Charge, I must say more, whether they live in this Parish or another; Either they are such as are Members of some other particular Church, or of none. For the former fort, 1. Ordinarily it is fit and necessary that they Receive the Sacrament of their own Pastor, and in that particular Church of which they are Members; or else how are they Members of it? 2. And in Extraordinary Cases, I shall not deny any of them the Sacrament on these Conditions; 1. If they bring Certificates from the Pastor under whole Guidance they are, that they are of his Flock, and walk as Christians, supposing the Pastor faithful that certifieth it. 2. Or if they do not this, yet if they will come to me, and acquaint me who is their Pastor, and what Church they are Members of, and what Reasons they had to withdraw from this Church, I shall not refuse them, if their account be such as may justly satisfy.

But as for those of this Parish that have (after this two years Invitation and Expectation) refused to profess themselves to be Members of this particular Church, and to take me for their Teacher or Pastor, and yet are not Members of any other Church, nor under any particular Pastor and Discipline, I shall desire to speak with them before I give them the Sacrament. And if they can give me any tolerable Reason of it, I shall willingly receive it, and if they prove the blame to be in me, I shall endeavour to reform it. But if they give me sufficient reason, I cannot admit such to the Lord's Supper (especially ordinarily and the multitude of them) for these Reasons following: 1. Because I take it to be a heinous, scandalous sin, to live from under Discipline, as a Straggler and in Disorder, having no Pastor, nor being a Member of any particular Church: And therefore I dare not admit such till they repent, no more than I would do a Drunkard or Adulterer. 2. I dare not be an Instrument of hindering Reformation, and the Execution of just Discipline, by gratifying the Unruly that fly from it, and set themselves again it. And as for all those that either will not give me an account, why they live from under Discipline, or can give no just account, yea, and those that think their own Reasons for it good, when I do not, or on any ground are from under my Pastoral Charge, without my Fault, I fly, for all these, I dare not admit them ordinarily to the Sacrament, because I dare not spend so much time on them as is necessary for Preparation. I may not do it without some previous Instruction; and I have so much more work already than I can well do, that I have not a minute of time to spare. And (except in publick or extraordinary Cases) I take my self to be more strictly tied to those of my Charge, than to any others; and having made my self theirs, I dare not rob them of my Labours, nor neglect them to attend on others that are no part of my Charge, nor will be. If you say, that if they did become Members of my Charge, I must then as much neglect others for them; I answer, but then I could do it innocently, when I have the
the same Relation to them, and Obligation to help them, as others. If I were your Steward, and you trust me to distribute Money or Bread to all that are
under my Stewardship, if there were but few I must give it them all; and if many
they can have but all. If I had ten Children, and had but ten Pounds to give them,
I might justly give them but each one a Pound. But if I had but two, I should
think the whole little enough for them two. I am first bound to watch over my
Flock, and if they be never so many they can have no more of me than I have:
If they were fewer, each one might have more of my help, and might chal-
lege it as their due before another that is not of my Charge.

The sum of all them in two Words is this: 1. I dare confede to give the
Sacrament kneeling, and into the hands of those that live orderly under Christian
Discipline; that is ordinarily to those of my own Charge; and occasionally to
those of another Mans. 2. But I dare not (I profess serieuely I dare not) ordina-
rially at lest) give the Sacrament to those unruly scandalous Persons, that live
under no just Discipline, and I dare not defraud my Charge of my Labours, while
I attend ordinarily upon those that are not of my Charge.

If any should say that their coming to Church and receiving the Sacrament is a
sufficient Signification that they take us for their Pastors, and therefore they will
do no more: I answer, 1. Many Strangers receive the Sacrament that are not of my
Charge, and many that are Members of another Church, or no particular Church,
do ordinarily come to our Assemblies. This therefore is no certain Sign of the
Church; and though it were a probable Sign heretofore, yet when we have called our Parishes
to a plain discovery of their Minds, and they refuse to signify their Consent, fo
much as by a Word of their Mouths in Publick, then the former sectath to be any
probable Sign of Consent. We had just Reason to call our People to express their
Consent (which Reasons we printed in our Agreement to which I refer you) and
we explained all to them, and told them over and over, that we must take these
only for our special Charge that would express their Consent, and we waited now
two Years to see whether they would do it: And if after all this they forbear
or refuse, let the World judge whether this be not an open, plain declaring of our
Oversight and their Membership. What would you have us do! can we know
Mens Hearts that will not open them to us? Nay, shall the same Man so long
refuse to tell us his Mind, and when he hath done, blame us because we under-
stand it not? If indeed they confedent, a Word speaking, or the writing of their
Names is no great Cost or Labour to discover it. If they think it too much, we
might better think our yearly Labour too much for them, Relation is the ground
of the Duties which they bind to. I cannot enter these Relations but by con-
sent; nor know them without the Expression of that Consent. No Man can be a
Member of my Charge in delight of me; nor can I make any Man such against
his Will. I can never marry a Woman that will say, you shall do the Office of a
Husband to me, but I will not tell you whether I take you for my Husband, nor
promise to be your Wife, &c. I will not have a Scholar in my School, or a Pu-
pil that will say, Hither will I come, and you shall teach me, but I will not tell
you whether I will be your Scholar, or take you for my Teacher: Nor will I
have a Patient that will make me give him what Physick he desires, and will not
say he will take me for his Phisician. 3. Besides, the Office of a Pastor is not
only to preach and administer the Sacrament, but also to admonish, rebuke, and
exercise some Discipline for the Good of the Church: And he that will not pro-
fer his consent to these, doth not by his partial submitting to the rest shew his
consent that I be his Pastor. I will be a Pastor to none that will not be under
Discipline: That were to be a half Pastor, and indulge Men in unruleines and
contempt of the Ordinance of Christ: If I take more on me than is just or ne-
cessary, I will gladly hear of it, and reccant. 4. Either they do indeed take us for
their Pastors or not: If not, we do them no Wrong to take them for none of our
Charge: And then why do they say that their coming to Church prove it? But if they do take us for their Pastors, then they owe us more Obedience than the
speaking of a Word comes to, and when we require them to profess themselves
Members of the Church and of our Charge, they are bound to obey us unless they
can prove it a Sin. But if they say we will not obey them in the speaking of such
a Word, though indeed they did call us their Pastors, this were but to contradic
themselves, and to deny the thing when they give us the Name. I desire no such
Charge; much less such as will give us neither Name nor Thing and yet expect

Y
their Wills of us. Sir, Pardon the Plainness, and accept the true Account of my 
Thoughts, from 

Your Servant, 

Richard Baxter.

§ 34. About the same time that we were thus associating in Worcestershire, it 
pleased God to stir up the Ministers of Cumberland, and Westmorland to the same 
Court; who thought they knew not what we had done, yet fell upon the same 
way, and agreed on Articles to the same purpose and of the same Sense and Impor-
tance as ours were; of which Mr. Richard Gilpin (one of them, a worthy faith-
ful Minifter) sent me word, when he saw our Articles in Print; and they also 
printed theirs (to save the writing of many Copies, and to excite others to the 
same way) and they found the same readines to Union among the Brethren as 
we had done. 

Their Agreement you may find printed; our Letters were as followeth:

Dear Brethren,

W E salute you in the Lord: It was no small reviving to us to behold your Order 
and mutual Condescendings (expressed in your Book of Concord) to promote the 
Reformation of your People in ways of Peace. We unfeignedly rejoice on your behal 
and thought our selves bound to signifie how grateful and helpful your Endeavours are to us.
The Sportsmen of this Age have a long time bent their Togues as a Bow, and dipt their Ar-
rows in Gall, and sent forth bitter Accusations and Slanders againſt all the Minifters of 
the Gelfel, calling them Disturbers, implacable, &c. as if the very Effe of a Minifter 
were to contract it, and to be away from Peace. Surely your earnest profession of Con-
cord will be a fwelling Confutation of that Charge, at leaft so far as to cut off the Note 
of Univerfity from it: But that which most affects us, is, that you are not willing to 
look upon the gaping Condition of the Church here, as idle Spectators, or as mere Witsnes 
of her Funeral without trying any Remedy at all, and that you do not apprehend your selves 
to have done all your Duty, when you have bewailed her Trumpe, and complained of her 
Adversaries Cruelty. Sion indeed has been thrown down to the Ground, and hath been 
covered with a Cloud in the Day of the Lord’s Anger, and her Adversaries are round 
about: In the Distreff she hath spread forth her Hands, and hath looked upon her Lovers 
for Help, and that so long, that she is ready to say, that her Strength and her Hope is 
perfected from the Lord. Now her Sons while they have been consulting how to relieve 
her have fallen out about the Cure, and because they have not been admitted to adminif-
trate the Physick according to their Minds, have negleiked to administer any as all, because they 
could not be suffered to do what they would, they have forgotten that it was their Duty to do 
what they might. Some have thrown all aside but preaching, as it were in a pettish Dis-
content; some have satisfied themselves with administering Cordials, without paying the 
noxious Humours, because they thought this necessary and safe though in an unpresbyteral 
Church. Others it may be have seen a necessity of making farther Progress, and have been 
grouping after it, but have been discouraged at the sight of the thwarting and inconfentient 
Principles, the Animosities and want of Condescendence of different Parties. Others it may 
be have in their Thoughts overcome this Difficulty, and yet have stuck at one that is left, 
they have been afraid to be the first Propounders of their conceived Remedy, fearing the 
Entertainment and Success that their charitable Endeavours might find, being more willing 
to follow than to lead in such a doubtful and unceasant Path. This Difjion which you have 
resolved on will (we hope) convince Man that though we cannot as yet expel that the 
Lord’s House should be so smirched that all shall cry, Grace, Grace unto it: Yet that the 
Building need not wholly to cease, you are the first that have in this publick way broken the 
Ice, and who know how powerful your Example may be to call Men off from their Con-
tentions and Strivings one against another, by a brotherly Combination to carry on the work 
of Christ as far as they can with one Shoulder. 

Whatever Advantage others may reap by your Endeavours, we are sure the Ad-
vantage that we have by them is double. I. We, before we had heard of your Book, had 
undertaken a Work of the like nature: Several of us meeting together to confult about man-
aging the Lord’s Work in our Hands, were convinced that for Reformation of our People, 
were ought to be done by us than bare Preaching, a brotherly Association of Minifters ap-
ppeard
peared to be the likeliest conduce for the attainment of our Desires, and accordingly was resolved on: And because we knew that many of our Brethren in the Ministry differed from us, we resolved to draw up several Proposals wherein we and they by a mutual Concession might agree as Brethren in Love and Peace to carry on the same Work, and therefore required nothing of them but what we proved by the Confessions of the Congregational Brethren (their own Party) to be of less Moment, and not of absolute Necessity. Wherein (we urged) they might and ought to yield for the Churches Peace: But our Endeavours to gain them were frustrated; they were so resolved that they would not so much as read our Proposals and Reasons. We therefore set about the Work our selves, and made some Progress in it; by this time we began to feel what we expected at the first setting out, viz. the Rage and Malice of wicked Men vented in Railings and Slanders on the one hand, and bitter Confusions and Suspicions of the Brethren on the other. In the midst of all this we received your Book as a seasonable Refreshment: Our Hands were much strengthened by it; it was a great Encouragement to us, to see that other godly and learned Men had walked much what in the same Steps, and had pleaded our Cause almost by the same Arguments whereby we were endeavoured to strengthen it. But 2. we are hereby quickened up to carry our Design higher. Our Propositions for the Subsistence of them are near the same with yours; we agree in a great part of your Discipline, our Rules of Admission are competent Knowledge, Unblamableness of Conversation, and Obedience to the Covenant of Grace, the means to carry it on are, the Peoples Consent and Association of Ministers; and where we differ from you, viz. not because we differ in Opinion, but because our People (whole Condition and Temper we were forced to fet before us in framing our Agreement) differ from yours. Hence our Examination of the Peoples Knowledge is more general than yours, if we understand you right in prop. 19. Reg. 9. hence instead of your Parishes Assistants we are forced to make use of one another helps in private Examinations, and Determination of Fines, as well as in more publick Debates and Consultations: Yet in two things we come short of your Agreement: 1. In that we have not as yet propounded to our People your height of Discipline though we never thought secret and private Admonitions and Suspicion from the Sentence such a Man of Discipline wherein we might comfortably satisfy our selves without farther Progress; yet (our Hands being much weakened by our Brethrens refusal to join with us, our Peoples Stubborn, and Suspicion from the Supper being a piece of Discipline that both not been here praticted till late, and therefore a matter of greater Shame till Custom shall make it more common) we resolved to propound and Practive this first as an Essay to try what Success and Entertainment a farther Discipline might find. For though the Fear of Peoples going off and separating is not by us looked upon as a sufficient Discharge for the neglect and laying aside all endeavours to reform: Yet we look upon it as a sufficient Ground of proceeding merrily. 2. Though we always required Peoples Consent to the Terms of the Covenant of Grace and Discipline, yet have we not been so full in this as you. That which kept us off was a fore of offending some of our Brethren, who being more likely to hear of our Practive than of the Grounds and Reasons of it, might easily mistake our meaning. But now the way of Discipline being made more smooth both by what we have put in Practice already and by what you have declared, we are encouraged in both these Respects to make a farther Addition to our former Proposals.

Some things there are wherein a farther Explanation of your meaning would have been very grateful to us.

1. Whether the Infants of such as are suspended from the Lords Supper and of such as delay or refuse Consent to your Discipline only from Dissatisfaction about the matter of its Management, are to be excluded from Baptism?

2. Why you resolve to exercise your Discipline upon those only which receive your Consent, seeing you acknowledge your present Parishes (before the exercise of this Discipline) true particular Organized Churches of Christ; if some of those whom you accounted Members should fly off, why may they not be Sharers in your Discipline, and upon their Refusal cast out, rather than silently left out?

3. Why (if you limit your publick Confuses and Admonitions to those only that give express Consent Prop. 18.) you resolve to confine the scandalous Sinner upon such an Offer of Consent as carried in the Front of it a plain Refusal of your Discipline? Prop. 19. Reg. 10. and how this will and with the fourth and fifth Reasons of that Proposition in pag. 12. of the Explanation?

We know that you have of purpose left many things undetermined, and that which you have propounded is fitted to the Temper of Parishes in general, rather than to some of yours in particular, and therefore we do not mention those as an Accusation against your Proposals; but for our own Advantage and Satisfaction in case we should receive any Letters from you.
Brethren, pray for us: we dwell in the midst of Opposition, and as it will be our great joy to hear that the Work doth prosper in your hands: so shall we be earnest with the Lord for a Blessing upon your Endeavours. Thus rest

Penrith, Cumberland,    Sept. 1. 1673.
Your unworthy Fellow Labourers in the Work of the Gospel,

Ri. Gilpin Pastor at Graystock.
John Mackinlane Pastor at Oldenhall.
Roger Baldwin Minister of Penrith.
John Billingley Minster of Addingham.
Elifha Bourne Minister at Skelton.
John Jackson Pastor of Hutton.
Thomas Turner Preacher of the Gospel.

For the Reverend our much esteemed Brother Mr. Richard Baxter, and the rest of the Associated Ministers in the County of Worce

To this Letter we return'd the following Answer.

Reverend and Beloved Brethren;

We received your Letters, with love and gladness, as for their favour of Piety in general, so of Peaceable and Zeal for Unity in special, which we have now learned to take, not as a separable Accident of true Religion, but as an Essential part. We have reverent Thoughts of many Brethren for their singular worth and work, who yet for their Activity in dividing ways, are the grief of our Souls: We further honour many as abhorring such ways, and being no Friends to any Dividing Principles, nor active either as Leaders or Followers in the promoting them, who yet are so perfectly and positively unpeaceable, in an impatient Entertainment of every Disjunct, and making the lesser Errors of their Brethren to seem Heresies, if not Truths to seem Errors, and putting such odious Conspiracies on their Opinions and Practices, that they do thereby make their godly and peaceable brethren seem Firebrands or Monsters to be avoided or condemned; and so affright Men into division and defection. We yet more honour many who are more free both from active and passive unpeaceableness, who yet do satisfy their Consciences with this much; but while they exclaim against Divisions, do little for the healing them. But too small is the number of such as you, who are up and doing in this healing work. Our Names, dear Brethren, are doubly precious to us, as are your Lives. We have many helpers in other Works of Piety; but too few in this. Indeed, we are following on the Work as being conscious of our duty, but concerning the Success we are between hope and fear. Among our selves in this County, God hath strangely facilitated all, and satisfied most of those that seem faithful in his Work, on the Terms which we have published: We bear also that in many other Counties they are stirred up to Conspiracies for these Ends; and we perceive that the Excellency and Necessity of Unity, Peace, and some Reformation, is a little more observed than it hath been heretofore: and that God begins to disgrace Divisions, and to put a zeal for Reconciliation into many of his Ministers. Also we have made some Attempts with some Brethren of another County, where are some Men of great Learning and Piety, that are of the Episcopal way; and we found them not only much approving the Work, but forward to promote it with the rest of their Neighbour Ministers. Our godly people also through God's great mercy, are almost all very tractable to, yea and rejoice in the Work. These things give us hope, that God is about the Restoring of his People, and that he is kindling that Zeal for Unity and Reformation which shall overcome the Fire of Contention that hath been wasting us so long. And O that we were as sure that this Work should prosper, as we are that it is preceptually of God! For our parts, we cannot think that God is building his Church, till we see him bring the Materials nearer together, and providing Cement for a settled Combination. Of which as we have these grounds of hope, so have we much cause of trouble and fear, both from the backwardness of Pastors and People to the Work. For we understand from other parts how heartily some are so much against a Work, and how averse those are that are deeply engaged already in Parties: We hear not of those hearty inclinations to Peace, in the party whose overtness you mention, as we hoped to have done, when we came so near them as we do; not crossing, that we know of, any of their Principles, though...
silencing some). They do in some neighbour Counties zealously preach against us, and cry down our way as formal and delusory; making the People believe that we make a Parish and a Church all one, and that to cast them out of the Church is to cast them out of the Paraph; and that we take in all that will come, be they never so bad: Though we have freely told them that we are taking in none, but discerning who are in; and that cast out all whom they can prove fit to be cast out. Some Brethren also of sounder judgments, do stand at a distance, and will not come amongst us, to tell us the Reasons of it. Some in other Counties, that are zealous to promote the Work, do meet with so much opposition, perplexitation, and discouragement, that we bear it as to bind them with it. Also we find not that love and pendeable inclination in the exasperated part of the Episcopal Brethren, as might be expected from the Sons of Peace. But the greatest discouragement would be from our People: for though through the mercy of God divers of us have encouragement, yet in most places the Multitude hold off, and will not own us. And though God so orders it, that the worse do generally keep off themselves, and few but Men seeming to fear God do join with us, yet some few of the most zealous of our People, in some places, do hold off, as disliking the breadth of our way. We find it not only in Dissenters, but Practicall, that must are for the Extremes, and the mean plebe! few, but is confined of both. No Party will come to us, unless we will reject all other Parties, but them. It is in these disengaged Christians, that are truly Catholick, and are the Servants of Christ and not of Men, and that love their Brethren as Christians, and not chiefly as of their Party, that the great hope of our Success doth consist: Though smart Experience may possibly recover some of the rest. Our hopes depending in this doubtful state, we give thanks to God, that he addeth somewhat to our encouragement by you. We adventured not rashly on what we have done. It is near a year and half since we begun our Consultations. Our Profession was perused by Bishop Ullter and others: Our Propositions found by many far and near: and all was altered in them that any of them were offended at. Yet it is far from our Expecations that all should join only on our Terms: Could we get them to Consultations for Unity and Reformation, and to hold on till they did succeed, we had our desire. But indeed we seek such exceeding difference in Men Apprehension, and such additiveness in their Party in too many, and such a lengthness in others to displease the People, or weaken their own Interest in them, and hazard part of their maintenance that comes thence, that we do expect this Work should go heavily on; and if it prove otherwise, we shall ascribe it to the mean good pleasure of God, and our extraordinary blessing: for no doubt all the force would be raised against it, that the interest of Satan in the ungodly, the heretical Dividers, the dark imperfect Saints, can procure. But though our great hopes would be in the Success (because we work not for our selves, but for God and his Church) yet we find very much in our upright Endeavours. Indeed we have Experience of much sweetness in the Work: From our Thoughts and Speeches and Consultations of Peace are sweet. That our Minds should be hereby occasioned to dwell so much on such a blessed Subject, we find a great advantage to our own Souls; it is much complotl and comfort our Minds, and killeth the contrary Corruptions, and disjusteth us to love and tenderness to our Brethren: So that were we sure to have no other Success, we have a plentiful Reward. As our studys of Heaven, and preaching of it to our People, occasioneth such forrests that are worth our labour a thousand fold, so do the studies and attempts for Peace. Brethren, our hearts desire it, that as the Lord hath let fall on you, some of the same Spirit of Peace, as on us his unworthy Servants, that you would join with us at the Throne of Grace in prosecution of this Design, and follow it hard with God and Men, and let us be minded of you in those your Address to God, not only as Christians, as you do others, but in special as Peace-makers, that we may prosper in this Work, and the Lord would call in the Spirit of Division, and command down these Winds and Waves that have threatened the peace of his dissered Church; and we hope the Lord will help us to be mindful also of you. Truly, it is sweeter treating with God then with Men. Tis both must be done. And as we desire to refire all Temptations to Defolency, so we hope that the Lord will enable you to break over discouraging Oppositions, with such fixed victorious Resolution as becomes Men that are engaged in so sweet a Work, and honoured to be Leaders under so faithful, omnipotent, and victorious a General. You love not the Work of Piety in general ever the worse for opposition; nor would you yourselves as discouraged though you had met with more. Let it be so also for particular for Unity and Reformation.

We shall next give you our Answer to your three Questions. 1. As we did purposely leave the first Question unresolved, so we are at last to put the Question to any one Association, much less to all; lest we either agree not, or agree in Points that may hinder the Work, when we foresee the certain disagreement of others.
2. To your second we say, It is true that we take our Parishes for true Political Churches; and we take it as probable (and so to be judged by us and others) that all these that constantly submit to the Ordinances and Ministerial Offices, are true visible Members, and take themselves for such; except they do otherwise disprove their denial. But because where Professions are but implicit, or left express, we have but a probability, and not a full certainty, that all such Persons do take themselves indeed for Members, and because when we call them to acquaint us express, whether they take themselves for Members, or not, they deny it, or refuse to profess it, and to disclaim it, we now first discern that they are no Members; either not intending to be such all this while, or voluntarily departing now. We have more assurance of the Truth of our particular visible Churches, than we have of each Man's membership particularly. For some do plainly profess themselves Members, and most others do that which amounts to a more obverse Profession, and which makes them guilty of Hypocrisy, if they intend not what they seem to profess: But yet when they contradict the seeming darker Profession by an open disclaiming it, then they undertake it, and cease that denying; and Multitudes do openly profess in many places, long age, that it is their liberty to bear all Men, but they take us for no Churches, or at least they take not themselves as Members. Besides, when they disclaim a Power over them, they will not come near us to be questioned, or give any accounts of their ways, but tell us, We have no more to do with them, than others have whose Charge they are not under. Moreover, when they have cast out themselves, they are not capable of the fame Casting out by us, as those that are in; for it cannot be wholly ab abominating termino. Yet we do not, as you say, resolve to exercise our Discipline on them only that testify Confess; but only agree on two, leaving the rest to be done as above, and beyond the Agreement.

But that is your third Question, to which we say, That we do not Prop. 18. limit our Publick Confesses to those only that express Confession, as excluding all others, or resolving not to do it on any others: but only resolving here to do it. Indeed our Judgment is, that so far as a scandalous Christian hath Communion with us, so far he may be cast out (not breaking Natural and Civil Bonds). If some have the Communion of particular Churches, Members with us, and others have but the Communion of Christians in Neighbourhood, and ordinary Convoces wherein we have occasion to manifest familiarity, we may and ought to Cast the former (on just cause) out of Church-Communion, and the later, out of familiar Society, or Communion in any Ordinance that intimates Familiarity; but out of that Church we cannot cast him, when he is not in it. Yet for many Reasons we judge it unmeet to put this last into our Agreement. 2. You do mistake our Reg. 10. of Prop. 19. in supposing that the Profession of Confess there mentioned, doth carry in the front of it, a plain refusal of our Discipline. For if be profess Confess, we must take him as a Member, and use him accordingly; and by that Profession, he manifests Confess to our Guidance and Discipline in general; and the thing that he refuses is only Actual Obedience to a particular Act of Discipline, and that after the discovery of Confess; which any corrupt Member may do.

As for the two Points before mentioned by you, wherein you went not so far as we, this much we briefly say, 1. Our 19th Prop. Reg. 9. speaks of no Ignorance but what was before expressed, viz. of Fundamentals, and that only where we have just ground of Suspicion of it. 2. We dare not disallow your mutual Assistance in Pastoral Offices to particular Congregations, where there is no offence taken at it. But if the Congregational Brethren should take it as a making your many Churches to be but one particular Church, or a graving the Pastor of one Church a true Pastoral Power, and consequently Charge and Duty over other Churches, (where you know Mr. Burroughs in his Arminian, makes their great Office,) then for Unity and Peace sake, we could wish you did forbear it.

Brethren, Our hearty prayer is that the Lord would guide, quicken, encourage, and succeed you in this blest Work. But the more excellent it is, the more Opposition expect from Men and Devils, and your own Corruption: But the dearer it is esteemed, and the more unfavourably you devote your selves and resign all you have to God, for the faithful performance of it, the more Confess may you expect from God, and the sweeter will be your reviews of it at a dying hour. Brethren, imitate your Lord: Do the Work of them that sent you while it is day; for the night cometh when none can work. Farewell:

Kinderminster, Octob. 1653.

Your Brethren

Kidderminster, October

1653.

and fellow Servants,

Richard Baxter,

Faris Bryan, in the Name

and at the Appointment of the rest.

Brethren.
Because you directed your Letter to me by Name, I am bold to tell you my private Resolution of your first Question. I will do by the Children of Refusals as by Strangers (except I know that they refuse through meer licentiousness). I dare not refuse to Baptize the Child of a Stranger, as such; but I will first speak with one of the Parents, and be more fully satisfied of their knowledge, and Reasons of Diffent, and enquire of their Lives; and on the same Terms I admit Diffusers also to the Lord's Supper, viz. if there be no Charge against their Lives, and they come to me before hand, and satisfy me of their lives. Still letting them know it is a dangerous case to live from under Order and Discipline, and that I do this to them but for a time till they can be satisfied, as I would do for a Stranger.

Your Brother,

Ri. Baxter.

To our Reverend and Beloved Brethren the Associated Ministers in the County of Cumberland.

§ 35. Upon the Publication of our Agreement, the Ministers in most Counties began to take the Business into consideration; and though some few of the ancient Presbyterians were against it, and thought it would bring the Presbyterian Government into Contempt, or hinder the Execution of it, when it had been agreed upon by so grave a Synod at Wiltshire, and established by the Parliament, and therefore they rather desired a strict Execution of the Ordinance of Parliament, and an Agreement on those Terms) yet the most of the godly, faithful Ministers, as far as I could learn, were for it: For as we hindered no Man from following his own Judgment in his own Congregation, so we evinced beyond denial that it would be but a partial dividing Agreement, to agree on the Terms of Presbyterians, Episcopal, or any one Party, because it would unavoidably shut out the other Parties; which was the principal thing which we endeavoured to avoid: it being not with Presbyterians only, but with all Orthodox, faithful pastors and People, that we are bound to hold Communion, and to live in Christian Concord, so far as we have attained, Phil. 3. 15, 16.

§ 36. Hereupon many Counties began to Associate, as Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Hampshire, Essex, and others: And some of them printed the Articles of their Agreement. In a word, a great desire of Concord began to poffess all good People in the Land, and our Breaches seem'd ready to heal. And though some thought that so many Associations, and Forms of Agreement, did but tend to more Division, by shewing our diversity of Prejudgments, the contrary proved true by Experience: For we all agreed on the same Course, even to unite in the practice of so much of Discipline as the Episcopal, Presbyterians, and Independents are agreed in, and as crofeth none of their Principles: And they that thought the Expression of the Churches desires in various words of Prayer in Publick was better than a fifted Form for all Churches necessarily to use, should not think that the Expression of our Consent to the same things, is a dividing way, because it is done in various Expressions: for this Liberty greatly helped Unity: for many a one would have scrupled some particular words in such an imposed Form of Concord, who yet would accord in the Substance of the Work.

The Essex Agreement was printed; (to the same purpose with ours). The Wiltshire Ministers were so ftrictly held to it by the Independant Party, that they could get them but to these following preparatory Articles:

We whose Names are Subscribed, Ministers of the Gospel in the County of Wilt, being humbly penfible of our many Failings in the Work of the Ministry by the Lord Chrift committed to us, and of the great need wherein we fland of the mutual help of our Brethren for Advice, Encouragement and Strengthening herein: And sadly bawailing the Corruptions of the People in our several
Congregations, the want of Christian Reformation, Love and Unity, and the Power of Godliness; the breaking in of destroying Errors, and the prevailing of Ignorance and Profaneness among them, have confented and resolved through God's Grace, and in Expectation of his Blessing on our weak Endeavours, as fellow Servants to the same Lord Jesus Christ the Great Shepherd of Souls, to acquaint our selves one with another, and to join together and afflict each other to the uttermost in the promoting of Gospel Truth, Peace, Love, and the Power of Godliness, in our selves and all those that have the Name of Christ upon them, in the places wherein we live.

'For the Executing whereof we desire and purpose, if God permit, to meet together at Sarum on the 26th of Octob. 1653; for the end hereafter specified.

'First, In some publick Place on the same day, where any others, whose hearts are inclined thereunto, may join with us by Falling and Prayer to seek unto God for pardon of our former Failings, and for Direction and Strength of his Spirit for the future Work of the Ministry which lyeth upon us, in the instructing and ordering of our several Congregations according to the Word of God.

'Secondly, After the said Publick Duty discharged, to come together more privately in some convenient place: And there

'First, Jointly and Solemnly, as in the presence of God, to tellifie our sincere purpose of heart, for the time to come (in dependence upon the Lord's Strength) to take heed unto our selves, and to our Doctrine, and to continue therein, that in doing this we may both save our selves and them that hear us.

'Secondly, To tellifie to each other our Confessional readiness (as Servants and fellow Labourers) to afford and receive Affiftance to and from each other in the Work of the Lord committed to us, as any occasion shall be offered to us in this kind; and accordingly to advise together thereupon.

'Thirdly, To Promise and Engage to one another, according to our Duty, in all Humility, Tenderneffe and Brotherly Love. Yet faithfully to admonish one another of any Mifcarriage or Negleffe which we shall know or be daily informed of, which in any of us bringeth Reproach upon the Name of God, and his Ways, upon the Gospel and the Adminiftration of the fame. And we shall all of us likewise seriously and humbly and thankfully to accept of such Admonition from any Brother, as a Fruit of Christian Love and Fidelity, and without Anger, Clamour or Recrimination, either to clear our selves to the Brother which Admonifieth us, being free from the Crime objected, or else endeavour Reforma-
tion in what we have offended.

'Fourthly, At the fame Publick Meeting to appoint some other fit time to meet together in the fame manner, further to carry on the Work of mutual Brotherly Advice concerning such Courses as conduces to God's Glory, the Good of the People, and the Discharge of our Duty in the place wherein God hath let us: And in this our Meeting we fully resolve through the help of our God.

'First, Not to meddle in word or deed with any Matter of Civil Government further than to stir up one another (if any just occasion be offered) confenfibly to maintain and exercise all Christian Obedience to Magistrates, as an Ordinance of God.

'Secondly, Not to foment any Breaches amongst Brethren, but to study to the uttermost of our power that all, who accord in the Fundamentals of Gospel Truth and Holiness, may be brought to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace.

'And for the more Christian and Orderly managing of this our Brotherly Agree-
ment and Association, we do agree

'First, That every Man at his entering into this Society, tender us a Certificate of his Painfulness in the Ministry, and of his Godliness in Conversation under the Hands of two godly Ministers at least, not of the Society; and of two or three godly Christians known to some of the Society: And that all the Certificates be brought into, and kept in the Hands of one of the Brethren that by common Con-
sent shall be appointed thereunto.

'Secondly, That every Man that cometh into this Society and Agreement be desired to express his willingness, in case of any Mifcarriage, whereby he shall give just occasion of Offence unto the Society, to submit unto the Reproof and Determination of the whole, or the major part of the Society; so far forth as their Reproof and Determination shall be warranted by the Scripture.

'Thirdly,'
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Thirdly, That our Meetings be constantly begun and ended with Prayer to be made by the Moderator pro tempore, who at the first Meeting is to be chosen for the Meeting next following, and so continually for the better ordering of our Meetings and Debates.

Fourthly, That no private Matters be propounded in our General Meetings but by the Moderator, and that not while any Publick Business is in debate, without the leave and consent of the whole Society, or the major part.

Fifthly, That any Brother that shall be willing to join hereafter into this Society, may upon the same Terms be freely accepted into this Brotherly Agreement.

The Independant Churches also in Ireland, led by Dr. Winter Pastor of their Church in Dublin, associated with the moderate Presbyterians there, upon these Projections, and the Perpetuances of Col. John Bridges (my Neighbour): And they sent us together their Desires of Correspondency, with which our Answer is here subjoined.

Honoured and Beloved Brethren in the Lord,

It hath pleased the good hand of Heaven to bring into our Parts our much esteemed Friend Coll. Bridges, in much Mercy to us all; and by him, as also by several other hands to give us some acquaintance with the State of Christ's Affairs among you: which very much obliges us to Sympathise with you according to the several Administrations of Providence, as becomes the Relation of Fellow-members and Subjects in Christ's Kingdom. His Return into your Parts affords us an Opportunity to signify the same, and how much we desire to manifest it by real Demonstrations; through the good Will of him that dwelt in the Bush. In order thereunto, we thought fit to testify our Willingness to contribute our utmost through his Affiance, to the maintaining of a Christian Correspondency between us, that we may mutually receive and give the Right Hand of Fellowship, in a Season of so much need. Whist the common Enemy is still labouring to divide and destroy the Friends of Christ in all parts, it concerns us nearly to be so much the more industrious and active in the promoting of Christ's Interest against his Power and Policy, the better Fruits of unchristian Divisions we have too much tasted of, and through the Lord's Goodness have reaped already some Benefit, from our brotherly Association, whereinto we entered not long ago. The present Condition of God's People in Foreign Parts, as among us, calls a loud for a more cordial Union and Communion among all such as desire to fear his Name. It's therefore our Hearts Desire, not to be wanting in our Faith and Prayers, Resolves and Endeavours to the fulfilling of those exceeding great and precious Truths do eminently centre in these latter Days, that Christ's Friends may receive one Mind and Heart, to serve him with one Lip and Shoulder. We are thereby much encouraged to request your Christian Affiance, and Brotherly Correspondency, that we may all be the better able in our several Stations and Relations to promote more vigorously the Interest of Christ and of his People. After the sad shakings of this Land, and his many turnings of things upside down, the Lord is pleased to promise us a little Reviving, and to open a Door of Hope, even in the Valley of Achor: Where favourable help is therefore earnestly craved, that Ireland may once more partake of the glad Tidings of Heaven, and the wants of many Thousand starving Souls may be faftly supply'd with the Bread of Life. The particular of our Affairs Coll. Bridges will give you a more exact Account of, and will be ready to convey to us the Signification of your Christian Compliance with our longing Desire. To the Blessing of the most High we humbly recommend the care of the several Nurseries of Christ among you, that the Plants of his House may flourish in his Courts, through the Supplies of Christ's Spirit, in whom we cordially desire to be and appear.


Your affectionate Brethren in the Bonds of the Gospel, to serve you through Grace,

Sam. Winter Pastor of the Church in Dublin.
Claudius Gilbert Pastor of the Church at Limerick.
Ed. Reynolds M.
J. Warren M.
Will. Markham.
Tho. Osmon ton M.
In the Name of the associated Churches of Christ in Ireland.

These for the Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter, Pastor of the Church of Christ in Kildaremes, to be by him communicated to the several Churches of that Association.

[Signature]

[Stamp]
Our Answer whereof was as follows:

Much honoured and beloved Brethren in the Lord,

When we received your welcome Lines from the Hand of our faithful and much honoured Friend Coll. John Bridges. It much rejoiced us to hear of your brotherly Association, and the Success, and more, that your Hearts are enlarged with such Desires for the farther promoting of this healing Work; and that you thus breathe after the Union of the Saints. It doth not only rejoice us on your own behalf, and on the behalf of that defolate Land where you abide, but also on the behalf of the Churches in general; because we seem to discern the gracious Thoughts of God unto his People, in founding a Retreat to their unbrotherly Contentions, by leading forth that Spirit of Love and Peace, which we know must build us up, if ever we are built: When God was pulling down and laying Waste, he withheld this Mercy, and let out upon his Churches a Spirit of Contention, Bitterness and Division, which hath gone on to demolish and break in pieces, and made our own Hands the Executors of those heavy Judgments, which have laid us so long in Shame and Sorrow, and filled our Enemies Mouths with Scorn. While this evil Spirit that made desolate did prevail, Division seemed aimable, and dividing Principles seemed glorious Truths; and all Motions to Reconciliations were unfavourable things, and rejected as a Defilement from Truth or Zeal, and as a carnal Compliance with the ways of Darkness; and even those that were zealous for Truth and Holiness were too many of them cold for Peace and Unity; reading those Scriptures which so carefully press them, as if they read them not; never observing or laying to Heart the strict Command of the Lord herein, as if there had been no such Passages in our Bibles. But, blessed be the Lord that beginneth mightily to awaken the Hearts of his Servants, and cause them to observe the Truths which they overlooked, and at last to lay to Heart the Duty so much neglected. We now hear from many Countries of this Nation, the Voice of the Spirit of Peace; our Brethren begin to get together and confide of the means of repairing our breaches, and in many Places are associated; and though the Work be but beginning, and mightily resisted by the Enemies of Holiness and Peace, yet are we in great Hopes that these Beginnings do promise more, and that God hath not awakened us to this Work in vain. And now by the Travings of your Concord, we have received an increase of those our Hopes and Conjunctions. Go on dear Brethren as One in the Centre of Unity; and prevail in the Strength of the great Reconciler: This is the way that will prevail at last; and however it be thought of by others will certainly be comfortable to our selves in the review; when dividing ways will be all disregarded, and look with another Face than now they do: He that is for Vanity and Love is likely to have his Approbation who is one, and who is Love. Our Hearts are with you and our Prayers shall be for you, that you may abundantly reap the Fruits of Concord, in the Communion of Saints, and the farther Confirmation and Edification of your own. Your Motion for a Correspondency we gladly entertain, and shall rejoice in the Assistance of your Advice and Prayers, willingly to that end communicate our Affairs. We are now upon a joint Agreement to bring all the ancient Perjurs in our Parishes (who will not do it in the Congregation) to our Houses on certain Days every Week, by turns, to be catechised or instructed as shall be most to their Edification: A Work that requireth so much unwearied Diligence, Self-denial, and Lively Skill, and wherein we are likely to meet with so much Resistance, and yet doth appear to us of great necessity and use, that we earnestly crave your Prayers for such Qualifications and Successes. The State of your Affairs we partly understand by the Information of Coll. Bridges: We heartily pray the Lord of the Harvest to send forth more Labourers among you; and could we contribute any thing to so good a Work, we should willingly do it: But able Ministers fit for the Work with you, are too few, and many of them so weak of Body, that they are unfit for Travel, and most of them so engaged to their Godly People, and the People so impatient of a Motion for their removal, that the Work will be very hard; but we hope to be faithful in our Endeavours whatever be the Success. Brethren we crave your Prayers to God that we may be faithful and Successful in his Work; as also that Brotherly Correspondency which you mention might abide; and we remain

Your Brethren

in the Faith of Christ,

Jarvis Bryan, Teacher of the Church at Old Swinford.

Henry
They wrote us also a Second Letter, which I here subjoin:

Reverend and much valued Brethren,

YOUR Affectionate Letter in Answer to ours, by that Honourable Person, we have received, and do declare that these Lines may testify our Thanksgiving to you for your loving and free Acceptation of our Disburse of a Brotherly Correspondence. These Paintings of yours for the Peace and Union of the Saints, we doubt not will be to your Comfort as the great Day of your Account: God is not unjust to forget your Work and Labour of Love; Go on therefore, dear Brother, in his Strength whose work it is, and of whose Power and Presence you have had so great Experience: We trust as our Hearts are with you, so our Prayers shall not be wanting for you at the Throne of Grace.

We thank you for your Joy at our Association and Success, and that we still breathe after that happy Work. Surely if after our long Experiences of those woful Deceptions that Divisions and Disturbances have invaded the Saints in, our Hearts should not be enlarged after Union and Peace that must repair our Breaches, we should have Cause to suspect our Union with, and Love to our Head. We are not ignorant how much the Self-love and Pride of some, and the misguided Zeal of others of approved Sincerity, have advanced the Design of the grand Enemy by over eager and unbrotherly Bitterness; even in matters circumstantial: Neither are we altogether ignorant how subtly that old Serpent and Deceiver hath lured by a pretext of Love, to swallow up Truth; it being for a while the only Cry, Love, Love, yet not the least hint of Truth, which had most need of their Charity; being miserably torn and mangled. To which our Charity leads us to attribute the Praise of many of our Brethren, as being unwilling to buy Love with the Loss of Truth: It is the Apostles Advice that the Truth should be spoken in Love, and that we should contend earnestly for the Faith once delivered to the Saints.

But thanks be to the Lord God of Truth that hath preserved his Darling from the Devourer, making the way of Love exceeding amiable because of Truth; so that we trust it will not be intrusted by the Lord's People, through circumstantial Differences, whilst all hold the bond of wholefoam Words, considering one another, and walking together in what they are agreed, and waiting upon the Lord for the revealing of that, wherein they differ, perfection being referred for another World.

That there are any Beginnings, and that by you we hear of more, we earnestly desire our Hearts may be duly and thankfully affected therewith; praying the God of Truth and Peace to uphold his Truth, and to shower down plentifully the Spirit of Love and Peace, that as the Lord is One, so his People may be One.

Your present Work, we are in some measure sensible of its Necessity and Weightiness: Wherefore our Prayers shall be for you, that the Lord whose Servants ye are, and whose work it is should be with you to counsel, encourage, strengthen and prosper you in it, as we crave your daily Prayers for these Infant Churches, that our God may vouchsafe his Spirit and Presence to us whole lot a cafl in this Wilderness, having many Enemies to conflict withal from within as well as without; your Advice and brotherly Assistance we request, as we shall have Occasion and Opportunity to communicate our Affairs to you.

Lastly, the deep Sense we have of the extraordinary want of faithful and able Ministers to carry on the Lord's Work in this dark Land, together with the daily Cries from many Places of People that are perishing for want of Bread, prefect us to renew our former Request to you for Help in this Day of our Necessity; and we are somewhats the more emboldened thereto, by the Apprehension we find you to have of our Condition, however for the present you find not how to help us.
The LIFE of the

Tour great Plenty together with your Association, and neatness of Habitations making your Pastors and People as one, besides the Universities are with you, which (blessed be God) are well replenished with many gracious Plants; to whom your Unanimity will doubtless be a very great Encouragement to settle among you; whereas our distance from them, together with those sad Reports which are cast upon this Land, render us hopeless of any considerable Supply that way. These things we humbly offer as Motives to you for sharing some that may be helpful to us in this Day of our Extremest Necessity. And now, dear Brethren, most thankfully accepting your Love, we recommend your Persons, Labours and Flocks to the Care and Oversight of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the Chief Shepherd and Bishop of our Souls, whose Grace be with you. Amen.

Dublin, Jan. 16th. 1655.

Your Brethren, unsignily

loving you in the Lord,

Sam. Winter.

Tho. Hook, Ol. Huchinson, William Markham, John Price,

Elders of the Church of Christ in Dublin, whereof Dr. Samuel Winter is Pastor.

In the Name and by the Appointment of the rest of the Associated Churches in Ireland.

§ 37. About this time, Mr. Vines extolling the Judgment and Learning of Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter, and advising me to chuse him as the fittest Man to treat with for Concord with the Diocifane Party, I wrote to him to that End, and being with all fome Terms of Concord. He returned me a very kind Letter, profefling his Wiflingnels to profecute that Work, and withal an anfwer to my Propofals; which granted the main Matters which I defired, and whould have unîted us all, if fuch Terms had been granted when the King came in, and fetted the Church Government; for he granted with Bishop Ulfe, that every Presbyterian is, and mufi be a Governor as well as a Teacher of his own Flock; and that fubordinate Assemblies like Rural Denaries might be fet up in every Market Town, or in certain Divifions for the Performance hereof. But becaufe I found him too tenacious of the titular Honours of the Bifhops (which though I could have confeffed to my felf, yet thofe Times would not permit) I wrote to him no more, and feeing we were not like that way to attain our Ends, which was a prefent Union with that Party: But had I forefeen what fince is come to paʃ, I would have persecuted it farther, that I might have had more of his Confessions to teftify againft unpeaceable Men.

The Letter I wrote to him was as follows:

Most Reverend and much Honoured Sir!

That I an utter Stranger to you should make this Addrefs, I suppose will be no stranger matter to you, than that the Weak should feeke for help unto the Strong, and that the Laws of Nature and of Grace should rife to us to a mutual Communication according to our powers. So much of my own time being spent in fuch Paper Converse with Men whole Faces I never faw, hath somewhat hardened me to this Attempt; And I know, that as far as you excel me in true Wisdom and Humility, fo far will you excel in Confedrefion to Inferiours, and in Readinefs to do good: and therefore I have no doubt of your favourableness to the Acceptance of this Addrefs, if there be nothing in the Matter or Manner to hinder.

I shall take leave first to tell you my General Errand, with the Ground of it, and then my Particular one. Nature inclineth us to desire to know: and Grace to defire the right Knowledge of God and of his Will; from himself only, who is the Father of Lights, must we have this Light, and from him by his appointed Means and Revelations. If I learn not of thofe that God hath taught, but ex-
Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Part II.

peculiarly from himself, I may live in Darkness. Where I hear of
the greatest Revelation from Heaven, thither do I take it for my Duty to Address
myself: and if there were inspired Prophets now as heretofore, I would go to
them: But seeing God now taketh another way, I think I ought to follow him,
and to be a Learner (if possible) of those whom he hath any way most emi-
nately illuminated. And though my Actions may be more ruled by many than
by one, where they have more Authority, yet my Judgment may be better in-
formed by one that excelleth in Light, than by many others. While I have
made enquiry after these Divine Communications, the concurrent Vote of my
most learned, sober, and judicious Friends hath directed me first to you, as the Man
who for clearness and foundness of Judgment, is the Oracle of this our Theologi-
cal World. Though I may Learn of many hundreds, yet did I know where to
well to profit, and were to bring a Judgment as common as many other excellent
Qualifications, in learned Men, I should have taken up nearer home, and not
premised to have invited you to any trouble. My first Question therefore is in
general, Whether your Mind and Leisure will vouchsafe me the Liberty now and
then to intrude for the Resolution of some Difficulties; not frequently nor con-
tentiously, but seldom and as a mere Learner. If you are unwilling, or not va-
cant, say so, and rid your self of this Trouble in a word.

And though the greatest Matters that I would enquire about are Points of Faith
(wherein if you have taken notice that I have wronged the Church by any of my
crude and hasty Writings, your Check would tend to a Reformacion and be wel-
come), yet the particular that at present I shall try your willingness in, is in Point
of Discipline. I have long been very sensible of the sad Divisions of the Reform-
med Churches hereabout, and especially in England; and longed to see the day
that some wise compassionate Hand would rightly attempt the Cure. As igno-
rent Men know not so much as the Difficulty of things, so I have thought that if
there were no greater Hinderance in Mens Affections, than in their Principles, it
would be an easier matter speedily to Reconcile the moderate Episcopal and Pres-
byterian Divines. My earnest Request to you is, that you will be pleased freely
to tell me your Thoughts, how far this Accommodation following may tend to
a closure.

1. In every Parish, where there are more Presbyters than one, let one be the
Chief, and his Content chiefly taken in the Guidance of the Church.

2. Let many such Churches be associated (call it a Classis or what you will):
and let the fittest Man be your President as long as he is fit, that is, during Life, un-
less he deliberate a Removal.

3. Let divers of these Classis meet once or twice a year in a Provincial Assem-
bly, and let the fittest Man in the Province be their standing President: Hither-
to there is no Concession on the Presbyterian side, but that the Presidenl pro tem-
pore, be turned to a standing President; nor any on the Episcopal side, but that
(most necessary one) that every Presbyter be acknowledged a Church Guide,
and not a mere Preacher.

4. Let it be left to each Man's Conscience, whether the President be called by
the Name of Bishop, President, Superintendent, Moderator, &c. seeing a Name is
no more Reason of a Breach.

5. Let no Man be forced to express his Judgment de jure, whether the Presi-
dent have a Negative Voice in Ordination or Excommunication, nor whether he
be distinct in order, or only in degree, seeing it is not the unanimous and right belief
concerning these things that is of Necessity (for then they must have been in our
Cred) but the unanimous and right practice. But let all agree that they will
join in these Classical and Provincial Assemblies, and then only Ordain, and that
they will not Ordain but when the President is one, unless in cases of flat nece-
sity, which is never like to befall us if this way be taken.

My Question now is, Whether the godly, moderate Episcopal and Presbyterian
Divines, on Supposition that they can at present come no nearer to each other,
may not and ought not thus far to close; and thus live in Christian Love and Uni-
versality; seeing that we are bound to Concord in Practice so far as we agree in
Judgment; and seeing that if any nearer Closer be yet necessary, in such United
Bodies, and Amicable Association, Assemblies, and Correspondencies, its most
likely to be attained this way; and indeed no other that I can as yet diff-
cern.

Those
These Terms I once propounded to one most Reverend Prelate now near you, who told me, That with moderate Men they might suffice for an Union. If you are of the same Judgment I should have the stronger hopes; and if you are not, I shall the sooner let them fall.

Were your leisure such as to admit of further trouble, I would crave a word for the Resolution of my own Judgment in these Points:

1. I am satisfied that the Apostles have Successors in all those Works that are of standing Necessity, and that Church-Government is one of those Works, and that its improbable that Christ should settle one Species of Church-Government in the Apostles Hands for an Age, and then change it for ever after, and that they that affirm such a Change must prove it; and this Argument sticks close. But then I would crave one of your strongest Arguments to prove (though I know that the Presbyterians grant it) that indeed the Apostles had a power by Office to Govern the Seventy, or the Presbyters as inferior Officers, besides the power that they had by the meer interest of their Gifts, and privilege of being Eye-witnesses of the Works of Christ, and Ear-witnesses of his Word.

2. If the Apostles Examples will prove the Right of an unified Ambulatory Episcopacy,yet I would see how it appears that ever they were fixed to particular Churches, or ever any of them had a distinct and limited Dioces, where the rest had not Charge as well as they.

3. I am satisfied that very early after the Apostles the common Government of each Church was by a Bishop and Presbytery: but I can yet see no Evidence that this Church for 150 or 200 Years was any more than one Congregation; like one of our Parishes for number of People: which was Congregate in a City, and from the Circumjacent Villages, (as our Independant, or Anabaptist Churches now are); while the Multitude were Inidels. I would therefore crave one clear Proof that the first fixed Bishops ruled any more standing Congregations (having ordinary Assemblies and Communion in the Lord's Supper) than one only. And whether the multiplying of Believers did not make a real Change of the former Species of Government, while the Bishop of the City took on him the Government of many Particular Churches, who had but one before; and when Bishops should have been multiplied as fast as Churches were, and as Presbyters were: Some Passages in the eldod Writers incline me to these Thoughts, of which if they be wrong, your Correction will be most acceptable. May I crave, if not your Solution of all these Doubts, yet at least your Advice in the first Cafe of Practice, and your Pardon of my Boldness, I shall under great Obligations remain

Kinderminster in Worcestershire
June 8. 1655.

A humble Reverence
of your great Abilities
and Dignity,

If you return any thing, Mr. Underbill at the Anchor and Bible in Paul's Church-yard will convey it me.

To the very Reverend, and much Honoured, Dr. Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter, These.

Whereeto the Bishop made this short Reply:

Worthy Sir,

I have received your kind and courteous Letter, the Evidence of your very pious and peaceable Spirit, which I heartily desire may be a Provocation to others to lead them into the ways of Peace.

Sir, Your Eftem of me and of my Abilities is the Eerreur of your Love, and of those that have represented me to you in too great a Character, (quod non humiliem tantum sed veraciter dico) only I shall desire to be serviceable to God and his Church in what I am able.

Your
Your Letter came to my hands at the time of my removal from Highgate into the Country, here I have continued many Months suffering the trouble and pain of the Stone, which had put me into a long and tedious Course of Physick. Now I am upon my journey homewards, from whence, God willing, I will write to you; being truly sensible of your Religious Endeavours for so good a Work as the Composing of those useful Rents made in this Church.

The God of Truth and Peace guide us into the Ways of Truth and Peace, to whose Grace and Blessing I do heartily recommend you, referring,

SIR,

Highgate, July 3. 1655.

Your very respectful Friend (who embrace) your Love, and returns his to you very heartily,

Ra. Exon.

And not long after I received this Answer:

Worthy Sir!

I am indebted to you for an Answer to your Inquiries which I received from you. It should have been more speedy, but in truth, I brought from London my crafty and ill-affectèd Body, which face my coming home hath bred me much pain of the stone, and taken up my time in suffering these Distempers, and using the Remedies prescribed to me. I have now sent you my thoughts, which I doubt not but you will receive as candidly as I impart them to you. The Age is quarrelsome, but I apprehend you as one of a peaceable Spirit, aiming only at the Settlement of our unhappy Distructions. The God of Peace compose all our hearts to Peace, and make the Rents of our Church to be the Matter of one chief Compassion. Charitas Ecclesiæ omnis omnium Charitates inde complessit. Sir, I have sent you my Answer written with a more legible hand, and with some regard of cafes to my self in transcribing; with my very hearty love recommended and affixed to you, I commend you to the Grace and Blessing of Almighty God, resting,

Austin in Hartfordshire, July 21. 1655.

Your very respectful Friend,

Ra. Exon.

Bishop Browning's Answer about Government.

Prop. 1. Our first Proposal is, In every Parish where there are more Presbyters than one, let one be the Chief, and his Consent chiefly taken in the guidance of the Church.

Answ. 1. This Case is rarely to be found in the Parishes of England, nor can there be a sufficient Maintenance for a Plurality of Presbyters in our Parochial Congregations, yet if such be found, it may be a good means to preserve Order and Peace; that the ordering of Affairs, which shall be referred to them, be managed by him that hath the Prefecture of that Parish, I wish that in those Churches which betide the Incumbent have had Lecturers, this Rule had been observed.

Prop. 2. Let many such Churches be associated (call it a Classis or what you will) and let the fittest Man be their President, as long as he is fit, that is, during Life, unless he desire a removal.

Answ. 2. This Proposal looks like our Rural Deaneries, or Choripiscopal Orders, which have been laid much aside, but for the reducing of it, and to make it profitable, I wish that it may be bounded with fit Canons, prescribing what they may do, and with intimation from the Bishop and his Inspection, and that such a Dean or President may be continued for Life, that being a means to breed Experience, if he do not desire a removal.

Prop. 3.
Prop. 3. Let divers of these Classes meet once or twice a Year in a Provincial Assembly, and let the first Man in the Province be their standing President.

**Answ.** This Course hath been by Law and Practice already used in our Church in the Archidiaconal Visitations and Synods, which may be more quickened and actu'd by fit Canons for their Direction; what and who the President must be, may be provided for by Canons, and his Station continued; and that Presbyters having Care of Souls should not be accounted mere Preachers but Church-Guides, and as they are already acknowledged Rectors of Churches.

Prop. 4. Let it be left to every Man's Conscience, Whether the President be called by the Name of Bishop, President, Superintendent, Moderator &c. seeing that a Name is no meet Reason of a Breach, &c.

**Answ.** If by President you understand him that must moderate the Half-year or yearly Synods under the Inspection of the Diocesan, as his Order may be newly framed, so his Name may be newly imposed; but that the Primitive Name of Bishop should be turned into a new Name, is, as you say, no meet Reason for a Breach; and we see Presbyters allums that Name to themselves, and to put a new Name upon an old Institution is, as Augustine speaks in the like Case; Indoctis fruere fallaciam doctis facere injuriam.

Prop. 5. Let no Man be forced to Express his Judgment de Jure, Whether the President have a Negative Voice in Ordination or Excommunication; or whether he be deficient in Order or Degree, seeing it is not the unanimous and right Belief of these things that is of Necessity (for then they must have been in our Creed) but the unanimous and right Practice; but let them all agree that they will constantly join in these Canonical and Provincial Assemblies, and then only Ordain; and that they will not Ordain but when the President is one; unless in Case of flat Necessity, which is never like to befall us if this may be taken.

**Answ.** If by President you understand the Diocesan, then that the Bishop should be deprived of his Negative Voice in Ordination or Excommunication, and so I conceive in other Cases of Acts of Government, is, to make him a mere Shadow without any Authority, like our Scrutators in our University, to propose Graces, and collect Suffrages, and pronounce Sentence: Surely St. Paul invested Timothy and Titus with more Power and Authority, both for Ordination and Censures; but then to remedy the Inconveniencies of a willful Negative, it's fit that an Appeal may be made to a Provincial Synod, that may examine, and if need be, rectify what was amiss in the Negative.

That Church Busineses were Ordered by the Concurrence of more Presbyters besides the Bishop in Cyprian's time, was fit at that time; when the Government of Church Affairs was Arbitrary, and not Regulated by Law; in which Case it was safest for the Bishop to have the Confect of others with him: This is not our Case; we have express Canons and Laws laid upon Bishops, beyond which they cannot go, and so may well be intuited with the Execution of the Sentence of the Law, the Sentence of the Judge being only Declarativa & Executiva, and if he transgress those Rules prefixed, he is liable to Censure. In our Church plurimum legi, minimum Episcopos relinquatur, as we see in Civil Matters, one Judge of Peace hath the Power of Executing the Sentence of a Law or Statute, but no Arbitrary Power granted to him.

That the Bishop be distinct from the Presbyter, whether ordine or gradu, is the Schoolmens Debate, and I conceive may have such accord as may not ingender strife.

That Ordination be by the Assent of Presbyters is already required in our Form of Ordination, and if it be fixed to the Times of Synods it may be easily granted; and sure that Blame that hath been laid upon our Bishops for Ordaining of insufficient Men is most what an undue Charge: the Law of the Land hath let that lowness of sufficiency in Men to be ordained and intuited, that if a Bishop refuse to give Orders or Injunction to a Man presented by the Patron, he is punishable by the Judges: As I have heard, Archbishops Abbot was fined an Hundred pounds in case he did not admit a Clerk to meanly qualified as the Law requires.

Some
Some other Proposals are added in the End of your Letter.

Prop. I. Am satisfied that the Apostles have Successors in all those Works that are of standing Necessity; and that Church Government is one of those Works, and that it is improbable, that Christ should settle one Species of Church Government in the Apostles Hands for an Age, and then change it for ever after, and they that affirm such a Change must prove it.

Anf. 6. Supposing what the Apostles did in ordering of Church Government to be in the Name and by the Authority of Christ, this Affirmation I conceive to be very true; and it doth infer a Subordination of all Officers and Members of the Church to the Apostles, and thole that were their Successors.

Prop. 2. Whether the Apostles had a Power by Office to govern the LXX. and the Presbyters as inferior Officers, besides the Power that they had by the meer Interest of their Gifts, and Privilege of being Eye Witnesses of the Works of Christ, and Ear Witnesses of his Words.

Anf. 7. The extraordinary Gifts of the Apostles, and the Privilege of being Eye and Ear Witnesses to Christ, were Abilities which they had for the infallible Discharge of their Function, but they were not the Ground of their Power and Authority to govern the Church.

That the Seventy, and fo other Presbyters were inferior to the Apostles, and under their Government, doth appear to me, though at their first sending by Christ, they were immediately subject to Christ, the Apostles not being then established in the Government of the Church, but when Christ authorised his Apostles with the Power of Government, Petres et Clavium was committed to them only, not to the Seventy; and so we must conceive that the College of Apostles were invested with the Government of the Church, and the Seventy not having the Keys committed to them were under the Authority of the Apostles, and so were Presbyters to the Apostles Successors.

Prop. 3. if the Apostles Example will prove the right of an unfixed, ambulatory Episcopacy, yet I would see how it appears that ever they were fixed to particular Charges, or ever any of them had a distinct and limited Diocess, where the rest had not Charge as well as they.

Anf. 8. I conceive the Apostles as Apostles had an unlimited, and, as you call it, an unfixed, ambulatory Episcopacy, being sent into the whole World, and not by Christ's Institution confined to any one fixed Seat; but yet that hinders not, but that by Consent and Agreement among themselves, they might have a Distribution of their several Circuits, as it is seen in the Agreement between St. Peter and St. Paul, which as it did not exclude their original Power over all Churches, so it did accommodate them to a more opportune Discharge of their Function, and accordingly they vested their Successors in those Places, not committing to them an universal Jurisdiction which was a Personal Privilege of their Apostleship.

Prop. 4. I am satisfied that very early after the Apostles, the common Government of each Church was by a Bishop and Presbyter; but yet I can see no Evidence that this Church for 150 or 200 Years was any more than one Congregation, like one of our Parishes for Number of People, which was congregated in a City, and from the circumjacent Villages; as our Independant or Anabaptist Churches now are, while the Multitude were infidels; I would therefore crave any clear Proof, that the first fixed Bishops ruled any more standing Congregations, having ordinarily Assemblies and Communion in the Lord's Supper, than one only, and whether the multiplying of Believers did not make a real Change of the former Species of Government, while the Bishop of the City took on him the Government of many particular Churches, who had but one before, and whether Bishops should not have been multiplied as fast as Churches were, and Presbyters were.

Anf. 9. That the Government of the Churches was not only Vicitims, but Regionalism, appears by those Deputies and Successors which the Apostles constituted; in particular, Titus is authorized to ordain and govern not one Parish, but the many Churches in Crete. That those primitive Bishops did employ their ordinary Function of Preaching and administering the Sacrament in their City of Residence, may well be granted, which hinders not, but that they might have Inspection into the circumjacent Villages for ordaining of Presbyters, and other Administrations of Government, and what needed a College of Presbyters residing in the City with the Bishop, if they were not sent out by him to officiate in those Villages adjacent, as the Number of Believers required, nor did the multi-
plying of Believers in the adjacent places require several Bishops in several Congregations, independent on the City Bishop, but the ordinary Discharge of those Places was committed to them in Subordination to the City-Bishop, and Presbyters there assembled as occasion required: In this Cafe it fared with the Church as in Philosophy they fay, it is in the matter of Nutrition and Augmentation, where the form is not multiplied, but only extended ad novam materiam.

These Answers not changing my Judgment, I made the following Notes upon them.

Ad 1. Every Church Primæ magnitudinis & speciei should be as great and no greater, than is capable of PERSONAL Communion, as our greater Parishes; and every such Church had of old a Bishop. One Altar and one Bishop was Ignatius’s Note of one Church; and such a one may maintain divers Minifters; and the Rich should not burden the Church for maintenance, but help freely.

Ad 2. This is a President of a Synod of Bishops.

Ad 3. I thank you for granting Presbyters to be Church-Reftors.

Ad 4. If he be but a President he is but a Bishop Primi Ordinis (of one Church) as the ref: But if he be the fated Reftor of many churches, he is really an Archbishop.

Ad 5. This was written when our Diocesane Frame was taken down, to reconcile them that were for, and that were against such Bishops, pro tempore.

If you take liberty to call off the Example of Cyprian’s times, on pretence that the Cafe is altered by the Kings Laws, then you will never know where to refit while Laws are alterable. Qu. Whether the Practice of the Church till Cyprian’s time be not a probable Notice to us what was the Apologitical infiltrated Government? If not, why use you the Argument of Antiquity for Episcopacy? If yea, Qu. Whether Rulers may alter the Apologick Institution? and the Office and work of Presbyters may be changed on pretence that now Bishops can do it without them? He that ever tried true Discipline will find one Parish big enough for one Man’s or divers Mens right Performance of it, and Six hundred or a Thousand Parishes too many.

Alas! do you think it Lawful to ordain insufficient unmeet Men, if the Law of the Land fo command you; what then are Chrifl’s Laws for?

Ad 6. Here I granted you the major of your grand Argument for Episcopacy.

Ad 7. The Apoftles Superiority of Power I deny not; but that the Power of the Keys was given to the Apoftles only, I deny. If Chriff immediately gave it to no other, yet by his Spirit he did, and by the Church-Law, which he left to be the Instrument of continued conveyance and Title, by which the Apoftles were to invelt others with that Power; which the Schoolmen ordinarily acknowledge to belong to Presbyters as such, who may use them to the People.

Ad 8. 1. De facto it is no where proved truly that the Twelve or Thirteen Apoftles did by confent limit their Provinces; But contrarily, that they Officiated together at Jerusalem; and Peter (if at Rome, as fome think he was) and Paul in the fame Diocefs at Rome, &c. and Paul and John at Ephesos, and Timothy also (as is faid?.

2. If they had, this had been no fixing any more Diocefes in the World than Twelve or thirteen; and whoever fince pretended to fuccede them in thofe Twelve or Thirteen Diocefes?

3. And if following Bishops or Princes fix Diocefes, that is no divine nor unalterable Law.

4. We never read that an Apoftle claimed any Diocefs as proper to him, or fofad any other to officiate in it, or blamed them for fo doing.

5. It is certain that while they went themselves from Country to Country, they fixed Bishops to every Church or City, Acts 14.25. Tit. i. 5, 6.

Ad 9. 1. The Apoftles fixt not Bishops of the lowest Rank, Vicarum nor Regionalium, but in every Church, which was then in every City where were Chriffians; even the fame Church that had Deacons and Presbyters fixt.

2. Bishops preached to Infidels to whom they were not Bishops, but Preachers.

3. The Chriffians of neighbour Villages came to the City-Church; and when they had Oratories or Chappells there, it made them not another Parish; and excluded not fuch from personal Communion with the Bishops Church, nor extend-
ed to such as by Distant or Numbers were incapable of such personal Com-

munion.

4. Titus was either an ambulatory Evangelist, to go about as the Apostles, gath-
thering and Setting Churches (as I think) ; or if fixed, he was an Archbishop, who
was to settle Bishops under him in every City (as Dr. Hammond judged). It
followeth not that a meer Bishop may have a Multitude of Churches, because an
Archbishop may, who hath many Bishops under him.

5. As the Magnitude of human Body, so also of a particular Church, hath its
Limitation suited to its Ends : Communion by Delegates or Officers only, is the
Cafe of many Churches associated: But Personal Communion in Doctrine, Wor-
ship, Conversation and Discipline is the End of each particular Church, and if you
extend the Form to more than are capable of that End, even to many such Soci-
eties, by so doing the Species is changed.

§ 38. About this time a reverend learned Brother, Mr. Martin Johnson, being of
the Judgment of Dr. Hammond and Dr. Gunning, and yet a Lover of all honest,
peaceable Men, and constant at our Meetings, Lectures, and Disputations, was
pleased to write to me about the Necessity of Episcopal Ordination : I maintained
that it was not necessary ad eft Ecclefas, and that he might be a true Miniftrr
who was ordained by Presbyters, and that in Cafles of Necessity it was a Duty to
take Ordination from them : He opposed this (with Modesty and Judgment, be-
ing a very good Logician) till at laft he yielded to the Truth. These Letters with
their Answers are added in the Appendix.

§ 39. A little after this an Accident fell out that hindered our Concord with the
Episcopal Party, and is pretended at this Day by many to justify the Silence of
all the Minifters that were afterward put out. Oliver Cromwell, who then usurped
the Government, being desired by some to forbid all Minifters of all Parties what-
soever to officiate, who were notoriously insufficient or scandalous, took
hence Occasion to put in with the rest all thofe that took part with the King
against the Parliament, and fo by offending them, hindered our Agreement with
them ; which provoked me then to protest againft it, and publish my Judgment
against the Hinderimg of any Man to preach the Gospel upon the Ground of fuch
Civil Controversies as thofe.

§ 40. And about the fame time, Experience in my Pastoral Charge convinced
me that publick Preaching is not all the ordinary Work of a faithful
Minifter, and that perfonal Conference with every one about the
State of their own Souls, together with Catechizing, is a Work of
very great Necessity: For the Cofium in England is only to catechize:
the younger fort, and that but by teaching them the Words of the
Catechism in the Liturgy, which we thought (besides the Doctrine
of the Sacrament) had little more explicable than the Words them-
elves of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Decalogue: Therefore I
propounded the Bufinefs to the Minifters, and they all (upon Debate)
confented that I should turn our brief Confession into a Catechism, and draw up
a Form of Agreement for the Practizing of that Duty: I drew up the Catechism
in two leaves in 8vo. comprehending as much as is necessary to be believed, confented to
and practized; in as narrow a room, and just a Method as I thought agreeable to
the Peoples Understanding: And I proposed a Form of Agreement for the Prac-
tice, which might engage the more remifs to go through with the Work: And
when I brought it in, it was confented to and subscribed; and many neighbouring
Minifters of other Countries desired to join with us; and we printed the Cate-
chism and Agreement together.

§ 41. Of all the Works that ever I attempted, this yielded me most Comfort in
the practice of it. All Men thought that the People especially the ancients for,
would never have submitted to this Course, and so that it would have come to no-
thing: But God gave me a tractable willing People, and gave me also interest in
them; and when I had begun, and my People had given a good Example to other
Parishes and especially the Minifters so unanimously concurring, that none gain-
fayed us, it prevailed much with the Parishes about: I fet two Days a Week
apart for this Employment; my (faithful unwarried) Assistant and my Self, took
fourteen Families every Week; tho' in the Town came to us to our Houfes;
whence in the Parish my Assistant went to, to their Houfes (besides what a Curate
did at a Chappelry): Eft it they recited the Catechism to us (a Family only be-
ing present at a time, and no Stranger admitted); after that I first helped them

Pardon the tedious-
ness of three or four
Sections, which repeat
some of that which was
mentioned before; be-
deed it is here put in as
part of my Pacifical
Endeavours only.
to understand it, and next enquired modestly into the State of their Souls, and lastly, endeavoured to set all home to the convincing, awakening, and revolving of their Hearts according to their several Conditions; belowing about an Hour (and the Labour of a Sermon) with every Family; and I found it so effectual through the Blessing of God, that few went away without some seeming Humiliation, Conviction, and Purpose and Promise for a holy Life, and except half a dozen or thereabouts of the most ignorant and senseless, all the Families in the Town came to; and though the first time they came with Fear and Backwardness, after they longed for their turn to come again: So that I hope God did good to many by it: And yet this was not all the Comfort I had in it.

§ 42. For my Brethren appointing me to preach to them about it, on a Day of Humiliation at Worcester when we set upon it, I printed the Sermon prepared for that use, with necessary Additions, containing Reasons and Directions for this Work, (in a Book called The Reformed Pastor,) which excited so many others to take the Course that we had taken, that it was a far greater Addition to my Comfort, than the profiting of the Parish or Country where we lived: Yea, a Reverend Pastor from Switzerland wrote me word, that it excited them to Thoughts of practising it there, though the dullness of some Pastors and the backwardness of the People were their great Discouragements.

§ 43. But all these Beginnings which so comfortably fell upon us from all parts of the Land, were clouded and obstructed by the proud Combinations, and rebellious unquiet Humour of the Fanatics; especially the Military Anabaptists; who thinking it lawful, because it seemed to let up their Sect, did oppose the Ministry and trouble the Peace of the Nation, and raise Stirs against all fled Government, even against the Upprper whom they had themselves set up. And when Cromwell was dead they set up his Son, and pull'd him down again, and set up others, and pull'd down them, and never ceased rebellling and overturning all before them, till they had not left themselves a Bow to stand upon. And Harrington's Party in the Convention called, The Little Parliament, as they call out all the Ministers in Wales at once (who though very weak and bad enough for the most part, were better than none, or so few Itinerants which they let up,) so they attempted and had almost accomplished the fame in England: The Independents thought that the Parishes were no true Churches, and the Anabaptists thought that those baptiz'd only in their Infancy, were no Christians; and so they might have true Churches and Christians, many Independents secretly, and the Anabaptists openly promoted the Election of all the Parish ministers in England at one Vote, that so they might let up the best of them again in another way, to make Men Christians, and gather New Churches, which they thought was better than to reform the old.

In Jan. 1655. the Committee of Parliament (the Parli as they were called) Voted Liberty of Religion for all, not excepting Papists.

§ 44. These Endeavours having been on foot all the time of Oliver's Uтирaption and before, promoted the Generation of Seekers, Ranters, Quakers, and such others, who went forth many railing Words and Pamphlets, and the Scope of all was against the Ministry (which yet got ground even in these licentious times, and prevailed against them, and carried on their Work:) This was some Diversions to us, while I and others were fain to dispute against Anabaptists, and Quakers, and Seekers, and to answer their railing Invecitives, and to build with our Weapons in our Hands: So that (besides my Writings against them) I seldom preached a Lecture but going and coming I was railed at by a Quaker in the Marketplace in the way, and frequently in the Congregation bawled at by the Names of [Hirling, Deceiver, false Prophet, Dog,] and luch like Language: But all this in the Blue furthered our Work.

§ 45. Before this there were two very sober Men in London (Mr. Lamb and Mr. Allen) who were Pastors of an Anabaptist separated Church: The Wife of one of them (an extraordinary intelligent Woman) wrote me a Letter that her Husband was in troubled Thoughts (not about Anabaptistry, but) about Separation upon that account, and that if I would write to him now, it might do him good; which I did, and gave him many Arguments to prove that though he should continue in his Opinion against Infant-Baptism, yet he ought not to make it a Reason of denying Communion with his Brethren of another Mind. These Arguments met with Thoughts of his own that tended the same way, and in conclu-
Whether it be our Duty to seek Peace with the Anabaptists?

Feb. 28.

Because I conceive it no very difficult matter to resolve this Question, I shall the more briefly dispatch it. Only two Terms do need some Explication:

1. What we mean by Anabaptists? We do not here use the word with an intention of Reproach; for that doth not before a Disputation of Peace; but we are fain to make use of it, as that Name by which that sort of Men are already commonly known, and distinguished from all others; as not knowing otherwise how to speak intelligibly of them, without using Descriptions and Circumlocutions instead of well-known Names or Titles, which would be contrary to the Common Rules of Discourse.

The Persons called by that Name in General, are all that are for the Baptizing of those who were baptized in Infancy, as supposing it null or unlawful. Of these there are more Subdivisions than I will undertake to enumerate: As to our present purpose it may suffice us to take distinct notice of these four sorts of them; 1. Those that only deny Infant Baptism, and are for the Necessity of Re-baptizing. 2. Those that upon this account do also gather Separated Churches, withdrawing from the Churches whereof they were Members, and receiving none into Communion but the Re-baptized. 3. Those that with the two former do hold many dangerous Errors, either Pelagian or Anthimian, or any other, which yet do not so overthrow the Foundation, but that the Persons holding them may be faved. 4. Those that had such Errors as are inconsistent with a true Belief of the Fundamentals, and consequently with Salvation. And among the three former sorts, we must distinguish between those that are peaceable, temperate, and willing of Communion with us, and that endeavour not the ruine of the Church in their practice: and those that are unpeaceable, and refuse our Communion, and set themselves to root out the Ministry, or to destroy the Faith or Church of Christ.

2. The word Peace signifieth several things, according to the several sorts of Men that we are related to, with whom we must seek it: 1. There is a Peace of bona Fides; and this we owe not to many of the Saints themselves: For of bona Friends we must have but few. 2. There is a Peace of Actual Communion in the Worship of God, as Members of the same particular Church: Thus we owe not to every Christian; though sincere in the main. 3. There is a Peace which is among the Members of all particular Political Churches in the World, as related to each other, and obliged to hold Communion as far as is necessary for the Common Good. 4. There is a Peace which is common to all professed Christians, Members of the Universal Church, though perhaps of no particular Political Church. 5. There is a Peace to be kept with sober Heathens or Infidels. 6. And there is a Peace to be kept with Enemies, both of us and the Gospel, as far as we can. I shall give you my Thoughts about the present Question, in these following Propositions: Premising that 1. It is not the Peace of bono Friendship that the Quelition intendeth: and Ergo, we need not stand on that. 2. Nor is it the Peace that is due to Enemies, or that is due to Infidels and those without; but it is the other sorts due to the several sorts of Christians.
Prop. 1. We may not have that Peace which is proper to Christians, much less that which is proper to Christians in Church-Order, with any that deny the Essentials of Christianity.

Prop. 2. As for those Anabaptists that in zeal for their Opinion do endeavour the Extirpation of the Ministry, or of those of them that are against their Opinions, or in any other way do attempt that which would tend to the ruin or great damage of the Church, we may not have that Peace and Communion with them as with innocent Erastians, but must admonish them at scandalous and gross Sinners, and avoid them, if after due admonition they desist not, and repent not.

Prop. 3. Those that deny the Divine Institution, or present Existence of Ministry, or Worship and Ordinances, or governed Churches, are incapable of being Members of any true Political Church, and Ergo, we cannot have such Church-Communion with them; and because their Doctrine is of blemish Consequence, as tending to the destruction of all Church-Order, Worship and Communion, we must reject them, if they shall teach it after due Admonition.

Prop. 4. As for them that think it unanswerable to have Communion with us, unless we will renounce our Infant Baptism, and be re-baptized, we cannot have Communion with them, in such Case, though we would; because they refuse it with us.

Prop. 5. We cannot lawfully disown the Truth of God, nor own their Errors for Communion with them; yet we may yield for any such Ends to be re-baptized.

Prop. 6. We may not lawfully be Members of a Church of Anabaptists, separated on that Account from others, (nor of any other unlawfully separated Church,) nor ordinarily Communicate with them in their way of Separation, though we might be admitted to it without any other disowning the Truth or owning their Mistakes. Except it were in a case of Necessity, (as if such a Church were removed among Infidels or gross Heathens,) where we could have no better Communion in worshipping God.

Prop. 7. If any one that Errett but in the bare Point of Infant Baptism, or other Errors that subvert not the Christian Faith, shall yet take it to be his duty to propagate those Errors, it will be the duty of every Orthodox Minister, when he hath a Call and finds it Necessary, to defend the Truth of such Errors, and to endeavour the establishing of the Minds of the People, and not to let them go on without Control or Contradiction, lest be be guilty of betraying the Truth and Peace of the Church, and the Souls of the People who are usually sorely endangered hereby: The like must be done by Private Christians privately, or according to their Places and Capacities.

So much for the Negative: The Affirmatives follow.

Prop. 1. The Common Love which is due to all Men, and the Common Peace which must be endeavored with all, must be held or endeavored as to them that deny the Essentials of Christianity. But, as is before said, this is not it that the Question doth intend.

Prop. 2. It is our Duty to do the best we can to reclaim any Errors or Ungodly Person from his Error or Impiety, that so they may be capable of that further Love and Peace and Communion with us, which in their present State they are incapable of.

Prop. 3. Those that believe not some Points that are necessary to the Constitution or Communion of Political Churches, if yet they believe in Christ, and worship God so far as they know his Will, and live uprightly, may be true Christians, and so to be esteemed, even when they make themselves incapable of being Members of any Political Church.

Prop. 4. Some Anabaptists and others that make themselves incapable of being Members of the same particular Churches with us, or of local Communion in God’s Worship, may yet be acknowledged to be Christian Societies, or truly particular Political Churches, though in taintum corrupta, and finally separated. I mean this of all those that differ not from us in any Article of our Creed or Fundamental of Christian Religion, nor yet in any Fundamental of Church Policy: As e.g., those that only re-baptize and deny Infant Baptism, or else hold some of the least dangerous Points of Antinomianism or Pelagianism; but withal hold all the Fundamentals necessary to Salvation, and Church Policy or Communion.

Prop. 5. If any Person disclaim his Infant Baptism, and be Re-baptized, and then having so satisfied his Conscience, shall continue his Communion with the Church where he was a Member, and not separate from them, and shall profess his willingness to embrace the Truth as soon as he can discern the Evidence of it, and shall live peaceably and innocently under the Overhead of the Church-Guides, we may not Exclude such a one from our Communion, but shall continue him a Member of that particular Church, and live with him in that love and peace as is due to such.

Prop. 6
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Prop. 6. If such an one should also mistake it to be his Duty, publickly to enter his Diffent to the Doctrine of Infant Baptism, and so to acquiesce, and love quietly under the over-sight of the Ministry, and in the Communion of that Church, he ought not to be rej ected.

Prop. 7. It is our Duty to invite them called Anabaptists now among us, to loving familiar Conferences; of purpose. 1. To narrow our Differences as far as is possible, by a trueصارهم، that they seem not greater than they are: 2. And to endeavour, if possible, yet to come nearer, by rectifying of Mistakes: 3. And to consult how to improve the Principles that we are all agreed in, to the Common Good, and to manage our remaining Differences in the most peaceable manner, and to the least disturbance or hurt of the Church.

Here come in two more Questions to be resolved: 1. How should such an Attempt be managed? 2. What hope is there of Success?

For the first, I shall briefly give in my Thoughts in some Directions.

Direct. 1. Let the Attempt be made with none that deny the Principles of Christiani ty or Church-Communion; but with those only that Err; and have such Errors as are tolerable.

2. Let only the most Sober and Judicious be the Agents in this Attempt, who do manifest some esteem for the Honour of God and the Common Good, and a willingnefs to prefer thefe before any private Interests of their own or any others.

3. Let prudent hands draw up all those Points wherein we are agreed (leaving the Difference no wider than it is), and let them be all subscribed to by each Party.

4. Let all thefe Points wherein we are agreed be published in our several Congregations, that the People may not, by our disagreement in other things, be flattered in thefe, nor make that their pretence for any ungodly Principles or Practices; but may be the more ashamed of them, when they fee they are condemned by us all.

5. Let us next agree to make thefe Common Truths the common and ordinary Matter of our Preaching, and endeavour with our firft and greatest diligence to promote them, and to perfwade all our hearers to do the like.

6. Let each Party openly difown all thefe that reject the great and common Truths, though they may agree with us in thefe Particulars wherein we oppofe each other. And if they be intolerable Errors which they Err in, let us renounce their Communion.

7. Let us next draw up the State of our Difference as clearly, and in as narrow room as is poffible.

8. Let us agree upon fonce neceffary Rules for the most harmless managing of thefe Differences; that the Common Truths and the Souls of Men may be as little hazarded by them as may be, and the known and neceffary Duties of Christian Love and Communion, as little hindered.

E. g. The moderate Anabaptists that take not their Opinions to be a fufficient ground for Separation from our Churches, may agree on fonce Terms as thefe following:

1. Let there be no withdrawing from the Ministry and Church of that Place upon the mean ground of Baptism. If the Minifter be an Anabaptift, let not us withdraw from him on that ground, and if he be a Pabobaptift, let not them withdraw from us.

2. If the Pastor be for or againft Infant Baptism, and think he have a Call to deliver his Judgment, let not the private Member think he is ill bound to contradict him, or withdraw; but having once publickly entered his differenc to that Doctrine, and profefled that his Prefence and Patience doth not signifie an Owning of it (if his Conscience urge him to go so far), let him afterward acquiefce and walk respectfully, lovingly and obediently to the Pastors in all lawful things.

3. Thofe that are fo moderate as to take Infants for Church Members, though not to be Baptized, let them openly make profeffion of it.

4. Thofe that do not take them for Members, if yet they have any more hope of them than of Heathen Children, or think it a Duty in any fort to dedicate them to God, let them bring them to the Congregation, and there in general profefs their hopes and the grounds of them, and either dedicate them to God, or profefs their willingnefs to do it to the utmost of their Intrefs and Capacity, and defire God to accept them and blefs them.
5. Let those that are for Infant Baptism profess that a Personal Faith and Repentance is of Necessity to the Salvation of all that live to years of Discretion, and Baptism without it will not serve the turn.

6. Let all that are Baptized in Infancy, publicly own and renew that Covenant when they come to years of Discretion, before they are admitted to the Lord's Supper.

Thus far in Consciency with the Principles of the Moderate, we may yield to each other, and so hold Communion in the same Congregations: and the practice of this doctrine belongs most to the People.

But for those that join Separation to Anabaptism, yet if they be any thing moderate (though they go much further from us than the rest,) we may agree on these following Terms with them, to manage our Differences to the least wrong to the Church and Common Truths.

R. 1. Let us promisethatno further from each other Communion, than after serious Consideration, our Consciences shall tell us it is our Duty to do.

2. Let us declare that though one part be confident that Infant Baptism is a Duty, and the other that it is a Sin, yet we judge that they that Err here, while they sincerely desire to know the Truth, may be saved, notwithstanding that Error. (What it will prove to the Children, if the Parent accept not the Covenant for them, and devote them not to God, will be a hard dispute) which I shall not now presume to meddle in.

3. Let it be declared that we take each other for Christians, and Churches of Christ.

4. Let it be declared that we take the rightly called Ministrv of each Church for true Ministers.

5. If any of each others Flock shall reproach or disown their Ministers and the Churches they are of, merely because of their Judgment about Infant Baptism, let the contrary part, having opportunity, reprove them sharply, and help to humble them, and bring them to the Confession of their Sin, and to Reformation; that so proud, unruly, ungodly People may not take shelter under either Party by the means of any factionfulness or partiality of ours.

6. Let us never intrude into each other's Charge without the Pastors Consent.

7. Let us agree that we will not preach for or against Infant Baptism, when our Consciences tell us that the Peoples ignorance of greater Truths, or their Ungodliness doth require us to deal with them on more weighty Points.

8. Let us preach as seldom for or against Infant Baptism, as Conscience will permit; and particularly let that which herein we account the Truth, have but its due proportion of our Time, compared with the multitude and greatness of other Truths.

9. Let these Points also have but an anfwerable proportion of our Zeal, that we make not People believe that they are greater Matters than they are.

10. Let us not endeavour to reproach one another when we think we are bound to speak for our Opinions; that we make not each other incapable of doing the People good.

2. As to the second Question, What hope of Success? I shall not presume to determine it: Let every Man conjecture as he listeth: for my own part, I am not quite out of hope, of some measure of Success with some few particular Persons; but my hopes are very low as to the generality.

Object. 1. It is not our Duty to attempt a Work where there is no hope of Success.

Anjw. The Case is not so desperate as to excuse us from the Duty: A possibility with the least probability may serve to oblige us.

Object. 2. What shall we confess to the Exclusion of Infants from their Churches?

Anjw. No; but content to improve the common Truths, and perform our Duties even so much as differ from us in this.

Object. 3. There is not one of an hundred of them that will confess to these Terms.

Anjw. If they will not, who can help it? when we have tried them, we have done our Duty, and left them without Excuse.

Object. 4. Shall we confess a Schismatical Church for a true Church?

Anjw. Every Schism nullish not the Church or Ministry that is guilty of it: else most of the Churches in the World were nullus: If they reject the Essentials of a Church they are none.

Object. 5.
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Object. 5. Baptism is Essential to a Church: The Apostle, Heb. 6. 1. puteth it among the Principles.

Answ. 1. It is only the thing signified by Baptism that is Essential. 2. The Apostle calls it a Principle, because it is one of the first things taught; but not because it is Essential to a Church. 3. The Anabaptists have Baptism in their Churches, though not of Infants.

Object. 6. To make a League with Schismatics, is to be guilty of their Schism.

Answ. True. If by that League you own, approve, or consent to their Schism: But not by agreeing with them to perform Common Duties.

Object. 7. They are undermining the Church and Ministry, and shall we seek peace with such?

Answ. 1. Those that we speak of are not such. 2. If they were, yet it is our Duty to hinder them, by agreeing to moderate Ways, and Common Duties.

Object. 8. They are guilty of their Infants Damnation, as much as in them itself, by not believing their part in the Covenant, nor dedicating them to God.

Answ. They virtually consent for their Infants, in that they would actually do it, if they knew the Promise.

Object. 9. They are under God's visible Displeasure. Ergo, &c.

Answ. So far as God doth them, we must do so, but no further.

Object. 10. We shall be reproached as complying with them.

Answ. Slanderous Tongues cannot exclude us from plain Duties.

Object. 11. Those whom we should Excommunicate we may not have Communion with: But the Anabaptists should be Excommunicated; Ergo, &c.

Answ. I deny the Minor taken of such Anabaptists as we have now in question.

Object. 12. It is a scandalous Sin unrepented of.

Answ. 1. So is many a greater Error, which Men must not be Excommunicated for. 2. It is virtually repented of; seeing they knew the Evil of it, they would repent.

Object. 13. You would have a looser Discipline than the Prelates or Papists: for they would not Communicate with Anabaptists.

Answ. 1. I only avoid dividing rigour and cruelty. 2. They have Multitudes in their Communion that know not what Baptism is, nor to what use, nor who Christ is, whether God or Man? nor many other Fundamentals. Ergo, Their Discipline is far looser than I desire; but too partial also.

The Anabaptists object: We are bound to propagate the Truth, and if you will have Communion with us, you must be baptized.

Answ. 1. You are bound to propagate first the greatest Truths, that Salvation eth on, and to do nothing that may hinder this, by promoting your own Opinions.

2. If you reject Communion with all but Anabaptists, you reject all the Church through most Ages of the World. And no Church no Christ: and no Christ no Christians, nor any Salvation.

3. Blame us not, if we be not easily brought to your Opinion, if we had but these Reasons.

1. You confess (no thanks to you) that Infants were once Church-Members by God's appointment: and have never yet proved that he cast them out again. And we must have good proof of that before we can be satisfied with your way.

2. We cannot be hasty to believe an Evil; and we know that it is a sad Penal Evil for Infants to be put out of the Church: And Ergo we will have proof of it, before we believe it.

3. It must be no cafe matter with us to believe, that the Head and Shepherd of the Church hath de facto had a Church of a false Constitution, as to the very Materials, and Entersance, from the beginning to this day, except a few within this twenty years that troubled it in a Corner of the World; and that now in the end of the World, we must expect a right Constitution, as if Christ had slept, or regarded not his Church, or been the Head of a Body which he disowned: We cannot hastily believe such things. I say again, No Church, no Christ; for No Body, no Head: And if no Christ then, there is no Christ now. Take heed therefore how you un-Church, or disown the whole Church of Christ in the very frame, for so many Ages.
An Offer of Christian fraternal Communion to the Brethren that are against, or doubtful about, Baptizing Infants of Believers.

It is our exceeding Joy that we have all one God, one Saviour, one Spirit, one Faith, and one Baptifmal Covenant, one Rule of Faith and Life, one End and Hope, and are Members of one Catholick Church, and agree about God's Worship in the most and greatest parts: And it is our Grief, and the Matter of our great Humiliation, that we can come no nearer, and that by the Remnants of our Differences, the Wicked are so hardened, the Weak offended, our Charity hindered, our holy Communion and mutual Edification disturbed, our Minds discomfited, and the Gospel, the Catholick Church, and our Saviour dishonoured. Lamenting this with the rest of our Unhappiness while we are in the Flesh, and absent from the Lord the Centre of Perfect Unity and Concord, and knowing it to be our Duty to walk by the same Rule, and mind the same things so far as we have attained, and being taught of God to love one another, and observing how frequently and urgently Brotherly Love, and Forbearance, and the Unity and Concord of Christians, is preft in the holy Scriptures, and Uncharitablenefs and Divisions condemned, that as far as may be, we may promote our Common Ends of Christiannity, and with one Mind and Mouth may glorifie God, We whole Names are under-written do make this following Offer of Communion.

1. To all those that joyn with us in the foregoing Profeflion of the Christian Faith, and have been Baptized since their Infant-Baptifm, as thinking it unlawful or insufficient, we offer free Communion in our particular Churches, with leave to Enter your diftinct from our Infant-Baptifm into the Church Register or Records, to be it you will thence-forth walk in that Love and Holiness, and that Obedience to the faithful Overfeers of the Flock, and that Concord and Brotherly Communion with the Church, as is required in the holy Scriptures (according to your power), and will reft Uncharitablenefs, Discord and Divisions, and joyn with us in our Common Work for the Common Ends.

2. To all those that joyn with us in the foregoing Profeflion of Faith, though they have been baptized since their Infant-Baptifm, or think that Baptifm unlawful, and dare not hold Local Communion with us in our particular Churches, we yet offer, that we may at that diftance that our Infirmities have fet us, maintain unfeigned Brotherly Love, and acknowledge our several Churches for Christian Congregations, and hold a Correspondency by Delegates or other convenient Means, for the strengthening of each other; and obferve the Rules exprift in the following Offer.

3. To all those that joyn with us in the foregoing Profeflion of Christiannity, and yet, through their diftinct from our Baptizing the Infants of Believers, dare not hold Local Communion with us, nor yet acknowledge our Churches to be true Instituted Particular Churches, we yet offer. That we may acknowledge each other for Members of Christ, (supposing the forefaid Profeflion of Christiannity to be solemnly and credibly made) and Members of the Church Universal. And that we may converge in the World together in a faithful Obedience of these following Rules.

1. That we addict our selves heartily to the promoting and exercising of Brotherly Love towards one another, and take heed of all things contrary thereto in Word and Deed.

2. That we addict our selves to preserve the Unity of the Church Catholick, and Concord of true Christians, and the Common Interest of the Godly, and to further the Cause of Christ in the World, and take heed of so managing our different Opinions as may be a hindrance to thefe.

3. That we Study and addict our selves to promote the Conversion of ignorant Ungodly People, and the building up of the Weak, and that we take great heed, left in the managing of our different Opinions, or opposing one another, we should hinder their Works, hardening the Wicked, and offending the Weak.

4. That
4. That we always in our esteem and industry prefer the greater common Truths that we are all agreed in, before the lesser Points that we differ in: And that we take heed of to managing our Differences, publicly or privately, as may tend to hinder the Reception or Success of those greater common Truths in which we are agreed.

5. That we publish our Agreements, and profess our Christian Love, and Resolutions for Peace in our several Congregations, and profess there our joyn'd dis owning and detestation of all Errors, Herefies, and Ungodliness, contrary to the Profession wherein we are agreed.

6. That we will not preach publicly for our differing Opinions in each others Congregations without the Pastor's consent, nor privately to speak for them, as is like to tend to the hinderance of God's greater Work in that Place, nor hold any private Assemblies in one another's Parishes, which shall be more to the dividing of each others Societies, than for common Christian Edification.

7. That in our Preaching and Conference, we will allow the greater and common Truths such a proportion of our Time and Zeal and Speech, as the Nature, Necessity, and Number doth require, and not lay out inordinate such an undue proportion of Zeal and Time and Speech for our different Opinions, as shall be injurious to those Truths.

8. That we will avoid in Publick and Private all unbrotherly, lornful, reproachful Speeches of each other; especially before ungodly People: And that we will not to them dishonour one another's Ministry, so as may hinder their profiting by it, but will rebuke all such ungodly Persons that we hear reproaching the Ministers or Brethren of either part.

9. That we will not receive into any of our Churches, any Scandalous Persons that fly from the Discipline of other Churches, and pretend a Change of Opinion to cloak their Scandals, but will impartially hear what Accusations shall be lent in against them, and proceed accordingly.

10. That we will upon any Defamations, or Accusations, or Rumours of Injury against one another, or of violating our Profession by contrary Doctrine, or breaking this Agreement, be responsible to each other as Brethren, and will forbear divulging private or uncertain Faults, or cenfuring or reproaching one another, till we have either conferred together to give and receive Satisfaction, and duly admonished each other, or tendered such Conferences and Admonitions seasonably, till we see they are wilfully rejected.

OFFERERS:

Richard Baxter Pastor of the Church at Kidderminster.

W E whose Names are Subscribed, differing from Infant-Baptism, heartily accept this Offered Agreement, as followeth:

In the first Rank.

In the second Rank.

In the third Rank.

Optatus Adv. Parm. l. 3. p. 75.
946. Before this I had occasion to make a more particular trial for Union with the Independent Brethren. I knew Mr. Pcb. Nye had very great power with them, and he being in the Country, I defined him to give me in Writing all those things which of necessity must be granted them by the Presbyterians, in order to Concord and Conjunction in the same Associations and Communion: He referred me to the Debates in the Assembly at Westminster which are in print: I urged him to give them me under his Hand, which at that time he did not, but the next Year I prevailed with him, and he wrote down these two as sufficient Concessions to our desired End: [*The first was, that they might have Liberty to take Church-Members out of other Parishes. And the second, that they might have all Church Power within themselves, in their several Congregations.] I asked him, if I accommodated them in both these, whether really they would unite with us as aforesaid. And he told me that they would: Whereupon I drew up this Form of Agreement following, which I thought granted them both these: But as so as that they should be Members of constant Associations, and meet with us in our Synods; and that they should do this not as subject to the Government of those Synods, but as using them for Concord between the Churches, and so take their Resolutions not as Laws, but as Agreements: And that before they took any Member out of any other Parish, it should be debated in such Assemblies or Synods, and there it should be tried whether the Person had sufficient Cause to withdraw his Communion from the Parish of which he was a Member: And if the Cause were just he might be allowed; but if the Cause were heretical or truly Schismatical they should hear what the Synod could say against it: and if they judged the Error tolerable they would tolerate it, if their Reasons could not satisfy; if they judged it intolerable, the worse could be but our disowning the Fact, and again receding from their Communion. He told me that it would cast a Sturr on them to be as it were communicated by us, that were the greater Number. I told him, 
1. That it was not likely that Men who so much desired their Communion, would communicate them for the very same things, which we knew they held before we defined it. 2. That whether they associated with us or not, we could publish and practice Non-communion with them on the same Causes: And it was likelier to be avoided if they would be present with us, and plead their own Cause. 3. That a stated Alienation or Division should not be kept up, for fear of a possible removal again of some one Person. 

Next he told me that the Point of Ordination was not yet accommodated, which he comprised under [Church-Power]. I offered him that if any of their Pastors died or removed, if the succeeding Pastor were ordained either by any remaining Pastor of that Church, or by any Pastors of other Churches, of their own Party or the other, we would hold Communion with them as Pastors. He denied to yield to this, and required, that if neither any Pastor of their own Church, or any other ordained them they might be held as Pastors. I told him, 
1. He knew that was against the Judgment of those that they were to agree with. 2. That Mr. Narton and others of their own way confesi, that it is lawful for Pastors of another Church to lay on Hands in their Ordination; and why should he not yield for Peace in a Point, which they condemned lawful; as long as they are not obliged thereby to acknowledge any Subjection to any other Church, but might receive it on their own Grounds. 3. Or if they would not yield to this at all, we might have Communion with them as Christians, without acknowledging them for Pastors. But upon this he receded, and came no nearer to any Agreement with us.

In this Interval I wrote to him the following Letter.
Reverend Sir,

I have adventured, according to my Promise, to send you my Thoughts of the ready way of Agreement, between the Honest and Moderate of the Presbyterian, Congregational, yeà, and Episcopall way. I purposely avoid the wording of a Form of Agreement, it being none of my Task, and such an Anticipation may do hurt; and therefore I shall give you only the Materials unpolished.

Prop. 1. About the Matter of particular Churches, as you express no Disagreement, I find none in the printed Debates; and therefore take it forgranted, that we are at one: That cohabiting Christians are the fit matter of such Churches; or visible Believers, visible Saints, professing Believers, and Saints, &c. which come all to one. As to the Execution there will be a Difference even among Congregational Men, or Presbyterians themselves; according to their several Tempers, some more Charitable, some more Cenfurious, some more Strict, and some more Remiss.

With the Anabaptists we are agreed of the Matter as to the Membra perfetta, (except with them that make re-baptising essential) but not so to Infants, who are Membra imperfecta.

2. We are agreed that every Christian (where such a Benefit may be had) should or be or seek to be a Member of some particular Church, and know his own Overseers, and every Overseer should endeavour to know all his Flock.

3. We are agreed that as some Discovery of Content on both Parts (the Parties and People) is necessary to the being of the Members of a political particular Church: So that the most express Declaration of that Content, is the most plain and satisfactory Dealing, and most obliging, and likest to attain the Ends; and therefore ceteris paribus, where it may be had, is the best.

4. We are agreed that all fit means should be used, even in the Determination of Circumstances, to preserve the Union and Peace of Christians and Churches, and that ordinarily the bounding of Churches as to Habitation, is a meet means to these Ends, and that ordinarily Parishes are fit Bounds: Or at least we are agreed that those shall be ordinarily taken for the Bounds to avoid Inconveniences; not including all in the Parishes, but confining Churches to those Circuits ordinarily. Yet we agree that this ordinary Rule hath its Exceptions; as for Example, 1. If Parishes be too spacious that all the People are not Co-habitants capable of the Ends of Communion 2. If the Parish be too populous (of fit Persona) as that there are more than are fit for a particular Church. 3. If the Parish be too small or bad, that there are not enough to be Materials of a Church, it may be joined by consent to the next. 4. If there be no Pastor, or none fit to be inhabited. 5. If any Ordinance be fitly wanting which may be had elsewhere, and is needful to the Parish's Edification, and if he cannot procure it in the Church where he is, and yet cannot remove his Habitation to another, without more loss to himself and to the Christian Interest, then it is like to receive by his joining to another without Removal. 6. If he cannot have personal Communion with them without his own actual Sin, and yet cannot remove his Dwelling but as aforesaid. 7. If Difference in some small Opinion ill managed shall make him burdened to the Church where he is, who yet may live peaceably with a Neighbour-Church of his Opinion and cannot remove out as aforesaid. 8. To comprehend all in this General, we are agreed that no Man that is a Member of another Parish, should be received into our Churches, where it can be proved that it is to the Wrong of the common Good or Christian Interest, especially when he is a Member of another Church as well as another Parish. The Sum is, Parishes shall be the ordinary Bounds, but in necessary Cases and no other, you shall except and be free from them.

5. Whereas the Presbyterians say, that the Ecclesia prima particularis politica, may consist of one only Congregation; and the Congregational say, it must consist of one only Congregation: The little shall yield to the opinion, and it will be agreed that de facto, our particular political Churches shall consist but of one Congregation ordinarily; allowing the Liberty either of Chapels or private Meetings for the Use of the Church, that by reason of Age, Weakness, or other Impediments cannot always come so far as the common Meeting of the Church. And consequently we shall agree that the Number of a particular Church exceed not so many as are ordinarily
ordinarily capable of personal local Communion in God's Worship, which is a chief end of their Conjunction.

6. We are agreed that these particular political Churches should consist of two parts, Officers and their Flock, the ruling part and the ruled part; and all the great Controversies that have troubled us about the People's Power of Government, shall be thus agreed; confess but this [that Pastors are the Overseers, Teachers, Guides, or Rulers of their Flocks, and are over the People in the Lord, and that the People are bound to obey those that rule over them, that watch for their Souls]; and let all the rest be silenced.

7. We agree that it is met that in every particular Church there be usual Meetings of the Officers and Delegates (if the Church see cause) or other persons that shall desire to be present for the hearing and trying causes, before they are brought to the open Assembly. And therefore where they can be had, there should be many Officers in a Church.

8. Whereas there be three Opinions about afflicting Elders: 1. That they should be Men of the same Office with the Pastors, Ordained and Authorized to Administer Sacraments, and Preach when it is necessary, though they may divide their Work in the Execution. 2. That they should be a distinct Office unordained, and not authorized to Preach or Administer Sacraments. 3. That they should be unordained and no Officers, but the more Trustees of the People, deputed by them to do that only which private Members may do, let this Controversie be wholly laid aside, and all left to their liberty in this matter.

9. These particular Churches shall have power to govern within themselves (being once Confitted) Excommunication it fell not excepted. Only their Conjunction and Ordination of their Pastors must be agreed on as followeth.

10. It is the Judgment of the Presbyterians that Ordination by Overseers or Pastors is of Necessity to the Being of an Overseer or Pastor, where it may be had; and that same Ruling Officer is an essential part of a Political Church (though not of a mere Community); and that Impostition of Hands is a fit Ceremony, and to be used as of Divine Appointment, though not Essential to Ordination. It is the Judgment of the Congregational that Ordination by such Teaching Elders is lawful, if not of necessity; and that Impostition of Hands is lawful: In all this therefore let the least floop to the oportus. Agree that you will not do facto eflatibili any Pastor or Teacher over a particular Church without Ordination by teaching Elders, leaving the point of necessity undetermined, (except in case of necessity when such Ordination cannot be had). And also that you will submit to Impostion of Hands, as a thing lawful: Only for those that think Impostion to be unlawful, agreeing in other things, an Ordination without Impostion (as an extraordinary Indulgence to a tender Conscience) may be tolerated.

11. As a local personal Communion of individual Chritians is necessary in particular Churches to a Concatination, or Union and Communion of these Churches, by Officers, Delegates, as the Joints and Ligaments, is a great Duty and desirable Mercy, which I hope we are all agreed to value, seek and maintain.

12. For this end it is agreed by us, that there shall be known times and places of meeting agreed on, which all the Pastors shall frequent as oft as they well can, not forbidding any of our People that are desirous to be with us.

13. None shall be taken into these Associations, but approved Men for Godliness and Ability, and that by consent of the associated Ministers, and none refused that are fit for our Communion.

14. The Work of these Assemblies shall not be to make Laws, to the Churches or any of their Brethren, to bind them ex autoritate imperantis, as if they were to exercise a proper Legislative Power: Nor yet by Agreement to determine of any unnecessary things, and make those to be Duties which are not so in themselves; much less to lay the Union of the Churches on high unnecessary determinations; nor yet to exercise any coercive Power by bodily Penalties or Multas, and least of all to bind Men to sin against God; but it shall be to agree upon the unanimous Discharge of our Duties which God hath imposed to maintain Love and Concord, and remove all Offences and Strangeness and other Occasions of Division; to encourage and strengthen one another by Exhortation and Prayer, to know who are call out of the several Churches, that we may concur in avoiding those that are to be avoided; to discern to whom our Communion should extend; to increase the Reputation of God's Work in our Hands, both to those within our Communion and those without it, by our Concord and

15.)
Unanimity; and so to further the Success of our Labours; to help the younger Ministers by some profitable Exercises, and to help one another by common Advice, especially in cases of great difficulty. In general it shall be for Union and Communion of Churches and Pastors, and for the Benefits that come by both.

Being all agreed on this much, if any think that such Synods are also for Excess Government of particular Pastors and Churches, as a higher governing Order or Power, such shall keep that Opinion to themselves, and not impose it on others, as necessary to our Agreement or Communion. Or if those that hold Synods to have a direct ruling Power over particular Pastors and Churches, and those that hold them to have only an agreeable Power in order to Communion: Or any of these shall think that they are bound in Conscience to declare their Principles in associating and assembl rage, they shall all have Liberty to declare and register it, so they will offer to peaceably on in their Association; though we determine that the Principles were silenced.

15. But as we are agreed that it belonged to these Conventions to discern and judge what particular Churches, Ministers, or other Persons are fit or unfit for their common Communion when the Cognizance of it is necessary, and this extended Communion is a thing to be valued and fought, so consequent in order to such Ends, it is the Duty of particular Churches, Pastors, or other Persons to render an account of their Doctrines and Practices to these Assemblies, when upon considerable Occasions, or other just Cause it is defined.

16. If these Assemblies in order to Unity or the Progrefs of Religion, shall agree in the Determination of some Circumstances, not expressly determined in Scripture, supposing that the Determination is needful and agreeable to the general Rules of Scripture, every Church and Pastor ought to stand to this Agreement, for the sake of Concord, if they do not judge it to be a Sin that is agreed to, though they see not the necessity. E. g. The Time and Place of their Convention must be agreed on by them, and the last part must yield to the greater; or else by different, no time or place may ever be agreed on. So that if the greater part agree on one Translation of the Bible, to be read in all the associated Churches or on one Version of the Singing Psalms, it will tend much to Edification, and agrees with the Scripture Commands of Unity. If therefore that which they agree on seem to a particular Church or Pastor no better than another Version, or scarce so good; yet for Unity (if it be not unlawful, or like to be more hurtful than the Diversity will be) they ought to consent. But still it is remembered that the Churches Peace or Unity should be laid by Agreements on nothing unnecessary. And therefore all agreements may not be reconciled with an avoiding all Differences.

17. Because in the great Case of taking Members from other Churches or Parishes] the Exception from the general Rule, (of Parish Limits) cannot be so enumerated as punctually to resolve each Doubt that may occur, let us first lay down what Rules or Exceptions we can agree on; at least this general, that we will take no such Person into our Churches, when it tendeth more to the hurt than the furtherance of the common Good and Christian Cause: And therefore that we will first bring the particular case to the Association, or at least be there responsible concerning it, as we are about other Church Affairs. Accordingly when any is actually offended, that another hath taken a Member out of his or another's Church or Parish, let the Association hear the case on both sides; and if they judge the accused there is an End; if not, they are to convince him or them that they go against some Rule of Scripture or Nature, e. g. against the Honour of Christ, and good of the Churches or Christian Cause. And if neither he nor they can be convinced nor brought to reform (after sufficient Admonition) it must be considered whether the case be small and tolerable, or great and intolerable:

If the former, we must bear with it, yet professing our Judgment against it; if intolerable, we must proceed to disfranchise Communion with the guilty, and so to exclude them from the Association and common Communion, which yet must not be done but in heinous cases. And thus the particular cases must be tried and concluded as they fall out, for there is no laying down any Rule beforehand that will be at all cases particularly.

18. Thole first Associations being composed of such Pastors and Churches as are near and within a capacity of such Communion (as aforesaid) voluntarily combined, should also hold correspondence with Neighbour Associations, either by Delegates in some more general Meetings (as in each County one); or at least, by
by Letters and Messengers; which Communion is to be extended, even as far as our Natural Capacity extendeth, and the Edification or Preservation of the Churches shall require it.

And thus the Presbyterians and Congregational Men are agreed, if they are willing. If all will not, let those agree that have hearts, and not stay for the rest.

And here you see a Satisfaction to your two Demands. My Question was, What are the things that the Congregational must have, and will insist on, the denial whereof doth hinder our Unity and Agreement. Your Answer was in these words, To manage all Church Affairs by the Elders and Brethren within themselves, and without dependence, unless for Advice, on any other Ecclesiastical Power. To take in such as are qualified and freely offer themselves to join, though of other Parishes. Yet so, as if a particular Church in that Parish, which for the Substance is gathered, according to the Order of the Gospel, and the Party a Member thereof, an account is to be given to the Church or the Elders of it, of the Cause of his removal, that it may be, if possible, with content. And this is all that hinders our Agreement it seems. Alas, 1. For the first, it is granted you in terms, only in point of Ordination: yield but to be Ordained by Teaching Elders, which you confess lawful, and others think necessary. And remember. 1. That to depend on other Ecclesiastical Power, even for Advice, is a great dependence. 2. That to depend on them, not as a Superior Power, but as a Link upon the Chain, for Union and Communion, we cannot exempt you from, nor will you fure define it. There is a fourfold Advice; 1. An Authoritative Advice of Governors (as Parents, Schoolmasters, Preachers,) to their Inferiors, who are bound to obey them, on a double account, ratione materiae & auctoritate. Thus the Preachers in a Synod advise their Flocks conjointly. 2. The Authoritative Advice of one Officer to another. And so, as we preach to one another, I think as Christ's Ministers, we must advise one another. 3. An Advice of a Major part among Equals in Order to Union and Concord, and this is the Principal to be respected in these Conventions. 4. An Advice of a private Person, not authorized by Office, and this binds but ratione materiae, &c. To your second, you will grant (as I hope by the printed Debates) that ordinarily Parish-bounds, shall be the Rule for Limitation (alter Parishes if they be amis) and that you will not srove from this Rule, but upon necessary Caufe, and not when it is the apparent wrong of the Caufe and Interest of Christ, and you will yield to be responsible to the Association which you are a Member of, concerning the Caufe, when you are questioned. And this shall agree us.

And why should I not add two Propositions for Peace with the Episcopal? That way, or the Persons are not so contemptible (if you consider the Antiquity, the great Difficulty, their Number and Extent, and the Works of many of them) as to be refused our Communion, though on some Abatements to them.

Prop. 19. Let therefore these Presbyteries of particular Churches have one to be the flared President, as long as he is found fit, and let all the Associations (at least where Episcopal worthy Men require it) have such fixed Presidents, quam des bene se gettern (as your Assembly at Westminster had) by common Consent. Bihop Hall and Upham say, this will satisfy, but it will not without the next.

Prop. 20. Seeing the Presbyterians and Congregational say, That (except in a cause of necessity) it's lawful to forbear Ordination till the President be there, and one, and to take him with you; and the Episcopal say, That it's of necessity therefore let the Caufe of Necessity and the Title be purposely silenced, and left to each Man's Judgment; but de facto, let your List yield for Peace to their Opinions, at least for some years trial. And agree to Ordain none (but in necessity) without the President, as he shall Ordain none without the Consent of the Association, or at least the Elders of the Church where he is President, and where he ordained (if there be any left). I suppose, as to a Parochial or Congregational President, in one Eldership, you will grant this! and why not to the President of the Association for Peace; when he is Ordained a Pastor of your particular Church, is therupon made an Officer in the Universal, therefore others should have some care of it, or else——— I'll let Objections pass in silence, only define you, if these two last dislike you, not therefore pretend to reject the rest, but lay these by.
§ 47. After this I was yet desirous to make a fuller Attempt for the reconciling of those Controversies, so far as that we might hold Communion together: And I drew up a larger Writing, insinuating in about Ten Points of Difference between the Presbyterians and Independants, proving that the Differences were not such as should hinder Concord and Communion: The Writing being too large to be here inserted, you shall have with the rest at the end of the History. Since Pre-lacy was restored there hath been no Opportunity to Debate these Matters, for the Reasons aforesaid, and many others: Only I put these Papers into Mr. G. Griffith's hand, who speaketh much for Reconciliation: And when I called for them about a year after, he had shewed them to none, nor made any use of them, which might tend to the desired Concord; and so I took them away, as expecting no more succors.

§ 48. About the same time, the great Controversie that troubled all the Church being about the Qualification of Church-Members, I apprehended that the want of a due and solemn manner of Transition from the Number of Infant-Members into the Number of the Adult, was the cause both of Anabaptistry and Independency, and that the right performance of this (as Calvin, and our Rubrick in the Common Prayer would have Confirmation performed) would be the most excellent Expedient both for Reformation and Reconciliation (finding that the Independants themelves approved of it). I meditated how to get this way of refixed Confirmation restored and introduced: when in the mean time came forth a Treatise for this way of Confirmation by Mr. Jonathan Hammere, very judiciously and piously written: And because it was sent me with a Request to write my Judgment of it, I put an Epistle before it, farther to prove the desirableness of the thing! The Book was very well accepted when it came abroad: but some wrote to me, desiring me not only to shew the usefulness of it; but also to produce some fuller Scripture Proofs that it is a Duty: whereupon I wrote a little Treatise that is called, [Confirmation the way to Reformation and Reconciliation]: And in my own Congregation I began so much of the Practice of it, as is acknowledged to belong to Presbyters to do.

§ 49. And about the same time, while Cromwell professed to do all that he could for the equal promoting of Godliness and Peace, and the Magistrates Assistance greatly facilitating the Work of the Ministers, and many Ministers neglected their Duty because the Magistrate compelled not the People to submit to them, and some never administered the Lord's Supper, because they thought nothing but Conformity by the Magistrate would enable them to do it aright. And on the other Extrem, Cromwell himself, and such others, commonly gave out that they could not understand what the Magistrate had to do in Matters of Religion; and they thought that all Men should be left to their own Conficences, and that the Magistrate could not interpose but he should be ensnared in the Guilt of Persecution; I say, while these Extremes prevailed, upon the Discourses of some Independants, I offered them a few Proposals suited to those Times, containing those few Duties by which a willing Magistrate might easily settle the Church in a safe and holy Peace, without incurring the guilt of Persecution or Profaneness or Licentiousness: but having no Correspondency with Cromwell, or any of his Council, they were never shewed, or made use of any further, than for the perusal of him to whom I gave them, (who being one of their Faction, I thought it possible he might have further improved them). The Paper was this which followeth:
By the Establishment of what is contained in these Twelve Propositions or Articles following, the Churches in these Nations may have a Holy Communion, Peace and Concord, without any Wrong to the Consciences or Liberties of Presbyterians, Congregational, Episcopal, or any other Christians.

1. Forasmuch as God hath appointed Magistracy and Ministry, as Functions of a different kind, but both necessary to the welfare of Mankind, and both for the Church and the Salvation of Men, and the maintaining of due Obedience to God: Therefore let not either of them invade the Function of the other. Let Ministers have no Power of Violence, by inflicting Corporal Penalties or Mutilats; nor be the Judges, (though in Cales of Herefie or Impiety,) who is to be so punished, and who not: but let them not be denied to be the Ministers of Christ, and Guides of the Church: And therefore let the Word of God be their only Rule what they must Preach, and whom they must Baptize, and receive into the Church, and to whom they must Administer the Lord's Supper, and whom they must Reprove, Admonish, Reject or Abolive; and so for the restraint of their Ministerial Work. And let not Princes or Parliaments make them Rules, and tell them whom to admit or reject; otherwife than from the Word of God; for according to this Rule we are bound to proceed whatever we suffer for it. But yet as the Magistrate is by us to be instructed and guided according to the Word of God, so we are by him to be commanded and punished if we offend. And therefore we acknowledge it his Duty to command us to Teach and Govern the Churches according to the Word of God, and to punish us if we disobey, and we must submit to such commands and punishments. And therefore if the Parliament fee cause to make any Laws, according to which their Judges and Officers shall proceed in punishing Ministers for Male-administration, we shall not disobey them, if agreeable to God's Word; if not, we shall obey God, and patiently suffer from them.

2. Seeing there is very much difference between an Infant state of Church-Membership and an Adult; one being but imperfect Members in composition of the other; and one being admitted on the Condition they be but the Seed of the Faithful, and the others Title having another Condition, even a Faith or Profession of their own; and one having right only to Infant Privilegges, and not to the Lord's Supper and other parts of Communion proper to the Adult, because they are not capable of it. And seeing the great pollution of our Churches, and much of our Distraction in Matters of Church-Order is from the careless, unobserved, irregular Transition out of the state of Infant Membership, into the state of Adult Membership; every ignorant Man almost taking himself for an Adult Member, because by Baptism he was made an Infant Member, and hath customary been present at Publick Worship; Let the distinction therefore between Infant Members and Adult be more observed in every Parish; and let the Transition out of the one state into the other be more solemn and regular under the Judgment of the Guides of the Church: That no Person may be admitted to be an Adult Member but by the Minister in the face of the Congregation (ordinarily) after a Solemn Profess of the Faith, Repentance, and Resolution for a Holy Life, of the Person admitted; to which there must be the preparation of Catechising, and of a Conversation that contradiceth not the Profession to made.

1. This was the Course of the Ancient Churches, who catechized Children, and admitted them among the Confirmed Members by Imposition of Hands.

2. The Divines of the Reformed Churches commonly own it, and with it in their Writings.

3. The Episcopal Divines in the Rubrick of the Common Prayer, Ordained that none should be admitted to the Sacrament till after Catechising, and a Certificate under the Minister's or Curate's hand, he were confirmed by the Bishop, (though it was done to little purpose by them).

4. The Presbyterians Examination of Men before the Sacrament intimated the like.

5. The Congregational Men's trial of particular Church-Members importeth their approbation of this.

6. The Anabaptists by going farther, do seem to be permitted of God, of purpose to awaken us to this Duty; and I think they will continue to be our Sorge till this be done; and this will half justify some among them that are moderate, and silence many Objections of the rest.

3. Let
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

3. Let the Ministers approved by the State, be constrained to Catechize, and personally instruct, and publicly preach to all the Persons in their Parishes (according to their strength and opportunity) in order to prepare such as are willing to learn, for an Adult state of Christianity, as the ancient Churches did their Catechumen. And let the young, and ignorant, and ungodly of this Rank, be compelled by some moderate Penalty to hear and confer with the Teachers, and be instructed and catechized by them. And let no Ministers be suffered to administer the Lord's Supper to any that have not been admitted (as aforesaid upon a Profession of Faith and Holiness) into the number of Adult Members.

4. Seeing a particular Church must consist of [Christians cohabiting and conforming] let Parishes be the ordinary Bounds of Churches, so that all the Adult Members of the Universal Church (and no other at Age) within that Parish, who do conform, be Members of that particular Church (into which they are first admitted, or whether into both at once, we need not determine): And if any be taken out of other adjoining Parishes, let it be by exception from the common Rule. And seeing there are many Cases in which Members may be taken out of other Parishes, the Differences thereabout may be denied, as is after declared, Prop.8. §11.

5. The Pastors of particular Churches have power to Teach and Rule those Churches according to the Word of God, and the People are bound to obey them, love them, honour them, and obey them, 1 Tim. 5. 17. 1 Thess. 5. 12. Heb. 13. 7, 17. Therefore let them use the Power of Administering all Congregational Worship, and the Keys for Binding and Loosening within their own Congregations: And let it be granted to them that desire it; at least, for Peace and Concord sake, that they be not forced to Submission to any pretending to a Superior, Governing Power, besides the Magistrate.

6. As particular Christians must hold Communion in particular Churches, for the Worship of God and their mutual Edification; so particular Churches must all hold such a Correspondency and Communion with one another, so far as their Capacity extends, as most tendeth to the Edification, Strengthening, Peace and Concord of them all, and to the Publick Prosperity and the Success of the Gospel among them, and in the World. The whole Church being one Body, must maintain the Union and Communion of the Parts, and do God's Work in the greatest Concord that they can, and with the best Advantages.

7. This cannot be done well without Meetings to these Ends: nor those Meetings be improved to the best advantage, unless the Times and Places be fixed and commonly known: And as the use of them is ordinary, so the Assemblies should be ordinary, and not only seldom in some extraordinary Cases: Nor is any sort of Men to fit to manage them as Ministers, who have most Ability and Leisure, being wholly set apart to the Work of the Gospel. It is therefore meet that there be known Times and Places of Meeting, where Ministers, and as many more as the Churches shall think fit, may assemble: Every Minister (or Church) according to their conveniency, choosing of what Association they will be; which ordinarily they should frequent; and which should consist of such, and only such, as for Piety, Ability, and faithful Diligence are fit for the Ministry and such Communion.

8. If it be the Judgment of some that these Assemblies have a Superior governing Power over the particular Pastors, and of others, that they are only for Communication and mutual Affiliation, they shall either keep their several Opinions to themselves, or at least, having professed and recorded them, shall continue their Preference and Affiliation to those lower ends that are agreed upon: Not to make new Laws for the Churches, or any of the Members of the Assemblies, to bind by a ruling Power; but to consult, and advise, and agree; nor yet to agree upon things unnecessary; nor lay the Churches Unity upon such; much less to exercise any magisterial coercive Power: But, 1. To open any occurring difficult Cases in Doctrine or Practice, that befal any particular Church or Pastor, wherein they need their Brethren's Advice. 2. To agree upon the best and profitable manner of managing the Work of God in regard of undetermined Circumstances, in cases where Uniformity will further the Work. As for Example, what Translation of Scripture to use, what Version of the Psalms to sing, &c. 3. To communicate those Affairs of the Churches that are of common concernment; to give notice of such as one Church hath excommunicated, that other Churches may avoid them, or else they may have Familiarity with all other Christians about them, and be entered among them as Members, and so Excommunication will lose its force and
The LIFE of the

mills of its Ends. 4. To maintain personal Unity among Ministers, by Familiarity and Correspondency, and to heal Divisions, and Differences, and Enmities; and cherish Brotherly-love. 5. In cases any be injuriously called out of any Neighbour-Church (as for profligating found Doctrine against some Errors of that Church, or the like) to confult of it, that we may not also injuriously exclude him from our common Communion. 6. In such cases of Error or Male-administration, to admonish Neighbour Ministers and Churches; as also in case of any Abuses of their Pastors, or choice of unfound, heretical or ungodly Pastors, or cherishing Seducers or ungodly Persons in their Churches, or neglecting Discipline, or falling to looleans, or in case of Scandals among them, or of Offences and Divisions among themselves, or between them and some Neighbour-Church, or many such cases, the Advice and Admonitions of the Neighbour associated Ministers should be directed to them for their Recovery; which cases single Ministers cannot so well be informed of, nor perform their Duty with so much Advantage as the Associations may. 7. To concur in some Admonitions to the intractable and incorrigible of our several Parishes, that they that will not hear their own Teachers through any Prejudices, may be prevailed with by many; and to strengthen our Hands and the Reputation of our Doctrine and common Duties with the People, by our Unity and Concord. 8. To help one another, but especially the younger sort of Ministers, to whom it may be an Academy, by Conference, Disputations, and other profitable Exercises and preaching (they that ordinarily preach have need sometimes to hear and to have a Communication from their Brethren's Gifts, as well as the People have from them). 9. Those Ministers that scruple cenfuring any Offender without the concurrence of other Ministers, may there take their content; and young Ministers that are unskilful in managing such Works, may take Advice. 10. We may here agree upon the fittest manner, and season, and persons, and places, in our helping the Congregations that are ignorant, ill-provided, or unprovided of Ministers, or dangerously corrupted; and may advise any Neighbour Churches that tend to us to help them to a fit Minister, or in such cases. 11. Because it is impossible to enumerate punctually the cases in which it is lawful to take Members to a particular Church, out of another Church or Parish, all Churches and Pastors shall give an account of any such Action to the Associations, if any be offended with them; Where it shall be enquird, whether the Action be dishonourable to God, and injurious to the publick Good of the Churches; if it be not, the Offence is removed: If they find it be, the Parties offending are to be admonished; and if they give not Satisfaction, it is to be enquired whether there be any thing in the Principles and manner of the Action that makes it an insupportable Offence to the Churches: If there be, then after sufficiently Admonishing and warning the Guilty, if impenitent, are to be call out of our common Communion, or the Churches to resolve to have no Christian Communion with them. But if there be no such heinous intolerable Ingredient, we must be content only to admonish them, and disown the Sin, and continue Communion with them. In like manner if any Scandal be raised of any Brother of the Association, or if any have an Accusation against him, we must hear them, and he must be responsible; and give account of his Ways; though not as to his Governors, yet as to his Brethren, to remove Offence, and to keep clear the way of holy Communion. 12. It will be most regular, and avoid the hurt of the Churches, if Ordination of Ministers be either performed by these Assemblies, or the Ministers to be ordained be here tried and approved, and the Ordination to be performed in the Church to which he is ordained by such as they appoint, or by the teaching Elders of that Church; it being after their Approbation of the Person. In these Twelve Particulars you may see what use there is of these Ministerial Associations and Assemblies, without meddling with a superior governing Power; and how great Reafon there is that all sober, godly, peaceable Ministers should join in them; even for communion of Pastors and Churches, and the promoting of our common Work and Welfare.

9. Let these Associations chuse their Presidents or Moderators, (and any fit Name by which they will call him;) and determine whether he shall be pro tempore, or how long, or fixed as long as he live, and is the fittest, according to the Judgment of the Ministers: For this is not a case in which Men can be forced from their Liberty: And if any will so far make use of his Advice, as to be guided by him, as none can deny him that Liberty of his own Mind, so he must not seek to bind all others to the same Subjection; but those that bring themselves to it by the same Elation have their Liberty as he.

10. Though
Though it be not of necessity, yet would it be of great convenience and use, if the Magistrates would be with us, or appoint some Substitutes to represent him in all our Assemblies, that he may be a Witness of our Proceedings, and be that we do right to the Commonwealth, and avoid all Sufferings that may be occasioned by Rumors: But principally that he may see how far it is meet for him in any case to second us by his Power. For as in many cases the Power of the Magistrate ought to be used to second the Ministry, (as to restrain Men from publishing damnable Heresies, from disturbing the Churches Peace, &c.) so I think it a vile abuse of Magistrates to require them, to be the meet, Exception of our Sentences, and to punish Men only because we have Excommunicated them, before he knew the justness of the cause. As the Church or Magistrates are Judges, when the Question is [whether such a Man is to be avoided, rejected, or excommunicated for Heresy or any Sin? ] to the Magistrate only is Judge when the Question is, [whether he be to be corporally punished for Heresy or any Sin? ] and therefore he must know the cause.

11. As those Neighbour-Ministers that live at convenient Distance for such Communion, should hold such Associations as aforesaid, to the Communion of Christians and Pastors in special being to be extended as far as natural and moral capacity will permit, it is meet that there be for more extensive Communion, some more general Assemblies of the Ministers, to be hold by the Delegates of the Associations, for matters that are of more general Concernment; yet, and that by Messengers and Letters we hold such correspondence with the Churches of Christ abroad, as is necessary to promote the common Cause, and the Love and Communion of the Saints.

12. If these Associations should attempt any thing unjust and injurious to the Commonwealth, or a corrupt Majority should grow in time to countenance either Heresy or Ungodliness, or they should by Contentions among themselves disturb the Peace of the Churches, and divide them, and fall a railing at, or communicating scandalously one another, it is here the Magistrates Duty to interpose, and reprove, and correct them, and displace the unworthy, and set all in joint again by Violence, and secure the Peace of Church and State. And neither Pope, Prelate, nor Council should take this Work upon them which is his. And therefore Magistrates should be Wise and Holy, and fit for to great a Charge as they undertake.

It must be still noted that all this was when Diocesan were put down, and few few any probability of restoring them, and many religious Persons dreaded such a Restoration.

§ 50. When Cromwell’s Faction were making him Protector, they drew up a Thing which they called. [ The Government of England, &c.] Therein they determined that all should have Liberty or free Exercise of their Religion, who professed Faith in God by Jesus Christ. After this he called a Parliament, which examined this Instrument of Government; and when they came to those words, the Orthodox Party affirmed, That if they make de re, and not de nomine [ Faith in God by Jesus Christ ] could contain no less than the Fundamentals of Religion; whereupon it was pasturized that all should have a due measure of Liberty who professed the Fundamentals. Hereupon the Committee appointed to that Business were required to nominate certain Divines to draw up in terms the Fundamentals of Religion; to be as a Test in this Toleration. The Committee being about Fourteen, named every one his Man: The Lord Brougham (after Earl of Orrery, and Lord President of Munster, and one of his Majesty’s Privy Council) named the Prime of Ireland, Archbishop Usher: When he (because of his Age and Unwillingness to wrangle with such Men as were to join with him) had relented the Service, the Lord Brougham nominated him in his stead: Whereupon I was sent for up to London: But before I came the rest had begun their Work, and drawn up some few of the Propositions which they called Fundamentals: The Men that I found there were, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Roser, Dr. Cheynell, Dr. Goodwin, Dr. Owen, Mr. Nye, Mr. Sydney, Symonds, Mr. Vince, Mr. Manche, and Mr. Jacomb.

§ 51. I knew how ticklish a Business the Enumeration of Fundamentals was, and of what very ill Consequence it would be if it were ill done; and how unsatisfactorily that Question [ What are your Fundamentals? ] is usually answered to the Papists. My own Judgment was this, that we must distinguish between the Sense (or matter) and the Words; and that it’s only the Sense that is primarily and properly
perly our Fundamentals: and the Words no further than as they are needful to express that Sense to others, or represent it to our own Conception: that the Word [Fundamentals] being Metaphorical and Ambiguous, the Word [Essentials] is much fitter; it being nothing but what is Essential; or Constitutive of true Religion, which is understood by us usually when we speak of Fundamentals: that quad rem there is no more Essential or Fundamental in Religion, but what is contained in our Baptifmal Covenant, [I believe in God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and give up my self in Covenant to him, renouncing the Flesh, the World and the Devil.] He that doth this truly shall be faved; or else sincere Covenanting could not entitle us to the Blessings of the Covenant: And therefore it is that the Ancient Church held that all that are Baptized duly are in a Justified State of Life; because all that sincerely give up themselves in Covenant to God, as our God and Father, our Redeemer and Saviour, our Sanctifier and Comforter, have right to the Blessings of the Covenant. And quad verbo, I suppose that no particular Words in the World are Essentials of our Religion: Otherwife Man could not be faved without the Language which those Words belong to: He that underftaneth not Credo in Deum, may be faved if he believe in God: Alfo I suppose that no particular Formula of Words in any or all Languages is Essential to our Religion: for he that exprefleth his Faith in another form of words, of the fame importance, profefleth a Saving Faith. And as to the Ufe of a Form of Words to exprefs our Belief of the Essential, it is various, and therefore the Form accordingly is variable. If it be to teach another what is the Essence of Religion, a dull bearer must have many Words, when a quick intelligent Perfon by few Words can understand the fame thing. [I believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,] exprefleth all the Essentials intelligibly, to him that hath learned truly to understand the meaning of thefe Words: But to an ignorant Man a large plain Catechifm is short enough to exprefs the fame things. But ato the Ufe of Publick Profefions of Faith, to fatisfy the Church for the Admission of Members, or to fatisfy other Churches to hold Communion with any particular Church, a Form of Words which is neither obscure by too much Concifenefs, nor Tedious or Tautological by a needless Multiplication of Words, I take to be the fittest. To which ends, and because the Ancient Churches had once a happy Union on thofe Terms, I think that this is all that should be required of any Church or Member (ordinarily) to be profefled, [In General I do believe all that is contained in the Sacred Canonical Scriptures, and particularly I believe all explicitly contained in the Ancient Creed, and I define all that is contained in the Lord's Prayer, and I resolve upon Obedience to the Ten Commandments, and whatsoever self I can learn of the Will of God.] And for all other Points, it is enough to prefervre both Truth and Peace, that Men promise not to preach against them, or contradicf them, though they Subcribfe them not.

§ 52. Therefore I would have had the Brethren to have offered the Parliament the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Decalogue alone as our Essentials or Fundamentals; which at leat contain all that is neceffary to Salvation, and hath been by all the Ancient Churches taken for the Sum of their Religion. And whereas they flill fay, [A Socinian or a Papift will Subcribe all this] I anfwered them, So much the better, and fo much the fitter it is to be the Matter of our Concord: But if you are afraid of Communion with Papifts and Socinians, it muft not be avoided by making a new Rule or Telt of Faith which they will not Subcribe to, or by forcing others to Subcribe to more than they can do, but by calling them to account whenever in Preaching or Writing they contradict or abuse the Truth to which they have Subcribed. This is the Work of Government: And we muft not think to make Laws ferve instead of Judgment and Execution; nor muft we make new Laws as if her Heretics will misinterpret and Subcribe the old; for when you have put in all the Words you can devife, none Heretics will put their own Sense on them, and Subcribe them: And we muft not blame God for not making a Law that no Man can misinterpret or break, and think to make fuch a one our felves, because God could not or would not. These Prefumptions and Errors have divided and diftracted the Christian Churches, and one would think Experience should have us from them.

§ 53. But the Brethren refolved that they would hold on the way which they had begun: And though they were honeft and competently judicious Men, yet thofe that managed the Businefs, did want the Judgment and Accurate nefs which fuch a Work required, (though they would think any Man supercilious that should tell them fo): And the tincture of Faction stuck fo upon their Minds, that it hindered their Judgment. The great doer of all that worded the Articles was Dr. Owen.
§ 54. When I saw they would not change their Method, I saw also that there was nothing for me and others of my Mind to do, but only to hinder them from doing harm, and trusting in their own Opinions or crude Concessions, among our Fundamentals. And presently Dr. Owen in extolling the Holy Scriptures, put in that [That no Man could know God or Salvation by any other means]: I told him, that this was neither a Fundamental nor a Truth: and that if among the Papists or any others a poor Christian should believe by the teaching of another, without ever knowing that there is a Scripture, he should be saved, because it is promised, that whoever believed should be saved. He said awhile, That there could be no other way of Saving Revelation of Jesus Christ: I told him that he was falsely revealed by Preaching many years before the New Testament was written. He told us that the Primitive Church was bound to believe no more from the Apostles but what was written before in the Old Testament, and proved thence: I told him that by that Asserion he subverted the Christian Church and Faith: 1. By overthrowing the Material, 2. and the Formal Object of our Faith, or the medium necessary thereto. 1. For the Matter, it is not in the Old Testament, [That this Jesus is the Christ; that he is already incarnate, conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, fulfilled the Law, suffered, was crucified, buried and rose again, ascended into Heaven, and is there at the right hand of God in our Nature, and therein intercedeth for the Church; that he hath instituted the Sacraments, sent his Apostles, given the Holy Ghost to them to direct them into all Truth, &c.] with more of the like. 2. That if Christ and his Apostles were not to be believed for the Image of God appearing on their Doctrine, and the Divine Attestation of Miracles confirming it, then Moses and the Prophets were not for these Reasons to be believed: And consequently not to be believed at all; for there was no reason to believe them, which Christ also gave us not for the belief of him and his Apostles. After a deal of wrangling about these Things, because the Doctor was the hotter, and better befriended in that Assembly, and I was then under great Weakness and Sopperous or Scotomatical Illness of my Head, I asked their leave to give them the Reasons of my Opinion in Writing: which I brought in, and never received any Anser to it. And yet if Mr. Viner (who came but seldom) had not stuck to me when he was there, they would have made the World believe, (as some of them endeavoured) that I was Paphian, and pleaded for the Sufficiency of Tradition to Salvation, without the Scripture. But Bishop Ufier was of the same mind with me, and told me, that he had said the fame to the Jesuits Challenge, Cap. de Tradit.

§ 55. Many other such crude and unlooked Passages (like the Savoy Articles of Justification after put into the Independent Agreement) had come into our New Fundamentals: And all because the over-Orthodox Doctors Owen and Cheynell, took it to be their Duty in all their Fundamentals to put in those words, which (as they said) did obviate the Heresies and Errors of the Divines: Whenas I told them, they should make the Rule to look no way but frant forward, and put in their Rejections after (as the Synod of Dort doth), as being the Contradictions of the Rule. One merry passage I remember occasioned laughter: Mr. Symson caueth them to make this a Fundamental, That [He that alloweth himself or others in any known sin, cannot be saved]. I pleaded against the word [allowed]: and told them that many a Thoufound lived in wilful sin, which they could not be said to [allow themselves] in, but confessed it to be sin; and went on against Conscience, and yet were impenitent, and in a state of Death: And that there seemed a little contradiction between [known sin] and [allowed]: So far as a Man knoweth that he sinneth, he doth not [allow], that is, approve it. Other Exceptions there were; but they would have their way, and my opposition to any thing did but heighten their Resolution: At last I told them, As I told as they were in their opinion and way, I would force them with one word to change or blot out all that Fundamental. I urged them to take my wager; and they would not believe me, but marvelled what I meant: I told them that the Parliament took the Independent way of Separation to be a sin: and when this Article came before them, they would say, By our Brethrens own Judgment we are all damned Men, if we allow the Independents or any other Sectaries in their sin. They gave me no Anwer, but they left out all that Fundamental. The Papers which I gave them were thes.
The Words [by the Revelation of the Scripture] I desired might be either here left out, or changed into [the Revelation of the Gospel; or, the Word of God.] To this you will not consent, because it would intimate that there may be another co-ordinate way of Revealing Christ, besides the written Word by which there may be Salvation. I cannot subscribe to the Article as it stands; of which when I have shewed the point of our Difference, I shall give you my Reasons:

1. Our Difference is not de doctrina tradita; but de modo tradendi: For I have fully acknowledged that there is no Salvation without the Knowledge of the Essentials of the Christian Faith. 2. And that the Light of Nature, and Book of the Creatures is insufficient hereunto: So far we are agreed as to the way of the Revelation. 3. Nor do I doubt of the full Perfection of the Scripture, but detest the Popish Doctrines of Traditions or unwritten Verities to supply what is supposed to be wanting in the Scripture, as if it were but a part of God’s Word for the revealing of these supernatural things: I desired rather that you would more fully express the Scriptures Perfection and Infallability. 4. Nor is it any doubt between us whether Men should wait for further objective Revelations or Additions to the written Word, or whether we should condemn the Errors of the Enthusiasts therein, we are agreed in all this. 5. Nor is the Question de officio, whether it be the Duty of all Men to look out after the written Word, as far as they can, and reft in it. 6. Nor is the Question whether the Scripture only have the proper Nature of a Rule to Judge Controversies by. 7. Nor yet whether Scripture be of necessity to the Church in General. 8. Nor whether it be necessary as a means to the Salvation of all that have it. 9. Nor whether it be the only sufficient means of safe keeping and propagating the whole Truth of God, which is necessary to the Church. 10. But the Question is, of every particular Soul on Earth, whether we may thus affert that there is no Salvation for them, unless they know Christ by the Revelation of the Scripture: And I cannot affert to the Article for these Reasons; 1. It seems a Snare by the unmeet Expreflions. 2. We cannot be certain of the Truth of it. 3. It is not of so great necessity as that all should be cast out of the Miniftry, though in other things Orthodox, that will not own it. 4. Much less is it a Fundamental: Nor dare I judge all to Damnation, that are not herein of your Opinion. 5. It seems to me to be injurious to Chriftianity it fell. 6. And to the present intended Reformation. 7. And to the Parliament. 8. And to our selves.

1. For the firft of these Reasons; It is confifted by fome here, that a Man may be converted by the Doctrine of the Scripture, before he know the Writings or their Authority, and that you intend not to affert that the divine Authority of the Scripture is that primum credibile, which must needs be believed before any Truth therein contained can be favingly believed. And it is thought by fome that your Affertion is made good if it be but proved that all faving Revelation that is now in the World, is from Scripture originally, and subordinate to it, and not co-ordinate. But the obvious Sence of your Words will feem to many to be this, that the particular Knowledge of that Perfon who will be faved, muft be by Scripture Revelation, as the objective Cause or Instrument, even under that Consideration either in the Mind of the Speaker or Hearer, or both. If it should be faid that the Revelation which converted this or that Sinner did arise from the Scriptures a Thousand Years ago: But hath since been taken up as coming another way, and fo there hath been an Intermiffion of ascribing it to the Scripture, as to thele Men by whom it was carried down, this will not feem to agree with your Expreflions. And faying many others muft be Judges of your Sence, who fhall have Power to trie Minifters; hereby you enable them by your obscure Expreflions, to wrong the Church, opprefs their Brethren, and introduce Errors: And it seems you frame a Snare. 2. And you will put every poor Chriftian in thele Places where Chrift’s Faith is known to many but by Verbal Tradition, into an Impoffibility of knowing that they have any true Faith, because they cannot know that it came from the Scriptures.

2. That we are not certain of the Truth of this Affertion, nor can I be Judge; Because there was Salvation from Adam to Moses by Tradition, without the written Word; and there was a confiderable Space of time after Chrift’s Affertion before the Scriptures of the New Testament were written: The firft Chriftians were
were savingly called, and the Churches gathered without these Writings, by the preaching of the Doctrine which is now contained in them: And though that be now necessary to the Safety of the Church and Truth, which was not so necessary when the Apostles were present, yet it is unproved that there is more necessary to the Salvation of every Soul now than was in those Days: And it is considerable that it was not only the preaching of the Apostles, but of all other Publishers of the Gospel in those Times that was in ( suo genere ) sufficient for Conversion without Scripture: Yea, and to the Gentiles that knew not the Scriptures of the Old Testament. 2. If there be no Salvation but by a Scripture Revelation; then, either because there is no other way of revealing the Marrow of the Gospel, or because it will not be faving in another way. But neither of these can be proved true: ( Ergo ) for the latter: 1. The Word of God and Doctrine of his Gospel may save if revealed ( supposing other Necessities in their Kinds): For it sufficeth to the form Object of Faith, that it be veritas revelandia; and to the material Object, that it be, Hoc verum & bonum revelatum, but it must be truly revelatum, though not by Scripture. Ergo 2. God hath promised Salvation to all that truly believe, and not to those that believe only by Scripture-Revelation; nor hath he any where told us that he will annex his Spirits help to no other Revelation. 2. For the former, [ That there is now in the World no other way of revealing the Marrow of the Gospel but by Scripture or from it. ] 1. It cannot be proved by Scripture, as will appear when your Proofs are tried. 2. The contrary is defended by most learned Protestants.

1. A Preceptor, another collateral way of Revelation is commanded by God: Ergo there's another: 2. From certain History and Experience; which speak of the Performance of those Commands; and the Instances they give of both are these: 1. Ministers are commanded to preach the Gospel to all Nations before it was written, and a Promile annexed that Christ would be with them to the end of the World: In Obedience whereunto, not only the Apostles, but Multitudes more did so preach; which was by delivering the great Matter-Verities which are now in the written Word: This Command is not revert by the writing of the Word: And therefore is still a Duty, as to deliver the Gospel Doctrine in and by the Scripture, so collaterally to preach the Substance of that Doctrine as delivered from the Mouth of Christ and his Apostles. 2. Christ commanded before the Gospel was written to baptize Men into the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost for the Pardon of Sin, upon repenting and believing; and for the hope of everlasting Glory upon a holy Life. This was done accordingly both before and since the writing of the Gospel: And to the very Sum and Kernel of the Gospel, and indeed all the true Fundamentals and Essentials of the Chriftian Faith, have been most certainly and constantly delivered down by Baptism; as a collateral way distinct from the written Word; which is evident in the very Succession of Chriftians to this Day. 3. Another means hath been by Symbols, called Creeds and Cathedra which was mostly by opening the Creeds: As Reverend Bishop Ufher hath manifested that the Western Creed, now called the Apostles ( wanting two or three Clauses that now are in it ) was not only before the Nicene Creed; but of such farther Antiquity, that no beginning of it below the Apostles Days can be found: So it is past doubt that in other Words the Churches had still a Symbol or Sum of their Belief, which was the Teft of the Orthodox, and that which the Catechumeni were to be instructed in. Origine, Tertullian, Irenaeus, to speak of none of these below them, do mention and recite them: The Doctrine of this Creed they affirm themselves to have received from the Apostles by verbal Tradition, as well as by Writing. This then hath been a collateral way of delivering down the saving Truths of the Gospel; though a far more imperfect way than by the Scriptures. 4. Another means hath been by Parents teaching these Principles to their Children, which as they were commanded to do, and did before the writing of the Gospel; so did they successively continue it as a collateral way. 5. Another collateral means was in the constant use of the Lord's Supper, in Commemoration of Christ's Death till he come to receive us to Glory, where the very Sum and all the Fundamentals of our Religion are contained; which hath been continued by uninterrupted Succession, even from the time that preceded the writing of the Scriptures, it is therefore conceived possible for some Souls to be converted in darker parts of the World by these or some of these means, without the written Word. 3. The ancient Doctors of the Church affirmed that they had their Doctrine from the Apostles by verbal as well as by written Tradition; Yea, and that if there were no Scripture, yet Tradition might resolve the Doubts against the Here-
ticks, and that (in those Days which were nearer the Spring Head) Tradition was a better way than Scripture to confute Hericks, as Tertullian de Praescript at large, and Irenaeus's Words are well known. Whether in this they mistake or not, I don't determine; yet certainly this may tell us that we cannot conclude that there was then no co-ordinate way of delivering down the Sum of Christian Verity.

4. He that will prove your negative Affertion must either know all the World, and that de facto, there is among them no such Tradition; or else must have some Revelation from God, that there is not any such, nor shall be: But we have neither of these; Ergo we cannot certainly conclude it.

5. We see by Experience that more in substance of other common Precepts and History can be delivered down to posterity by other means, without formal Records: Ergo, to may these: For though they cannot have the golden Cabinet of Scripture, but from the Spirit; nor without the Spirit can Men believe: Yet the Truths may be remembered and delivered as aforesaid.

6. God can deliver the marrow of the Gospel by other means than the Writing; and he hath not told us that he will not: Ergo, for ought we know he doth.

7. We ought not absolutely to exclude extraordinary means when God hath not tried himself from them: It is a dangerous Sin of them that leave the ordinary means and look out for extraordinary, as Spirit of Prophecy, Angels, &c. But to conclude, that God will never reveal Christ by an Angel, to one that hath not the Scripture, is more than we may do: I know not therefore why it is that you would not be prevailed with so much as to add the Word [ordinarily] when yet it's by some affirmed to be your Sense; and by all that it is your Duty to deliver your Sense as plain as you may: So much of my Reasons against the certainty of the Truth of your Affertion.

3. I next add, that it seems not a Point so weighty, as to cast out all that are different from us in this Opinion. My Reasons are, 1. From the Nature of the Thing. 1. It hath so much to be said against the very Truth of it, and so is doubtful.

2. There can no ill Consequences be manifested to rife from the contrary Opinion: Much less so ill as to deserve such a Censure: It is no wrong to Scripture that there is a more imperfect collateral way of delivering some part of the same Truths, no more than it is a wrong to Scripture that the Law of Nature delivers some other Part of them.

2. From the Persons that were of the Opinion contrary to your Affertion: who were the ancient Doctors of the Churches, and many of the most learned,judicious, and godly of the Reform'd Divines, as I undertake to manifest when I have Opportunity, and it is necessary. For my own part, if it were only my self that should be cast out by this Engine, I should say the less; but as I know not how many Hundred may be of the same Mind, and as I think it to be the most common Judgment of Divines, I know little here among us of that Mind, with whom I am not worthy to be named, who would not subscribe to this your Affertion: whereby it seems to me, to be more tolerable to differ from you.

4. Seeing you have voted to lay down only Fundamentals to Salvation first: and upon that Vote have put this as one, you do not only damn all that believe any other way than by the written Word; but you damn all those that will not damn them, by owning this condemning Article. Now, that it is not Fundamental appears; 1. In that the Fathers and choicest reformed Divines were all no Christians.

2. No Creed of the ancient Churches did contain it. 3. It is not of necessity to our believing on Christ the Foundation: A Man may be brought himself by the Scripture to believe, that yet thinks another may believe by verbal Tradition. 4. No Scripture doth expressly (no not implicitly) deliver it; much less as a Fundamental.

5. My next Reason was, that your Affertion and Reason are injurious to the Christian Cause. For 1. When Gospel Truth is delivered down by two Hands you wrong it when you cut off one; when neither is needless. 2. We are able by other ways of Proof to confute the same Inclines that deny the Authority of Scripture; especially when they tell us, that we cannot prove that our Doctrine was delivered from Christ and his Apostles, and not since devised or corrupted by later Hands. Now you would force our Arguments out of our Hands, to the Advantag of the Enemy: Upon the Experience of some late Debates with idolatry Apostles, now Inclines, I am bold with Submission to say, that I would not for all the World to wound the Christian Cause, as it is wounded by those who bencave the Scripture of the Advantages of other Tradition: And think that a Bible found by the way, by one that never heard of it hath the fame Advantages to procure Belief, as Scripture and Scripture Doctrine, and matters of Fact delivered to us by the Hand of certain Tradition.
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Tradition: And 3. By the Reasonings that are brought against co-ordinate. Tradition, you will invalidate sublervient Tradition, which is necessary to convey the very Scriptures from the Apostles; and to assure us that these are all the same Writings; and not corrupt; and which is the Canonical; and that there were no more.

6. My sixth Reason against your Assertion is, That it seems injuries to the Work we have in hand: For 1. you will by any one Error keep or call out many godly Men from the Ministry. 2. You will harden the Libertines when they discern it. 3. And you will do more to introduce an Universal Tolerance, than can be done by most other Means imaginable. For 1. One flaw found in your Work, may cause it to be cast by. 2. It will seem a potent Reason for such Tolerance, when the choicest Enemies shall mistake in their very Fundamentals. 3. You will force us that are your Brethren to petition for Liberty, and then others will think that they may come in at the same Gap.

7. I added, It will be a dishonour to the Parliament. 1. When they shall tend to hard a Work abroad, and establish such a crooked Rule; if they thus receive it from you: if they reject or correct it, it will be their grief to see our Division and Miftake.

8. Lastly, I added, That it will be much to our own dishonour. For, 1. The Parliament will exactly fcin it; and no doubt discover the Miftake. And 2. many too curious Eyes will examine it, and what a reproach will it be to us to be the By-word of Gainfayers: and to hear that such chosen Enemies have erred in their very Fundamentals: and for the Papists to insult over us, and say we can agree in no Confession, and know not yet what Religion we are of: And withal, it may bring us under Jealousies with others, that indeed we are Friends to Universal Tolerance, and made such flaws in our Work to destroy it, and intended to undo all by our overdoing or mildoing.

I should not have presumed to have put you to so much trouble, nor have made any stop in your Work, when the dispatch is so desirable, had not the Consequences of Silence seemed to me fo intolerable.

I only add, 1. I dare not think but Scripture is sufficient both for Matter and Words to afford us Fundamentals, and to any thing which it speaks, I am ready to subscribe. 2. I dare not think that your late Reverend Assembly hath left out the very Fundamentals in their large Confession, to which in this Article I offered to subscribe. 3. I dare not undertake at the day of Judgment to justify that Man from the Charge of damnable Infidelity, who hath had only verbal Tradition of Gods Revelation, of the Sum of Christianity: as if this did not make his Infidelity inexcusable, because he had it not from Scripture. But I think that he shall be damned for his Infidelity, who believest not in Christ, if he have all other Means besides the Scripture to help him to believe.

Ri. Baxter.

After this Paper they new worded the Article: which occasioned the following Paper.

The Article.

[All the means of Revealing Jesu Christ are subordinate and subervient to the Holy Scriptures; and none of them co-ordinate.]

It is no small trouble to me that I was necessitated to be the last delay to your Proceedings, by reason of my unsatisfiedness with the former Article: But that after our Endeavours for a Clofure in that point, and when we thought that all had been brought to Agreement, the Matter of our Difference should be again received, by the Addition of this Article, is yea a greater trouble to me. Not so much for my own sake, as others: left it should offend the Parliament, and open the Mouths of our Adversaries, that we cannot our selves agree in Fundamentals: and let it prove an occasion for others to sue for an Universal Tolerazation.

I am unsatisfied in the last, that is, the Negative Clause of this Article, as I was in the former: 1. As to the Truth of it, and 2. As to the weight of it, as a Test for the Miniflars that shall be allowed to preach. 3. And as to the Neceffity of it to Salvation, as a Fundamental. Concerning the first, it must be remembered that you speak of [All means] of revealing Christ, without any Exception.
Limitation or Restriction; not so much as to [ordinary] means, nor restraining it to means [sufficient to Salvation]. 2. That you deny them to be [co-ordinate] absolutely also, without any distinction, exception or limitation. 3. I define it may be observed, that I am not my self imputing any Terms on you, or offering the Terms [subordinate] or any other to be put into the Article, but only giving a Reason why I cannot subscribe it as it is; which I shall now render, having premised these Observations: 1. The word [co-ordinate] being comprehensive and ambiguous, I conceive doth among others contain these several Senses following: 1. As the Species is subordinate to the Genus. 2. As the nearer Caues in the same rank are subordinate to the higher and remote, and all to the first Cause: as in Generation the nearer Parents to the remote. 3. As the Means are subordinate to the End, in order thereto. 4. As the less worthy is subordinate to the more worthy, in degrees of Comparison. Many other common Senses I now pass. These being [at least the three first] common, and the opposed Co-ordination universally denied, I see no Evidence to warrant the denial. 1. In the first respect, I conceive that Divine Revelation being the Genus, by word, and by writing, are distinct Species: And as the delivery of the thing revealed is the Genus, so the delivery of the perfect word in Scripture, and of the Sum of the matter in Sacraments and other Means forementioned, are distinct Species. 2. In order of Efficiency I conceive that some Means are Supra-ordinate to Scripture, and some Co-ordinate and Subordinate in several Respects, and some Subordinate only: of which I shall give Instances anon. 3. In order to the nearer End; those Means are subordinate to Scripture, which are supra-ordinate in Efficiency; and some of those which ab origine are co-ordinate: when yet in order to the more remote End they are co-ordinate. 4. In order of Dignity, some Means are above Scripture, some below it. For Instances in these Cases: 1. Jesus Christ himself, both as the great Prophet of his Church, inditing the Scriptures by his Spirit, and sending the Apostles, and still sending Ministers, and owning his own Word, is one Means of Revealing himself to Mankind: And he is in order of Efficiency and of Dignity, above the Scripture, but subordinate as to the End which is near, but not as to the ultimate End. 2. The Holy Ghost inspiring the Apostles is a Means of Revelation supra-ordinate to the Scripture in Efficiency, and Dignity: And the Holy Ghost as enabling and sending forth Pastors, is co-ordinate in Efficiency, and subordinate as to the nearer End; The Holy Ghost as Illuminating and Revealing by the Instrumentality of the Word, is in Efficiency and Dignity above the Word. 3. The Apostles themselves were in order of Efficiency, above the Writing or Letter of the Word, though in order of Dignity the Scripture is above them. 4. The Ministry and Teaching of Parents, is as to the Original both subordinate to Scripture, as commanded by it, and co-ordinate, as instituted and enjoined before it by verbal Precepts, and doth still acknowledge this double obligation: But it is subordinate to Scripture in Dignity, and as to the nearer End. 5. The fame is true of Baptism and other Ordinances mentioned already. 6. The delivery of the Scriptures down to our hands, 1. As to acquaint us with the Canonical Books; 2. And that these are all; 3. And that they are uncorrupted in Matters of moment, is in efficiency a co-ordinate Means of Revelation; for it is not out of Scripture only that it receiveth its force: but as to the End and the Dignity, it is subordinate to the Scripture. These things seeming thus to my apprehension, I cannot yet acknowledge it a Truth, that no Means of Revealing Christ is co-ordinate with the Scriptures.

I need to say no more to the Necessity and Fundamentalness than I said in my last Paper.

I earnestly crave that the offering of these Reasons, as my Difsent, may not be offensive to you; seeing I apprehend the Cafe to impede me a necessity; there being no Means in the World (that I remember) more like to be an Engine to tear in pieces the Church, than an unfound compofite of Fundamentals; I mean, an Imposing of those Things as Fundamental which are not found; whereby the most offending may be ejected from the Ministry, and conformed to Damnation. We are framing a Means of Union, and not of Division. And though it grieves me to be offensive to my Brethren, yet had I rather suffer any thing in the World, than be guilty of putting among our Fundamentals one word that is not true. The Christian Faith hath been ever the same since the Apostles days; and I find not that ever the Churches Fundamentals contained such an Article as this. The Scripture, nor the Assembly's Confession, have none such that I know of. The word [co-ordinate] is so ambiguous, that it is unfit to lay so great a fire on it, and
and the use of it here yet more persuades me, that it had been better for us to adhere to Scripture Terms.

R. B.

§ 56. At last Twenty of their Propositions were printed for the Parliament. But the Parliament was dissolved, and all came to nothing, and that Labour was lost.

§ 57. At this time the Lord Broghill and the Earl of Warwick brought me to Preach before Cromwell the Protector (which was the only time that ever I preached to him, five times long before, when he was an inferior Man among other Auditors): I knew not which way to provoke him better to his Duty than by Preaching on 1 Cor. 1. 10. against the Divisions and Diffractions of the Church, and shewing how mischiefful a thing it was for Politicians to maintain such Divisions for their own Ends, that they might fish in troubled waters, and keep the Church by its Divisions in a state of Weakness, lest it should be able to offend them: and to shew the Necessity and Means of Union. But the plainnefs and nearness I heard was displeasing to him, and his Couriers; but they put it up.

§ 58. A while after Cromwell sent to speak with me! and when I came, in the presence only of three of his chief Men, he began a long and tedious Speech to me of God's Providence in the Change of the Government, and how God had owned it, and what great things had been done at home and abroad, in the Peace with Spain and Holland, &c. When he had wearied us all with speaking thus slowly about an hour, I told him, It was too great Condeſcretion to acquaint me so fully with all these Matters which were above me, but I told him that we took our Ancient Monarchy to be a Blessing, and not an Evil to the Land, and humbly craved his Patience, that I might ask him, How England had ever forfeited that Blessing, and unto whom the Forfeiture was made? (I was fain to speak of the Species of Government only, for they had lately made it Treafon by a Law to speak for the Perfon of the King). Upon that Question he was awakened into some Paffion, and told me it was no Forfeiture, but God had Changed it as pleased him; and then he let fly at the Parliament (which thwarted him); and especially by name at four or five of those Members which were my chief Acquaintance; and I preſumed to defend them against his Paffion; and thus four or five hours were spent.

§ 59. A few days after he fent for me again to hear my Judgment about Liber-bility of Conscience (which he pretended to be most zealous for) before almost all his Privy Council: where after another long tedious Speech of his, I told him a little of my Judgment: And when two of his Company had spun out a great deal more of the time, in fuch like tedious (but meer ignorant) Speeches, four or five hours being spent, I told him, that if he would be at the labour to read it, I could tell him more of my mind in Writing in two Sheets, than in that way of Speaking in many days: and that I had a Paper on that Subject by me, written for a Friend, which if he would perufe, and allow for the change of the Perfon, he would know my Sentiments. He received the Paper after, but I scarce believe that he ever read it; for I faw that what he learned must be from himself; being more disposed to speak many hours, than to hear one; and little heeding what another said, when he had spoken himself.

§ 60. While I lodged at the Lord Broghill's, a certain Perfon was importunate to speak with me, Dr. Nic. Gibbon: who shutting the Doors on us that there might be no Witnesses, draw fowth a Scheme of Theology, and told me how long a Journey he had once taken towards me, and engaged me patiently to hear him open to me his Scheme, which he faid was the very thing that I had been long groping after; and contained the only Terms and Method to solve all Doubts whatever in Divinity, and unite all Christians through the World: And there was none of them printed but what he kept himself, and he communicated them only to such as were prepared, which he thought I was, because I was 1. Searching, 2. Impartial, and 3. A Lover of Method. I thanked him, and heard him above an hour in silence, and after two or three days talk with him, I found all his Frame (the Contrivance of a very strong Head-piece) was secretly and cunningly fitted to usher in a Socinian Popery, or a mixture of Popery and half Socinianism. Bishop Usher had before occasionally spoken of him in my hearing, as a Socinian, which caused me to hear him with suspicion, but I heard none suspicion of him, Popery, though
though I found that it was that which was the end of his Design. This Jugler hath this Twenty years and more gone up and down thus secretly, and also thrust himself into places of Publick Debate; (as when the Bishops and Divines disputed before the King at the Isle of Wight, &c.) And when we were lately offering our Proposals for Concord to the King, he thrust in among us; till I was tain plainly to detect him before some of the Lords, which enraged him, and he denied the words which in secret he had spoken to me! And many Men of Parts and Learning are perverted by him.

§ 61. In this time of my abode at the Lord Broghill's, fell out all the Acquaintance I had with the most Reverend, Learned, Humble, and Pious Primate of Ireland, Archbishop Usher, then living at the Earl of Peterborough's House in Martins-Lane. Sometimes he came to me, and oft I went to him: And Dr. Kendal, who had wrote pertinently against me about Universal Redemption, and the Specification of Saving Grace, defied me, (when I had answered one of his Invectives, and had written part of the Answer to the other) to meet him at Bishop Usher's Lodgings, and refer the matter to him for our Reconciliation and future Silence: which I willingly did, and when the Bishop had declared his Judgment for that Doctrine of Universal Redemption which I adhered, and gloried that he was the Man that brought Bishop Divernant and Dr. Preffen to it, he persuaded us (who were both willing) to Silence for the time to come.

§ 62. In this time I opened to Bishop Usher the motions of Concord which I had made with the Episcopalian Divines, and defined his Judgment of my Terms, which were these: 1. That every Pastor be the Governor, as well as the Teacher of his Flock. 2. In those Parishes that have more Presbyters than one, that one be the flated President. 3. That in every Market Town, or some such meet Divisions, there be frequent Assemblies of Parochial Pastors associated for Concord and mutual Affiliation in their Work; and that in these Meetings, one be a flated, (not a temporary President). 4. That in every County or Diocess there be every year, or half year, or quarter, an Assembly of all the Ministers of the County or Diocess: and that they also have their fixed President; and that in Ordination nothing be done without the President, nor in matters of common or publick concernment. 5. That the coercive Power or Sword be meddled with by none but Magistrates. To this Sense were my Proposals; which he told me might suffice for Peace and Unity among moderate Men: But when he had offered the like to the King, inemperate Men were dispelled with him, and they were then rejected; but afterward would have been accepted: And such Success I was like to have, had I heard of his Predictions that Popery would be restored again in England for a short time, and then fall for ever. And asking him of it, he pretended to me no prophetical Revelation for it, to himself, but only his Judgment of the Sense of the Apocalypse.

§ 63. I asked him also his Judgment about the validity of Presbyters Ordination; which he adhered, and told me, that the King asked him at the Isle of Wight, whereever he found in Antiquity that Presbyters alone ordained any? and that he answered, I can shew your Majesty more, even where Presbyters alone successively ordained Bishops; and insinuated in Hareon's Words Epif. ad Evangelium, of the Presbyters of Alexandria chusing and making their own Bishops from the Days of Mark, till Heraclus and Dionysius. I asked him also whether the Paper he his that is called [A Reduction of Episcopacy to the Form of Synodical Government] which he owned; and Dr. Bernard after witnessed to be his.

§ 64. And of his own Accord he told me confidently, [That Synods are not properly for Government, but for Agreement among the Pastors; and a Synod of Bishops are not the Governors of any one Bishop there present]. Though no doubt but every Pastor out of the Synod, being a Ruler of his Flock, a Synod of such Pastors may there exercice Acts of Government over their Flocks, though they be but Acts of Agreement or Contract for Concord one towards another. Quere, If the whole Synod have no governing Power over its Members, hath the President of that Synod any qua tali?

§ 65. When Oliver Cromwell was dead, and his Son almost as soon pull'd down as set up (or upon their Tumults voluntarily resigned their Places) the Anabaptists grew inflent, in England and Ireland; and joining with their Brethren in the Army, were every where put in Power; and those of them that before lived in some leaming Friendlines near me at Bewdley, began now to shew that they remembered all their former Provocations (by my publick Disputation with Mr. Tomkis, and writing against them, and hindring their increase in those parts) And though they
they were not much above twenty (Men and Women) near us, they talked as if they had been Lords of the World. And when Sir Henry Vane was in Power, and forming his Draught of a (not Free but) Fanatick Common-wealth, and Sir George Booth's Rizing was near, and the looks for Opposition, they laid wait upon the Road for my Letters, and intercepting one written to Major Booth of Coventry, they sent it up to Sir Henry Vane to London; who found it so wary written, though he himself was mentioned in it, that he could have nothing against it; yet sent he the Major Booth to London, and put him to answer it at the Committee, where, by examination they sought to have made something of it; but after many Threatenings they dismissed him: This was the Anabaptists Fidelity.

§ 66. The People then were so apprehensive of approaching Mifery and Confusion while the Fanatics were Lords, and Vane ruled in the State and Lambert in the Army, and Fifth Monarchy Men (as they called the Millenaries) and Seekers, and Anabaptists were their chief Strength, that the King's old Party (called then the Cavaliers) and the Parliaments Party (called the Presbyterians) did secretly combine in many parts of the Land to rife all at once and fupprest these infolent Ultras and bring in the King: Sir Ralph Clare of Riberemifer, acquainted me with the intended Rizing; (the Illue of which was, that the Cavaliers falling, except a few at Salisbury, who were suddenly disperft or taken, Sir George Booth, and Sir Tho. Middleton, two old Commanders for the Parliament, drew together an Army of about 5000 Men, and took Chefter, and there being no other to divert him, Lambert came against them, and some Independants and Anabaptists of the Country joining with him, his old Souldiers quickly routed them all, and Sir George Booth was afterwards taken and imprisoned: I told Sir R. Clare that if the Presbyterians and Epiftcopal Men had but before come to some Agreement, they would the more unanimously join against the Fanatics: But since the War, the Diocifane Party by Dr. Hammond's means was gone to a greater Diffiance, and grown higher than before, and denied the very being of the Reformed Churches and Miniftry; and avoided all ways of Agreement with them, but by an absolute Submifion to their Power (as the Papifts do by the Proteftants); and that there is a wonderous difference between the Caufe of the one Party and the other: For though they are born equally capable of Government or Subjection, yet all that the Presbyterians (for the moft part of them) defire, is but to have leave to worship God, and guide their Flocks in ways of Piety and Concord, without being perfecuted for it. And the Prelatical Mens Caufe is, that they may be the Governors of all, and that no Man have leave to serve God but as they prescribe to him, nor to rule his Flock but as ruled by them: Yea, as soon as a Man doth but fide with the Men of that Opinion, he prefently carryeth it, as if by his Opinion he had acquired a right to be the Governor of others: But especially I told him, that the Number of the Ignorant and Scandalous was fo great, which the Diocifane Party would reftore and fet up, and the Number of the godly learned able Minifters fo great which they would caft out and silence, that we look'd on it as the ruine of the Church: that we had not any Animofity against them; that we defired no Man should be hindered in his Miniftiy for any thing he had done in the Wars against the Parliament: But we defired that the People might have faithful Pfaltors, and not drunk-en ignorant Readers, as he knew in this Country they had had: And that every ceremonial Difference might not again be thought a sufficient Reafon to caft out hundred of the ableft Men, and put in fuch infufficient Perfons in their steads: Perfeftion and the Ruine of the Miniftiy and Churches were excepted by moft, if Prelacie got up again, and if fuch leading Men as Dr. Hammond would but beforehand come to Terms of some Moderation, and profmite to endeavour faithfully to bring things to that pafs as now should be thought indifferent, it would greatly facilitate Mens Conjunction against the turbulent Sectaries and Souldiers. I told him he had long lived here among us, and knew the worth of us; he faw that our private Meetings were only in due Subordination to the Publick, and that they were only fpent in fuch Actions as very Chriftian might do (to repeat a Sermon, and Pray, and propose his Doubts to his Pfalтор, and fing Plains) and not to any Fation or Sedition: and that we had not a Sectary in the Town, but were all of a Mind, and walked in Humility, and Blamelefs, and Charity toward all: all which he did freely acknowledge; and I asked him then, whether he thought we were fit to be endur'd or to be fuppreft? And whether it were not hard that Men who had prevailed in Arms (as the Parliaments paft had done) should beg but for Liberty to live quiet by them, or thole that were now kept under, and not obtain it. But we cared little for this, as it is our own Intereft, so that the Souls of Men, (even Thousand)
R. Baxter's Proposals sent by Sir R. Clare to Dr. Hammond.

Having premised the Terms on which the Episcopall Presbyterian and Independant, &c. may maintain a Brotherly Agreement, in case the Magistrate gives Liberty to them all, I shall add some Propositions containing those things that we desire the Brethren of the Episcopall way will grant us, as necessary to the Peace of these Churches, and the avoiding of Persecution, to the hindrance of the Gospel, in case the Magistrate should establish their way.

1. We desire that private Christians may not be hindered from praying in their Families, according to the sense of their Neccesities, without imposed Forms; nor from reading Scripture and good Books, catechizing and instructing their Families and restraining them from dancing and other Vanities, which would withdraw them from holy Exercises on the Lord's Day: And that Neighbours be not hindered from meeting at convenient times in each others Houses, to edifie themselves by Godly Conference, Reading, repeating Sermons, Prayer, singing Psalms; so be it they refuse not the oversight of their faithful Pastors in the management hereof; nor set up these Meetings in Opposition to the publick Assemblies, but in due Subordination to them; and be responsible to Governors for all miscarriages.

2. We desire that the ungodly sort of People may not be sufferers to make the serious practice of Godliness an open Scorn, or to deride the Practice of such holy Duties, as by God, and our Governors we are allowed to perform.

3. That the most able, Godly, faithful Men be Pastors of the Flocks; and the insufficient, ungodly, negligent, scandalous, and Heretical be kept, and cast out; the Welfare of the Church confiding so much in the Quality of the Pastors.

4. That no Pastors be forced upon the Flocks against their Consent (the Church Governors being the Approvers and Ordainers and fit means being used to procure their Consent) though meeter Teachers may be forced on the Ignorant, Heretical, and obdurate, that are unmeet for Church-Community.

5. That the Teachers of the Parishes may be urged to catechize the People, and personally (in due time and Place) to confer with them all, and instruct them in the Matters of Salvation; and all the People may be urged to submit thereunto.

6. That
6. That before any Person's baptized in infancy be admitted among the adult Members of the Church, to their holy Communion and Privileges, they make an open Profession of Faith andHoliness, such as shall be approved by the Pastor of that particular Church (who is responsible if he deny Approbation unjustly.) The solemnity of Confirmation we leave to the Wisdom of Church-Governors.

7. That we may have Liberty in the Temples to assemble for God's Worship, and may have no new Worship and Ordinances or symbolical mystical Ceremonies enforced on us against our Confessions: And that such as dare not use the Cross, Surplice, or kneeling in the Act of Receiving, may not by Penalties be forced to them, nor therefore denied the Exercise of the Ministry, or the Communion of the Church; and that Scripture the English Common Prayer-Book, may have leave to exercise their Ministry without it; at least that they may be allowed the use of a Liturgy to be drawn up in Scripture Words, and approved by a Synod; and besides that, freely to pray according to the variety of Occasions, and Subjects which they preach of; they being responsible to their Governors for all that they say and do amiss.

8. That the Pastors of each Parish-Church may have Liberty to hear Accusations of Hereby or Scandal, and to admonish the Offenders publicly, that hear not private Admonition; to call them openly to Repent, and confefs their Sin, and promise Reformation, to absolve the Penitent, and reject the Impenitent, requiring the People to avoid them. But yet, if you require that no Pastor should proceed to the publick admonishing and rejecting any, but upon the Judgment of the next Synod, and their President, we submit; unless (which God forbid) they should defend Hereby and Wickedness, and prohibit Discipline.

9. That the Neighbour-Pastors associating for Union and Communion, may hold monthly Synods in every Market-Town, having a President (rated for Life, unless he prove unfit): And that the Pastors of the Particular Churches be here responsible for their Doctrine and Practice, if any shall accuse them. And that Causes about Publick Confirmation, Admonitions, or Censures, excepted from the Power of the Pastors of the particular Churches of that Association may be here decided. But yet, that the President and Synod may not be forced to undertake the special Charge of all the Souls of each Congregation, as it belongeth to the several Pastors.

10. That every Quarter (and oftener, if the President see cause) there may be a Synod of all the Pastors of each County (or Dioceses if that may not be granted) who also shall have a stated President (the Name we leave to you) who shall maintain a more general Communion, and without destroying the Power of the particular Pastors, or lesser Synods, shall receive Appeals, and take cognizance of such Causes as are proper to them. And that no President of greater or lesser Synods, shall ordain, suspend, deprive, or excommunicate any Pastor or Deacon, without the Consent of the Synod, and the Presence of some of them; nor censure the Members of any particular Church, without the Consent of the Synod or of the Pastor of that Church. And that all Presidents be freely chosen by the Synods where they must preside.

11. That National Councils may consist of the Presidents of both the Diocesan and inferior Synods; or else of the Diocesan, and two out of each County, freely chosen by the Major Vote of all the Pastors.

12. That no Subscription be required of the Pastors to any thing about Religion, but to the Holy Scriptures, and the ancient Creeds, and to the necessary Articles of Faith and Practice expressed in Scripture Terms, and to the Renunciation of all Heresies contrary thereto: And that in the Matter of the Divine Right of Pre- lacy, or Synodical Government, or Ceremonies, it may suffice that we are responsible for any Disobedience, and be not forced to subscribe our Approbation; they being not Articles of Faith, but Points of Practice; and if you see Causes to restrain Men from Preaching against any other controverted Opinions, they may not be forced to approve them.

13. That no Pastor be displaced, unless for Insufficiency, Negligence or Scandal committed within two Years before the Accusation; or unless some able Godly, faithful Pastor prove a better Title to the Place.

14. Lastly, That Persons Excommunicate, may not be punished ex Nominine, because Excommunicare, by corporal Punishments, unless it be by disenchaining, that they be incapable of Government, or of choosing Governors; seeing the same Men are also obnoxious to the Laws of the Land, for such Crimes as the Laws condemn, notwithstanding their Excommunication.
On these Terms we may hold a Christian Concord, without any Danger of Persecution, or Breach of Charity, or Peace, if the Magistrate should think meet to settle Episcopacy: as we may on the forementioned Terms, while the present Liberty continueth.

July 1659.

Dr. Hammond's Answer.

1. What concerns private Christians in their own Families, will I suppose easily be granted, care being taken that nothing contrary to known Laws be attempted under Pretence of convening for Christian Advantages.

2. What concerns the Rectors of each Parish in the Discharge of the Duty by Law committed to them, there can be no doubt of. What is more required to be intrusted to them, being now by Law in the Bishops cannot be removed without changing the Law; which must be left to the Law-Makers; upon due Consideration of Ancient, Primitive Practice, and what may probably must tend to Edification.

3. What concerns the Observation of Ceremonies by Ministers or People, by Law established, must be done by Toleration or Exemption from Punishments, allowed to tender Consciences, with care had also to Uniformity.

4. The Nomination of Perfonsto Offices in the Church, must have respect to the lawful right of Patrons, unless by Law some Change be thought expedient to be introduced herein.

5. If the Presidents of inferior Synods are to have Episcopal Power in Confirmation, Censures, Ordination, then this being the multiplying of Bishops, must be referred to the Supreme Power to judge whether all things considered, it be best, or whether some larger Dioceses being divided, some lesser may not remain as they are. But if inferior Presidents be not vested with Episcopal Power, but be in the Nature of our rural Deans, or of Archdeacons, the use of them and their Synods may be good, with Subordination to Bishops and regulated by Laws.

6. If there be Bishops in the Church, sure they must have the superintendent Care; and to Power over the whole Flock, Presbyters and People; yet so that for the Exercise of it, they intrust to the Rector of each Parish with what shall be found necessary for the Souls of the People in daily Administration.

7. I cannot think it meet that the 39 Articles which are the Hedge between us and the Papacy should be removed, and Articles in bare Scripture-terms substituted in their room, unless by this means (the Papacy receding also) an universal Peace might be hoped, which is a thing beyond our Prospect. That no more Articles be added to clog our Communion, is very reasonable. That any of these established, are excepted against by them, in Relation to whom we now consider, is more than I have heard.

8. For the not removing any Minister but upon weighty Caufe, and not punishing Offenders by other than Ecclesiastical Censures, leaving the rest to the Civil Magistrate, I see no matter of Debate between us.

R. B.'s Reply.

T HE Scriptures returned, instead of Abatements for Accommodation, refer almost all the Matters in Difference to the Civil Magistrate. We know that whoever is in possession of the Magistracy will be the Judge of his own Actions, and give us Laws according to his Judgment. Our Motion is not, for Divines to do any of the Magistrates Work. But when Magistrates against Episcopacy are up, we would have Divines endeavour in their places, to draw them from injuring the Brethren that are for Episcopacy: And when Magistrates that are for Episcopacy are up, we would have Divines endeavour in their places to draw them from injuring the Brethren that cannot comply with it any nearer than on the fore-expressed
preyed Terms. And that the Party that is still under might not be lookt upon, and used as a Sæc, and Diviion might not be cherisht among us, we much rather define an Accommodation than a Toleration: that we may be but one Body and flock together whatever Changes come. To this end, we first desire that our Rule for Doctrine, Discipline and Worship, be such as may serve for an Universal Concord: and next, that we may be secured from Encroachments on our just Liberty, and such Impositions (besides or above the Rule) as we know will cause Divisions and Perfecutions. That which we desire to these Ends, from the Divines to whom we offer our Proposals, is that they will express their own Desire that so much may be granted by the Magistrate, as they find meet to be granted; and agreeing on the fitest Terms among themselves, will profess and promise their faithful Endeavours in their Places and Capacities, to procure the Conceision and Approbation of these Terms from the Magistrate. And this any single person may (to prepare for a further Communication) consider of, and content unto, viz. to improve his Interest to these Ends.

Now to the Particulars, 1. We desire that you will profess your Judgment, and promise your just Endeavours in your place that [no Laws] may be made,(or continued) that are contrary to these Christian Duties (and I know of none such excellent): And then we content that all Perions be responsible for their Miscarriages.

2. This is the chief of our Desires, that you will profess your desire, and promise your endeavour in your place, that the power mentioned in the eighth Article, may by Law be granted to the Rectors of each Parish; we suppose that their Office is of Divine Institution: and therefore that Magistrates may not change it: what is by Law establisht, the Possessors of the Government, will still be Judges of. Did we believe that the Pfaffors of particular Churches are not of Divine Institution, unchangeable by Man; or that Diocesan Bishops could exercise Christ’s Discipline over so many hundred Parishes, so that it would not certainly be cast out by their undertaking it, we would not have insisted on this Article, but yield that Rectors shall never Rule.

3. We might hope that the Ceremonies might be left indifferent, and so there might be no Divisions about them. As we find it now by Experience in our Assemblies, in the singing of Psalms, the Gesture is left indifferent, and there is no trouble about it: So in many places the Sacrament Gesture is left indifferent; and one kneelth, and another standeth, and another sitteth; and there is no disturbance about it; but Cullom having taken off their Prejudic, they have the Charity to bear with one another. And some Congregations sing one Version of the Psalms and some another, and (though Uniformity in that is much more desirable than in a Cross, or Surplice, or Kneeling at Receiving the Eucharift, yet) there is no disturbance among us about it. And when our Unity is not laid upon our Uniformity in these unnecessary things, we shall not be necceffitated to perfecute one another about them, nor to make Sects by our Toleration of Difference: And doubtles if your Toleration be of all that profefs Tendernefs of Confidence in these Points, you will find such abundance of godly Men avoid your Ceremonies; and accept of your Toleration, that you will think your selves necceffitated to perfecute them, as dishonouring you, and discouraging Uniformity by their diffent. But if you tolerate some, and not others that can lay the fame claim to it, your partiality will quickly break all into pieces. We are certain that leaving these unnecessary things at liberty, to be used only by those that will, is the way to Unity: But if this cannot be attained, we shall be glad of a Toleration in our Publick Charges.

4. The Patron’s Right of Nomination may be preferred, though the Communions have their Consent preferred, without which none is to be obtruded on them: Though in case of unreasonable refusals of fit men, much means may be used by Church-Officers and Magistrates to bring them to consent: But how can People be governed in the Worship of God, and in a Holy Life, by any Pastor without their own consent?

5. The multiplying of Bishops is in our Account, the making Discipline become possible; that else is not (to any purpose): And though our own Judgment be that every Parish that is great should have a Bishop and Prebytery; yet we yield to you for Concord and Peace, that there be a Bishop and Prebytery in every City, that is, Corporation or Market-Town, and these (as is expressed in the Articles) to have one in every County or Diocese to whom they shall be responsible. We define only the profession of your Consent to this Change, and promise of your promoting it in your place by just means, that to our Differences...
may be ended. But if this cannot be granted, and no particular Parishes tolerated to exercise Discipline in their own Parishes, but all must be done by the Bishop and his Court, we must take it as equippollent to this Conclusion, [Discipline shall be cast out of the Churches]: And then we have no hopes of the healing of our Divisions, or satisfying the Desires and Con...}

But it is not the Name that we infilt on; Call them Rural Deans or Arch Deacons, or what you please, to be it, they may be authorized to do the things here defined; even to exercise that Discipline which one Bishop in a County cannot exercise.

6. A General Care is one thing, and the Special Charge of the particular Pastor is another. The former extended no further than to oversee the particular Pastors, and to receive Appeals in extraordinary Cases from any of the People; and to teach them in Course, while as Visitors they pass from one Parish to another, and in the same manner to administer Sacraments, and personally exercise Parish Discipline: But the Special Charge contained an Obligation to watch over each particular Person in an ordinary teaching them, publickly and privately, as they have occasion and opportunity, and plucking up all Weeds of Heresie and Profaneness, that shall spring up among them, resolving Doubts, convincing Glaubers, and ordinarily guiding them in Publick Worship, calling the Offenders to Penitence, and ablowing the Penitent, and binding over the Impenitent to the Judgment Seat of Christ, and requiring the People to avoid them. If you impose on every Diocesan Bishop (besides the fore-described General Care) this Special Charge over every Soul, as every Pastor of a particular Church hath, you will take an effectual Course to keep the most pious, modest, and thoughtful Persons out of that rank.

And your Phrase of [Intuiting so much as is found necessary in the hands of the Rector of each Parish] leemeth to intitate that you take the Reectors not only for Men of a distinct Order or Office, from the Bishops, but also of an Office that it is not of Divine Inflution, and describid by God, but of Humane Inflution, and left to the Bishop's Discretion what it shall be, and how much power such shall have; and that they are to be intrusted with it from the Bishops. (as the Italians in Council Tridem. would have had the Bishops to have theirs from the Pope). If this be your meaning, it will not reconcile. If it be not, then the Reectors of each Parish may know their Office from the Holy Scripture, and receive it as from Christ, who hath instituted it, and entrusted them with it.

7. We define the Scripture Confession but to the Extent and Securing of our Peace and Concord. If Papists would agree upon such a Confession, yea on a Subscription to the whole Scripture, we should rejoice: But they cannot do it, without ceasing to be Papists. And many may rise up among our laity that may ferule some words in the 39 Articles, that are not fit ergo to be perficuted and cast out of the Church. (as Mr. Chillingworth's Inflance proves): 1. As he that should ferule some one word (of no great weight) in Athenian's Creed, contrary to Art. 8. 2 Or the absolute Exclusion of Works in the Article of Justification, Art. 11. 3 Or the displeasing and finitiifs of Works before Faith, and their not making Men meet to receive Grace, Art. 13. 4. And that voluntary Works, besides or above God's Commandments, cannot be taught without Arrogancy and Impiety (vide Amynt. Dr. H. H. in 1 Cor. 9. 16, 17.) Art. 14. 5. If any think that the Virgin Mary, or Infants offended not in many things, Art. 15. We question whether it be according to the Ancient Simplicity or Charity, to cast out all these from our Churches.

6. And what if Dr. Taylor and many others cannot Subscribe to Art. 9 and 12. 7. And if a Man believe not that [by good Works a lively Faith may be as evidently known, as a Tree discerned by the Fruit], should he be presently cast out? Art. 12. 8. The 21st Art. concludes that [General Councils may not be gathered together without the Commandment and Will of Princes]; and some think it may as well be said, that we may not meet for Publick Worship without their Command and Will; and that this proveth, that there never was a General Council, nor ever will be; because the Princes (Infidels and Chriftians) in which Dominions the Bishops live, never did, or will generally Consent to have their Subjects go to a General Council. 9. The 31st Art. concludes [that there is none other Satisfaction for Sin, but Christ's alone]: which many before Gratian do contradict. 10. Many dare not Subscribe to the 34th Art. without restriction. 11. Many
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

11. Many good Men dare not so fully approve of all the Homilies as Art. 35 doth.
12. Many have refused Subscription because of Art. 36, it being hard so far to justify every word in such Humane Writings as the Book of Confession is. Now it seems against our Unity, to make such a Test of it, as all Persons tolerable cannot agree in. And it seems contrary to the Ancient Simplicity, which required no other Test than the Scriptures and the Creeds. And it hardeneth the Papists to call on us to prove a Succession of Protestants from the first Ages, that is, of Men that have held all the 39 Articles.

But yet we highly value the 39 Articles as sound and moderate, and if we can procure no nearer a recourse to Scripture and Ancient Simplicity, we shall cheerfully submit to the 39 Articles; if the Doctrine of Bishops and Ceremonies, might be left out, as Matters of Practice and not of Faith, as long as we are responsible for any Disobedience. And it's hard if such things must be Subscribed, as of Necessity to our Church Communion, or Ministry.

And that these have been excepted against by the Old Nonconformists, I suppose you know.

And if you could be content with a Scripture Confession if Rome would yield to it, why should you deny to your Brethren at home, that which you would grant the Romanists, and therefore confes you may lawfully grant? Let us lay down such a Rule of Concord, as is fit for all to yield to, and then leave all to accept it as they please; and so they cannot blame our Religion, nor maintain their Alienation: But if we will not be content with a Rule that's fitted for Universal Concord, we keep Men from it.

And seeing you now say, It's reasonable that we be clog'd with no more: why not the same have been said of some of the fore-mentioned Passages, if they had been left out?

8. But the Doubt is, Whether you will allow the Title of the Ministers now in possession (except as before excepted), or whether you will rather judge all their Titles void that were not Ordained by Diocesan Bishops.

Lastly, We desire to know whether all the rest, not touched on and excepted against in these Notes, have your Consent: (as that Bishops be chosen by the whole Clergy, and Ordain not, and Confume not, without their Synods, &c.

O how safe were a Peace on these Terms! how easily and safely might you grant them, without any wrong to your Confessions, or the Church? Yes, to its exceeding benefit! How loud do our Miseries cry for such a Cure! How long hath it been neglected!

If there be any more than what is here granted by us, that you think necessary for us to yield to on our parts, we shall gladly receive your Demands, and yield for Peace as far as is possible, without forfaking our Confessions: And what shall be agreed on, we shall promise faithfully to endeavour in our places, that the Magistrate may content to it.

The inclosing Paper signified a readiness to yield to an Agreement, on the primitive Simplicity of Doctrine, Discipline and Worship: as Dr. Heylin also doth. We are agreed, and yet never the nearer an Agreement: O that you would hand to this in the Particulars! We crave no more.

Q. 1. Did the Primitive Church require Subscription to all in our 39 Articles, or to any more than the words of Scripture, and the Ancient Creeds, in order to Minds Church-Communion and Liberty? Were such Volumes as our Homilies then to be subscribed to?

Q. 2. Were any required as necessary to their Ministry in the Primitive Times, to subscribe to the Divine Right of Diocesan Prelacy, and promise or swear Obedience to such? Or to subscribe to all that is contained in our Book of Ordination?

Q. 3. Were all, most, or any Bishops of the first Age, (of the lowest rank, now distinguished from archbishops) the fixed Pastors of many particular Churches, or of more Souls than one of our ordinary (or greater) Parishes? Much left of so many as are in a Diocese. Let us but have more Souls, or Congregations under the lowest rank of Bishops, now, than were in the first Age (or second, either ordinarily), and we shall soon agree, I think in all the Substance of Government.

Q. 4. Was our Common Prayer used, and necessary to a Pastor's Liberty, in the first or second Age? Or all that is in it? Or will you leave out all that you cannot prove to have been then used, and that as necessary, as now it is supposed?
Q. 5. Were the Crof, Surprize, and Restriotion to kneeling in receiving the Eucharift enjoyed by Peter or Paul, or any in the fift Age? (or second either, or many after?) If you say, that fome Form of Prayer was used, though not ours; I answer, 1. Prove it used, and impofed as neceffary to the Exercise of the Miniftry: and that any was enjoyed to Subscribe to it, and use it on pain of Depription or Excommunication. 2. If the fift (suppolfed) Book of Prayers was neceffary in Specie, for conftinance, we must have it, and caft away this that's pleaded for: If it were not, then why may you not as well diffluf with this, and change it, seeing you cannot plead it more immutable than the (suppoled) Apofolical, or Primitiue Prayer Book? 3. When Forms of Liturgy came up, had they not drivers in the fame Empire, and also changed them in particular Churches? (as the Cen- trifie betwixt Bafil and the Church of Neufcfta flews, &c.) And why then may not as much be granted now in England? at leaft to procure Unity and Peace in other things, after fo long uncharitable Allemations, and deteftable Effici of them in the Church and State?

N. B. That the foregoing Exceptions againft impofing the Subcription of the 39 Articles, are urged ad hominem; because though the Doctrinal Part of those Articles be fuch as the generality of the Presbyterian would Subscriber to, yet I fee not how the Reverend Brethren on the other side can poftibly Subscribe them as reconcileable to the Principles published by many of them.

§ 67. Shortly after this, when Sir George Booth's Rising failed, Major General Monk in Scotland, with his Army, grew fo fenfible of the Infolencies of Van and Lambert, and the Fanadicks in England and Ireland, who fet up and pull'd down Governments as boldly as if they were making a Lord of a Maygame, and were grasping all the Power into their owne Hands; fo that he pretenfibly secured the Anabaptifts of his Army, and agreed with the reft, to refult their Ulrurers; who would have England the Scorn of all the World. At firft when he drew near to England, he declared for a Free Commonwealth. When he came in, Lam- bert marched againft him, but his Soldiers forfaking him, and Sir Arthur Hafebrigge getting Portsmouth, and Col. Morley strengthen- ing him, and Major General Berry's Regiment, which went to block it up, revolting to them, the Clouds rofe every where at once, and Lam- bert could make no reftance; but instead of fighting, they were fain to treat: And while Monk held them Treating, his Reputation increafed, and theirs abated, and their Hearts failed them, and their Soldiers fall off: and General Monk con- fulted with his Friends, what to do! Many Countries fent Letters of Thanks and Encouragement to him. Mr. The Bampfleld was fent by the Gentlemen of the Welt; and other Countries did the like; fo that Monk came on, but still declared for a Commonwealth, againft Monarchy: Till at laft, when he faw all ripened thereto, he declared for the King. The chief Men (as far as I can learn) that turned his Revolution, to bring in the King, were Mr. Clarges and Sir William Morris, his Kingman, and th' Petitions, and Affections of the City of London, principally moved by Mr. Calamy and Mr. Aft, two ancient, leading, able Minifterers (with Dr. Bates, Dr. Manion, Dr. Jaconb, and other Minifterers of Lon- don who concurred;) and th' were encouraged by the Earl of Monchefter, the Lord Holib, the (late) Earl of Anglefey, and many of the (then) Council of State: And the Members of the Old Parliament that had been formerly ejected, being re- called, did Diffolve themfelves, and appoint the Calling of a Parliament which might Recall the King. When General Monk firft came into England, most Men rejected, in hope to be delivered from the Ulraption of the Fanadicks (Anabap- tifts, Seekers, &c.) And I was my fel'f much affected with the strange Providence of God, that I procured the Minifters to agree upon a Publick Thanksgiving to God. And I think all the Victories which that Army obtained, were no more wonderful than their Fall was, while Pride and Errors had prepared them for it. It feemed wonderful to me, that an Army that had got fo many great and mar- velous Victories, and thought themfelves unconquerable, and talk'd of nothing but Dominion at home, and marching up to the Walls of Rome, fhould all be broken and brought into Subjeftion, and finally Difembled, without one blow ftricken, or one drop of Blood flied! and that by fo littl a power as Monk's Army in the beginning was: So Eminent was the Hand of God in all this Change!

§ 68.
§ 68. Yet were there many prudent, pious Men that feared greatly the return of the Prelates, an exasperated Party that had been before subdued; and as they saw that the Fanatics would bring all to Confusion under pretence of promoting Godliness, so they feared the enraged Prelatical Party would renew their Persecution, under pretence of Order and Government. And some that thought R. Cromwell's Resignation was not plain and full, did scruple it, whether they were not at present obliged to him; for though they knew that he had no Original Right, and though the condemned the Act of those Men as Treason, who set up both his Father and him, yet when he was set up, and the Government had been Twelve years in their Hands, and the House of Commons had sworn Subjection to him, they thought it was very doubtful whether they were not obliged to him, as the Poet: And whenal, many had alienated the Hearts of Men from the King, making them believe that he was uncertain in his Religion, &c., and that the Duke of York was a Papist, and that they would set up the revengeful Cavaliers: but those things were quickly at an end: For many Gentlemen, who had been with the King in Scotland, especially the Earl of Lauderdale and Colonel Greaves, who were of Reputation with the People, did spread abroad mighty Complacencies of the King, both as to his Temper and Piety; whereby the Fears of many at that time were much quieted.

§ 69. As for my self, I came to London April the 13th, 1660, where I was no sooner arrived but I was accosted by the Earl of Lauderdale (just then released from his tedious Confinement in Windsor-Castle by the restored Parliament) who having heard from some of the Sectarian Party, that my Judgment was that our Obligations to Richard Cromwell were not dissolved, nor could be till another Parliament, or a fuller Renunciation of the Government, took a great deal of pains with me, to satisfy me in that point.

And for the quieting People's Minds that were in no small Commotion through clandestine Rumours, lie by means of Sir Robert Murray, and the Counsell of Balcarres then in France, procured several Letters to be written from thence, full of high Elegious of the King, and Affurances of his firmness in the Protestant Religion, which he got translatcd and published. Among others, one was sent to me from Montecor Gaches, a famous pious Preacher at Charenton, wherein, after an high strain of Complements to my self, he gave a pompous Character of the King, and assured me, that during his Exile he never for bore the Publick Profession of the Protestant Religion, no not even in those places where it seemed prejudicial to his Affairs. That he was present at Divine Worship in the French Churches at Rouen and Rochet, though not at Charenton, during his stay at Paris; and earnestly pressed me to use my utmost interest, that the King might be restored by means of the Presbyterians, &c.

The Letter being long, and already published, shall not be here inserted. But I could not forbear making divers Reflections, upon the Receipt of such a Letter as this was.

§ 70. This Excellent Divine, with divers others, living at a distance, knew not the state of Affairs in England so well as we that were upon the place: They knew not how much the Presbyterians had done to bring in the King, or else they would not have thought it needful to use any Exhortations to them to that end. And they knew not those Men, who with the King were to be restored, so well as we did:

What the Presbyterians did to preferve and restore the King, is a thing that we need not go to any Corners or Cabinets to prove! The Votes for Agreement upon the King's Concessions in the Isle of Wight prove it: The Election and Imprisonment of most of the House of Commons, and all the House of Lords prove it: The Calamitous overthrow of two Scottish Armies prove it. The Death of Mr. Love, with the Imprisonment and Flight of other London Ministers prove it: The wars in Scotland, and their Conquest by Cromwell prove it: The Rising of Sir George Booth and his Army's overthrow prove it: The Surprise of Dublin-Castle from the Ana-baptists by Colonel John Bridges and others in Ireland, and the Gratulations of General Monk in England, the Concurrence of the Londomer, and the Ministers there, the Actual Preparations of the Restored Members of the Long Parliament, and the Consent of the Council of State left by them; and the Calling in of the King hereupon by the next Parliament, without one contradicting Voice, and finally the Lords and Gentlemen of the King's old Party in all Countries, addressing themselves to the Parliamentarians, and the King's grateful Acknowledgments in his Letters, and his Speeches in Parliament, do all put this Matter out of question. Of which I have laid more in my Key for Catholicks.

§ 71.
§ 71. And when I read this Reverend Man's excessive Praifes, and his conclu-
sing Prayer for the Success of my Labours, I thought with my self, how little
doth the good Man understand how ill the beginning and end of his words ac-
cord: He prayeth for my Congregation, and the Blessing of my Labours, when
he hath perfwaded me to put an end to my Labours, by setting up those Prelates,
who will Silence me and many a hundred more! He perfwaded me to that which
will separate me from my Flock, and then prayeth that I may be a Blessing to them.
He overvalueth and magnifieth my Service to the Church, and then perfwaded
me to that which will put a Period to my Service, and to the Service of many hun-
dreds better than my self. But yet his Caufe and Arguments are honet; and I
am so far from being against him in it, that I think I am much more for it than
he: for he is for our Restorling the King, that our Minifttry may be freed from
the obloquy of malicious Enemies; but I am for refioring of the King, that when
we are Silenced, and our Miniftry at an end, and some of us lye in Prifons, we
may there, and in that Condition, have Peace of Confcience in the Discharge
of our Duty, and the Exercise of Faith, Patience and Charity in our Suffer-
ings.

§ 72. And I confefs at that time the Thoughts of Mens hearts were various ac-
cording to their several Expectations: The Sectarian Party cried out that God
had in Juftice cut off the Family that Reigned over us; and to return to it again,
was to betray the Church, and the Souls of Men. Some others said, That the
Sectaries had traitoroufly and wickedly pull'd down the King and Parliament, and
let up themselves, and broken their Oaths, and pull'd down all Government, and
made the Name of Religion a reproach, and brought that Blot upon it, which is
never till the Day of Judgment like to be wiped off: But yet that after Twelve
years alienation of the Government, and when a Houfe of Commons hath sworn
Fidelity to another, and the King's own Party had taken the Engagement, their
Obligations to that Family were by Providence, against their Wills dissolved; and
that they were not bound to be Actors in that which will Silence thousands of
faithful Minifters, and be like to be the Perdition of many and many thousand
Souls. But the Presbyterian they, We are bound by the Covenant to the King
that laft was, and by the Oath of Allegiance to him and his Heirs; and all Chan-
ges since have been made unlawfully by Rebellious Sectaries; and for our parts,
whatever others have done, we have taken no Engagements or contrary Oaths; if
the Sectaries and the Cavaliers have taken the Engagement, what is that to us:
Our Brethren of Scotland, nor we never did it: Therefore being obliged to the
King, as the undoubted Heir of the Crown, we ought to do our Duty, as Loyal
Subjects to Restore him, and for the Ills let God do what he will.

§ 73. This was their Resolution, but in their Expellations they much differed: for
those of them that converse with the Nobles and Great Men, and heard from
them an high Character of the King, as to his Temper and Piety, were apt to be-
ieve them: and had great hopes, that because he had taken the Covenant him-
self, he would be moderate in letting all Matters of the Church, and would allow
the Presbyterian liberty to preach the Gospel in their Parish-Churches: and that
he would remove the Subscriptions, and leave the Common Prayer and Ceremo-
nies indifferent, so that they should not be cast out of the Churches. Others
thought that the Prelates, being once set up, there would be no place for Non-
subscribers in the Publick Churches: but yet that if we were the means of the
King's Restoration, the Prelates would not for shame deny us such Liberty as the
Protestants have in France; and that Protestants would not deny that to Pro-
testants, after such an Obligation, which Papils granted them. But a third fort
said, You know not the Principles or Spirit of the Prelates, if you look for any
Liberty in Publick or in Private, to be granted to any that do not conform. We
all look to be Silenced, and some or many of us imprisoned or banished: but yet
we will do our parts to restore the King, because no foreseen ill consequence, must
hinder us from our Duty: And if ignorant Men be put into our places, and never
to many Souls permit by it, the Fault is not ours, but theirs that do it. And a fourth
fort there were, that foreseeing the Silence of the Minifters, said, We are sure
that there are not competent Men (much less excellent) in England, to supply
the place of one among many of those that will be cast out; and we know that
God's felh to work by Means: and therefore that the Change is like to be the dam-
nation of many thousand Souls: and we do not believe that we are bound (all things
considered) to be forward to bring such a Work to pass; But we will stand by, and
see what God will do, and will not hinder it.

§ 74.
§ 74. Those that look for Liberty, were encouraged in their Expectations by these Means following:
1. All the Noblemen and Gentry that had been Sequestr'd for the King's Cause against the old Parliament, did in several Counties, publish Invitations to all Men to promote the King's Reduction, professing against Thoughts of Revenge or Uncharitableness, and professing their Resolution to put up all Injuries and live in Peace.
2. Afterward his Majesty sent over a Promise of Liberty of Conscience, as th' Men understood it: but indeed it was but a Profession of his readiness to content any Act which the Parliament should offer to him to that end.

§ 75. But those that look'd for silencing, cruelty, and Confusion, said, that from the Beginning (except a few inconsiderable Persons) it was all the Enemies of serious Godliness in the Land, who were on the one side; and it was the Friends of serious Godliness who were the main Body on the other side: That the Enmity between the Woman's and the Serpent's Seed is the most unreconcilable in the World: That all the Hypocrites and carnal Sort of Formal Pharisaical Christians will perforce them that are born after the Spirit: That Wars and Sequelations, and Cromwell's Severity against them, have exasperated them; so that we shall have natural Enmity and Malice sublimated to deal with; and that they will revenge all their real and seeming Injuries; that these twenty Years Tryal hath proved them unreconcilable: That their carnal Interest will continually engage them against serious Godliness; and a Man of Conscience that cannot lay or wear or do any thing which they command him, will be taken by them for a Schismatist and Enemy: That the late Wars hath given them Advantage to cast the Odeum of Civil Broils upon Religion, and of other Men Faults upon the innocents; so that there Interest will certainly lead them to call all the Rebelles that wear not, or not to their Words; and every Man whoe Religion is not ceremonious and complemetal shall be called a Presbyterian, and every Presbyterian a Rebel: And whereas heretofore they had no worse Names to call godly Men by, than the foolish Names of Puritans and Roundheads, henceforth if a Man will not be as bad as others, he shall be called an Enemy to the Government: And though not one of forty of the Ministers ever medl'd with the Wars, they shall all fare alike if they be not Prelats. Thus did Men differ in their Expectations.

§ 76. When I was at London, the new Parliament being called, they pretently appointed a Day of Fasting and Prayer for themselves: The House of Commons chose Mr. Calamy, Dr. Gauden, and myself to preach and pray with them at St. Margaret's Westminster. In that Sermon, I uttered some Passages that were after Day of A-

§ 77. As soon as this printed Sermon came abroad, the Papists were enraged against me; and one nameless Gentleman wrote a Pamphlet to challenge me to make good my Charge: And others sent me Letters with their Names (real or counterfeit) containing the same Challenge; but never told me where they dwelt, nor how I might convey an Answer to them; whereas the headless Challengers might have seen that I fully performed what I undertook, and answered their Challenge before they sent it, in the Sermon it was, when I cited Can. 3, of the General Council at the Laterane under Pope Innocent III. which I have done in other Places again and again to provoke them to make some Answer to it; but never could procure it of them: But to gratifie these Gentlemen, I began to write a fuller Proof of what I there affirmed; but I was advised not to publish it, considering the Power and Malice of the Papists, and how greatly (though they called for it) they would be enraged by it, and in likelihood quickly work my Ruine.
May 1, 1662. the Parliament owned the King, and voted his Recall.

§ 78. The next Morning after this Day of Fastling, did the Parliament unanimously Vote home the King, Neminem contradicente; and do that which former Actions had but prepared for.

§ 79. The City of London about that time was to keep a Day of solemn Thanksgiving, for General Monks Success; and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen did me before them at St. Pauls-Church: Wherein I do endeavour to shew the Value of that Mercy, as to shew also how Sin and Mens Abuse might turn it into matter of Calamity, and what should be right Bounds and Qualifications of that Joy. The Moderate were pleased with it; the Fanatics were offended with me for keeping such a Thanksgiving; the Diocesan Party thought I did supprest their Joy: The Words may be seen in the Sermon ordered to be printed.

§ 80. But the other Words about my Agreement with Bishop Usher, in the Sermon before the Parliament, put me to moit TROUBLE. For prefently many moderate Episcopal Divines came to me to know what those Terms of our Agreement were: And thinking verily that others of their Party had been as moderate as themselves, they entered upon Debates for our general Concord; and we agreed as easily among our selves in private, as if almost all our Differences were at an end. Among others I had Speech about it with Dr. Gauden, who promised to bring Dr. Morley, and many more of that Party to meet with some of the other Party at Dr. Bernard's Lodging in Grays-Inn; there came none on that side but Dr. Gauden, and Dr. Bernard; and none of the other side but Dr. Monton and my self; and so little was done but only Desires of Concord expressed: But whereas I told Dr. Gauden [ That for the Doctrinal Part of the Common-Prayer-Book, though I know that there were many Exceptions against it, yet I remembered nothing which I could not attend to, allowing it but the favourable Interpretation which the Writings of all Divines are allowed ]: He took Advantage from these Words to praise my Moderation in the next Book which he printed, as if I had spoke this of the Liturgy in general, as a Frame of Worship, leaving out the first Words [ As to the Doctrinal Part ] to which only I limited my Assent: So that I was put in print so far to vindicate my self, as to fet down the true Words; which he never contradicted. Thus Men were every day talking of Concord, but to little purpose, as appeared in the Illus.

§ 81. And because I heard that Dr. Morley was a Moderate Orthodox Man, and had often Meetings with Dr. Monton and others, whom he encouraged with Pacificatory Professions, and that he had greatest Interest in the King and the Lord Chancellor, I had a great desire to have one hours Discourse with him, to know whether really Concord was intended: And when he gave me a Meeting, and we had spent an Hour in Discourse, I found that he spake of Moderation in the general, but came to no particular Terms, but past by what I mentioned of that Nature: But speaking much for Liturgies, against Extemporary Church-Prayers, he told me at last that the Jenmefis were numerous among the Papists, and many among the French inclined to Peace, and that on his knowledge, if it were not for the Hindrances which Calvin had laid in the way, melt on this side the Alpes would come over to us. And this was all I could get from him.

§ 82. When the King was to be sent for by the Parliament, certain Divines with others were sent by the Parliament and City to him into Holland; viz. Mr. Calamy, Dr. Monton, Mr. Bowles, and divers others; and some went voluntarily; to whom his Majesty gave rich encouraging Promises of Peace, as raile some of them to high Expectations: And when he came in, as he pass through the City towards Westminster, the London Minillers in their Places attended him with Acclamations, and by the Hands of old Mr. Arthur Jackson, prefened him with a Rich-adorned Bible, which he received, and told them it should be the Rule of his Actions.

§ 83. About this time I had some Conference with one (that called himself) William Johnson, a Papist the Occasion, Progess, and End of which I will here give, as at once, to avoid farther Interruptions by it.

When I was at Kidwemner, 1659. one Mr. Langborn, a Carrier in Wallbrook, sent me a Sheet of Paper subscribed by William Johnson, containing an Argument against our Church, for want of perpetual Visibility; or, That none but the Church of Rome, and those in Communion with it, had been successively visible; casting all on his Opponent to prove our Churches constant Visibility. He that sent this Paper defired me to answer it as for some Friends of his who were unabused. I sent him an Answer the next Day after I received it. To this, some Weeks after I received a Reply: This Reply had cited many Fathers and Councils, and as the use is, brought the Controversy into the Wood of Church-History. To this I drew up a large Rejoinder, and sent it by the Carrier; though I was not rich enough to keep
keep an Amanuensis, and had not leisure my self to tranfscribe, yet as it well hap­pened I had got a Friend to write me a Copy of my Rejoinder: For it fell out that the Carrier loft the Copy which I gave him to carry to London, and profefled that he never knew what became of it: And no wonder, when I after learnt that my Antagonift lived within five or six Miles of me, whom I suppofed to have lived one hundred and fifty Miles off: When I expected an Anfwer, I received a Month after an Inftuating Challenge of a speedy Anfwer, and this fooned with another, all calling for haffe. I fuppofed he thought I had kept no Copy, but as foon as I could get it tranfbift I went it him: And I heard no more of Mr. Johnfon in a Twelve-month. When I was at London I went to Mr. Langhorn, and defired him to procure me an Anfwer to my Papers from Mr. Johnfon, or that I might know that I should have none: At laft he told me that Mr. Johnfon would come fpeak with me himfelf; which he did, and would have put off all the Bufinefs with a few Words, but would promife me no Anfwer. At laft by Mr. Tithefon I was inform'd that his true Name was Tertet, and that he lived in the Houfe of a certain No­bleman near our parts, and that being much in London, he is there the chief Héctor, or great Difputér for the Papifts; and that he was the chief of the two Men who had held and printed the Difpute with Dr. Piften and Dr. Gunning: And when I faw what Advantage he had got by printing that Difpute, I refolved that he fhould not do fo by me, and fo I printed all our Papers; but before I printed them, I urged him to fome farther Conference; and at our next meeting I told him how necefsary it was that we fhould agree firft of the meaning of our Terms, and I wrote down fome few [as Church, Pope, Council, Bishop, Hereby, Schilin, &c.] which I defired him to explain to me under his Hand promifing him the like whenever he defired it; which when I had got from him, I gave him fome Ani­mediations on it, fhewed their Implications; to which he anfw ered, and to that I replied: And when he came no more to me, nor gave me any Anfwer, I printed all together; which made him think it necefsary at laft to write a Conftitution whereof I have fince published a full Rejoinder to which I can procure no An­fwer.

§ 84. And not long after, hearing that the Counteff of Balcarres was not well, I went to visit her, and found her gravely afflicted for her eldest Daughter, the Lady Ann Lindsay about sixteen or seventeen Years of Age, who was suddenly turn’d Papift by the fhe knew not whom. She told me, that when the firft heard of it she defired Dr. Gunning to meet with the Prieft to difpute with him, and try if her Daughter might be recovered, who pretended then to be in Doubt: And that Dr. Gunning firft began to persuade her Daughter againft the Church of Scotland which she had been bred in, as no true Church, and after difputed but about the Pope’s Infallability, and left her Daughter words than before; and that he took it to be a fraight way to deliver her Daughter from Popery, to begin with a Condemnation of the Reformed Churches as no true Churches, and confefs that the Church and Miniftry of Rome was true. She defired me that I would fpeak to her Daughter, and try whether fhe would yet enter into Conference about the Reafons of her Faith. But the utterly refufed it, and would fay nothing to that purpofe, but re­fus us to the Church, and profef her acquiefcence in its Judgment, and when I defired to know of her, how fhe knew what was the Judgment of the Church: whether it were not meerly the Word of the Prieft that fatisifed her in this, and therefore defired her that fhe would hear that Prieft or Jefuit on whole Word the built all her Faith, in the Prefence of fome one that was fit to help her in the Try­al of his Affeotions, and intreated her to procure a Conference in her hearing between him and me, fhe promised readily that it fhould be done. The next time I came again, and ask whether fhe had fpoke with him about it, and whether time and places were agreed on; fhe confidenfly told me that he was ready to do it when I pleaded, and that all he defired was, that my Promife might fecure him from Ac­culpation, and from the danger of the Law, and that was all that he was folicitous for. I offered her to bring only two Wifecofls on each fide, and that we might have two days Conference or Difpute; in one of which he fhould give his Rea­fons why he ought to change his Religion, and I would anfw er them; and in the other I would give my Reafons why he ought not to change, and he fhould an­swer me; and I thought this the cleareft and moft impartial Method for the dif­covering of the Truth. And I profesfed her all the Security which I could procure him from any danger. The next time I came to know the Day, fhe told me the Gentleman would not meet nor difpute: I defired to know the Reafon: But fhe told me that fhe did not know her felf: I intreated her to procure fome oth;
to do it, in whom she put the greatest Confidence, and desired her to take the abled she could get among all the Jesuits or Priests of the Queen or the Queen-Mother, with whom I knew she was not unacquainted. But she would not undertake for any; whereupon I was forced to urge her with Provocations, and tell her, that seeing she was forced to resolve all her Faith into the Word of particular Priests, by which only she knew the Sense of the Church, and all that History which induced her to believe that Rome was the true Church, she seemed very little to regard her Soul, who would so far venture it upon the Words of Men that would not be provoked to an equal Conference in her hearing. The next day I came, I urged her again to procure a Conference: She told me that the Gentleman would not consent: And when I urged her to tell me his Reason, she told me that he knew me very well, and that he had very high Thoughts of me, and that it was not now through any fear of Danger, for he durst venture his Life in my Hands; but since he knew it was me that he was to meet with, he would not come; but would not tell her why. And though till I told her that there were more enough if he refused, I could not procure her to bring any of them to a Dispute. But at last, when I purposely continued to provoke them, she told me that he would yield to Dispute, so it might be done only in Writing, and not a Word spoken, nor any thing written but Sylogistically and according to the strictest Rules of Disputation. I told her, 1. That I suppos'd that she understood not, when an Argument was in Mood and Figure; nor what a Fallacy was, and therefore that this was not designed to her Edification. 2. That I suppos'd that she had not read one of many of all those Books already written against them which are unanswered: And if Writing will serve turn, a printed Argument is as good as a written one: Nor had she the late Disputation between Mr. Johnson and me: nor were any one of my Books against them yet answered, and why then should I write more till those were answered. 3. I told her that Mr. Johnson's Writing and mine held us above a Twelve months, and yet was not driven to the Head: And I asked her whether she would be willing to wait a Year or two, and suspend her Resolution in Religion, till she saw the Illue of our Disputation in Writing. 4. I told her that it was like that he that offered this, understood that by his Majesty's Pleasure, I was then newly engaged in another Work, which occasion'd him to make this Offer. 5. But yet that her Deceiver might have no Excuse, I offered her that I would do all that he desired, and manage it in Writing, so be it, he would first but spend two Hours in verbal Disputation in the Way I had propos'd, viz. That he should spend one Hour in giving his Reasons for her Change, and I might answer them; and the other Hour I would give my Reasons against it, and he should answer me: And after that we would go to it by Writing. But a Day or two after, when I came for Answer to this Proposal, the Lady was gone, being secretly stolen from her Mother in a Coach, and so I understood the meaning of this Offer, and never could see the Face of any of her Priests.

§ 85. At last it was discovered that the Man that seduced her and refused Disputation, was this Mr. Johnson (or Terret) the same Man that I had before conferr'd and wrote with: And yet when I asked her whether it were he, the plainly and positively said it was not; and when a Servant went after her Coach and overtook her in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, she positively promised to come again, and said, she went but to see a Friend. Also she complained to the Queen Mother, of her Mother, as if she used her hardly for Religion, which was false: in a Word, her Mother told me, that before she turn'd Papist, the Searc' ever heard a Lyre from her; and since then she could believe nothing that she said. This was the Darling of that excellent, wise, religious Lady (the Widow of an excellent Lord;) which made the Affliction great, and taught her to moderate her Affections to all Creatures. This Perverion had been a long time secretly working before she knew of it; all which time the young Lady would join in Prayer with her Mother, and jeer at Popery till she was detected, and then she said she might join with them no more.

§ 86. They that stole her away, conveyed her to Flanders, and there put her into a Nunnery, where she is since dead. Not long after her departure, she sent a Letter supercrib'd to her Lady Mother, &c. and subscribed, Sister Anna Maria, &c. It contained the Reasons of her Perverson: And though I knew they were not like to suffer her to read it, I wrote an Answer to it, at her Mother's desire, which was sent to her by her Mother. The Letter which I sent her the day before she was stolen away, and the Answer to that Letter from the Nunnery, I thought meet here to insert, which are as followeth.
The Letter to the Lady Anne Lindsey.

Madam!

The Reasons that moved me to be so importunate with you for a Conference in your hearing with the illustrious Jesuit, Priest, or other Papist you could get, were (as I told you) 1. My very high esteem of your truly Honourable Mother; whose Sorrow hath been so great for your Delusion, that I must confess, though but a Stranger, I suffer much with her by Compassion. And as it would much relieve her if you were recovered, so if God deny her that Mercy, it will Some what satisfies her Confidence, that the hath not been wanting in the use of means.

2. And for your own sake, whom I the more compassionate, because you are not only the Daughter of such Parents, but of so model and sober a Disposition your self, that I am not out of hopes of your Recovery, though the Disease be such as few are cured of, that catch it by relapse and defection of the Truth.

I can imagine nothing but Consciences of a bad Cause, that can cause them thus to decline a Conference. You say the Perfon well knoweth me (though I know not him) and dare trust himself, Cxe, why then will he not meet me to debate the Cause? He cannot but have exceeding great odds or advantages of me as to personal preparations: for they are trained up nearly to this work (I am loath to say to deceive) and have all the helps that Art can afford them. I was never of any University, nor had one Months acquaintance of any Tutor in all my Studies, of Sciences or Theology. If you can get no Jesuit, Friar or Priest that will fairly debate his Cause with one of so poor Preparations and Abilities, it's not shew that they are lamentably deficient of their Cause. All the Conditions or Terms that I desire to be before agreed to are but these. 1. That I may one day produce my Reasons why you should not have turned Papist, and therefore should return; and he Answer them as I urge them. And that the next day (or the first if he desire it) he will produce his Reasons why you ought to turn to them as you did, and I Answer them. 2. That we may speak by turns, without interrupting one another. 3. That whatever Passages must be determined by Books (or Witness) that are not at hand, they may be noted down, and left till there be leisure to peruse them. 4. That there be two Witnesses on each side (of whom one to be a Scribe) and as many more as he desireth: And I, and thofe with me, shall be engaged to do him no wrong by any discovery of his Perfon, to endanger him as to the Law or Government. This is all that I should oblige him to beforehand. I again intreat you, if one will not, get another to moderate the Work. I understand by you, that the Perfon you depend on avoideth me not in any Contempt: for you tell me he hath honourable thoughts of me, and well knoweth me. If so, why will he not confer with me, as well as he hath done with Dr. Gunning?

For Writing, 1. It's like he knoweth that I am here engaged in so much unavoidable Work, that I have scarce time to eat or sleep. 2. You cannot but know that by Writing it's like to be a year, or many years work: And themselves have cut me out Work enough already for my Pen, if I had no more (and now would take me off it, that I might be forced to omit one). I look not to live to end a Dispute by Writing; so many are my Infirmities, and are you content to stay so long before you have the benefit? 3. If Writings will be useful to you, may you not as well read what is written already? Many great Volumes are yet unanswered by them. 4. I have already written divers Writings against their Delusions (viz. The Safe Religion; A Key for Catholicks, &c. A Winding sheet for Popery; The true Catholick and the Catholick Church described; A Disputation with Mr. Johnfon about the Successive Visitation of the Church) and they never answered any of them; no so much as the single Sheet that ever I heard of. When they have answered them all, let them call for more, or offer writing. 5. But yet, rather than be wanting to you, let the Perfon but vouchsafe me this Verbal Conference first, and try what we can do in a few hours there, and if there shall then appear to be cause to prosecute it by Writing, I intend not to fail of taking the first opportunity for it, that greater Duties will permit. I have done my part in urging you and them with my offer, till you call me unto more.

In the mean time, Madam, may I intreat you to read impartially and deliberately, 1. My little Book called, The True Catholick and Catholick Church, &c,(which
I shall lend or bring you). 2. My Preface before the Diputation with Mr. John—
'fon and the Letters in the end, and the Second Part, and then therift. 3. My
two first Books against Popery (The Safe Religion and The Key): For your for-
mer reading of them; before any doubting had made you obceive the fires of
Arguments, is nothing; if you will but now read them again impartially after
your contrary Conceptions, continue a Papift if you can. And truly if you will
not do thus much for your own Soul, because Men engage you to the contrary;
that dare not appear to make good their own Caufe, I must be a Witness againdt
you before the Lord, that you wilfully refufe Inftitution, and fold your Soul at
too cheap a rate.

I tried when I was left with you, to revive your Reafon, by proposing to you
the Infallibility of the Common Senfe of all the World; and I could not pre-
 Bailey though you had nothing to answer that was not againft Common Senfe. And
it is impoffible any thing controverted can be brought nearer you, or made
plainer than to be brought to your Eyes and Taste and Feeling: and not yours
only, but all Mens elle. Senfe goes before Faith. Faith is no Faith but upon
Supposition of Senfe and Understanding; if therefore Common Senfe be falible,
Faith must needs be fo.

But methinks yet I should have hope of reviveing your Charity: You cannot
be a Papift indeed, but you must believe, that out of their Church (that is out
of the Pope's Dominions) there is no Salvation; and consequently no Justifica-
tion and Charity, or faving Grace: And is it poiffible you can fo eafily believe
your religious Father to be in Hell; your prudent, pious Mother to be void of the
Love of God, and in a State of Damnation; and not only me (that am a Stran-
ger to you) but all the Millions of better People in the World, to be in the fame
State (of Gracelefness and Damnation) and all because we believe not that the
Pope is Chrift's Vicar General, or Deputy on Earth, and dare not Subject our
felves to his usurped Dominions? When we are ready to proteft before the Lord,
as we shall answer it at his Bar, that we would be his Subjects but for Fear of the
high Dishpofal of the true Head and King of the Church, and for fear of fin-
ning and Daming our own Souls: And that we are heartily willing to read, and
fludy and pray, and hear all that can be f aid for them; and some of us read as
much of their Writings as of our own and more; and would not ftick at Coft or
Pains, or Lofs or Shame; were it to travel over Land and Sea to fay out that
they are in the Right (if that would do it, and they be fo indeed). But the more
we fludy, the more we pray to God for his Affifiance, the more diligently we
fearch, we are the more refolved and convinced, that their way, as it differeth
from ours, is fale; and that they are the moft Superfitions, Tyrannical, Leprons
part of the Catholick Church, condemning the main Body, because they will not be
under their abominable Dominon, and will not fin as much as they. We hold all
that was held neceffary by the Apostles and the ancient Church; and we dare not
make a new Faith to our felves, as the Papal Sectaries have done: Muft we re-
ounce both our Senfe and Reafon, and put out the Eye of Natural Understanding,
and alfo renounce the Catholick Church and Chriftian Charity, and ftip
into the Throne, and pronounce Damnation not only upon all the Saints of God
that have been acquainted with our felves, but alfo on the Body of Chrift
which he died for, even on the far geenleft part of the Universal Church; and all
this because they will not depart from the Word of God, to corrupt his Doftrine,
Discipline and Worship, and herein obey an usurping Vice Chrift? muft we do
all this, or elfe be judged to Damnation by the Sectaries of Rome? For my part,
I shall be fo far from fearing their Sentence, that I appeal to Chrift, whole Body
they condemn; and I had rather be tortured in their Inquisition, and cut asmall
as Herbs to the Pot, and be accounted the odiouseft Wretch on Earth, than be
guilty of being a Papift at all, but especially on fuch hellish Terms as thefe. If
the greater part of the Church must be damned as no part of the Church, it
will be impoffible to prove your Seat or Fragment to be the Church, any more
than any other. Chrift is the Saviour of his Body, Eph. 5. 23, and to him, as to
his Head. It's Subject, ver. 24. and this Body is that which is fantiiffied by him,
ver. 26. And by one Spirit all his Members are baptifed into one Body, 1 Cor. 12. 12,
13. Did you never note, where the Unity of the Body is fantiiffied described,
that Apostles themfelves are made but Members, and Chrift only the Head, 1 Cor.
27, 28, 29. Eph. 4. 4, 5, 7, 11. There is but one Lord, &c. but deferity of gifts,
of whom the Apostles are the chief. And when Thufandrs were added to the Church,
(even fuch as should be faved, Acts 2. 47.) what made them Chriftians but the lay-
cial
ereverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Part II.

If the Covenant? and what were they Baptized into, but into the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost? Peter or Paul baptiz'd none into their own Names, nor dare the Pope himself, lett his Innovation be too visible. Christ hath said, He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, Mark 16. 16. Did they ever then subject any Baptism to the Bishop of Rome? Was the Eunuch Acts 8. subjected to the Pope, that only faith I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God] and was Baptized? If men could not be saved without believing in the Pope, and being subject to the Church of Rome, how comes it to pass that none of the Apostles preached this necessary Article of Faith? Why did they never say, You must believe in, or be subject to the Pope of Rome, or you cannot be saved? Would they be so unfaithful as to hide a necessary Article? Why did Peter himself, Acts 2. by Baptism take Three thousand into the Church without preaching any of this Doctrin to them. The Gospel profeffeth, that he that hath the Son hath Life, 1 Joh. 5. 1, 2. and whosoever believeth in him shall not perish but have everlasting life, Joh. 3. 16. and that there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, that walk not after the Flesh but after the Spirit. And now up steps a Man of Rome, and redundancy to Revere the Gospel, and say, 'It's no such matter; for all this they shall not be saved, unless they will be my Subjects.'

If you say that thofe may be saved that Sin for want of Light; I answer, 1. On this account your Doctors teach the Salvation of Heathens, (Are thofe of your Church?) and no otherwife of Chriftians than of Heathens. 2. Either they wanting your Light are in the Church or out. If in it, then a Man may be of the Church without being a Papift, which is againft your Faith. If out of it, then it seems Men out of the Church may be saved, and Christ is the Saviour of more than his Body, which is againft your Faith and ours. 3. Who is it that hath sufficient Light? if all that have heard or read the frivolous Reafonings of the Papifts, then your Parents, and almost all of us must perish: But if it be any other Light which must be had, you know not what measure to give us to discern it, nor ever will know; and fo you make your Church invisible, while the Members of it cannot be known: For none can know of another (by your Rule) whether his Light be sufficient or not? And I pray you, are not all the Indians of America, that never heard of Chrift, the Members of your Church? for their Light is not sufficient to fhew them either the Pope or Chrift. Hath he the heart of a right Chriftian that can thus damn two or three parts of all the Chriftians in the World, for not believing in a Wretch at Rome, that sometime is an Infidel himfelf, (for fo was Pope John 23. judged to be, by the great General Council at Conftance, even one that believed no Resurrection, which is worse than a Turk, or Jew, or some Heathens).

And it's a wonder to me, that if your own Soul hath ever been ferviously con ventured with God in Holy Worship, you can favour and fuit with the Cantings, and Repetitions, and Stage-Devotions of the Papifts: and that a Latin Mafs should be believed to be the acceptable way of Worship; when the Holy Ghost hath fo plainly and copiously difowned that serving of God in an unknown tongue, Cor. 14.

Pardon me, if I intreat you to make a deliberate fearch into your Heart and former Ways, and try whether you converfed with God in the Spirit, and were fervious in your Faith and Love and Worship: If you were not, no wonder if an unfound superficial Religion be easily let go, and such an unexperienced Heart can fuit with a Canting, Carnal, licentious kind of Devotion; or if God fo far forfakes a Soul that was not found and fervious in the Religion once profesf by you. But if it was better with you, then its strange your Soul can no longer relish; and its stranger that one, that was a Member of Chrift, and in the Church and justifi fied before, should turn to a Sect that tells them, they were not what they were, and must come to them for what they had already.

And whereas all the pretence you fhew me for your Change was the difference that you found amongst us Profeffants, and our condemning one another, do you not know that in Policy, greater Differences are tolerated among the Papifts under the Names of divers Orders; by far than any are between the Presbyterian, Independant and Epifcopal Profeffants. And that none but ungodly or uncharitable passionate People with us, do deny any of these Parties to be true Members of the Universal Church: If you here met with any one that doth condemn the other, as no parts of the Church of Chrift; they spake not according to the Protestant Religion, and you can no more charge us with the Railings of every Fellow that is drunk with domineering Pride or Paffion, than with the words of the next Scot or Quaker, or Papift that you shall hear Reviling us.
The Life of the

I have paid more to you than at first I intended. I look on you as one about that Age, when Confidence will to receive its first serious deep Impressions, and the Papists falling in with you just at that time, (I doubt before you had heartily received the Life of what before you professed, and had time to be rooted and flablisht in the Truth,) the opportunity served them to your Delusion:

That it may not prove to your everlasting Destruction, shal be the Prayers, and if you admit them, the faithful Endeavours of

Dec. 1. 1660.

Your Servant in obedience to Christ,

though to no Vice-Christ,


The Answer to the Lady Anne Lindsay's Letter to her Mother.

Madam!

It pleased the truly honourable Lady your Mother to shew me your Letter directed to her from Calice, and to give me leave to send you my Animadversions upon it: which I am the willinger to do, because I perceive you have there contracted the Reasons most commonly used for the perverting of the Ignorant, and which its like have prevailed most with your self: (You must give me leave to be free and plain with you in the Matters of God and of Salvation.) I think it meet to leave the first part of your Letter (of the Point of Obedience) to your Mother's Animadversions: It is the Doctrinal Part that I shall speak to.

You lay that [Heresies against Faith, expressed by the Name of Sects, cut us off from Heaven, and that an Anathema is on them that preach any other Doctrine than what was preached by the Apostles]. How far Heresie cuts off from the Church, I have distinctly shewed you in the end of my Book against Mr. Johnson, on that Quellion: but while you expect your Mother should consider of your Reasons, you will not your self peruse an Answer to them, which before was tendered you: whom then can you blame if your Soul be cheated. Briefly, you err in Confounding Sects and Heresies, which are not the same. Heresies indeed, which are false Doctrines practically inconsequent with the Essentials of Christian Faith, do cut Men off from a State of Life, or shew them to be Aliens: but Jeffer Errors, called Heresies by ignorant or uncharitable Men, do un-Church none. Herein I plead for you: for if they did, then wo to the Church of Rome, that hath so many Errors: And if it be damnable to be a Sect, all Papists must be damned; they being as certainly a Sect as there is any in the World; A corrupt part of the Universal Church, condemning the rest, and pretending to be it self, the whole, is a Sect or Party of Schismatics: but such are the Papists: Therefore they are a Sect, &c. But this is not the worst; You consequently Anathematize all Papists by your Sentence: for Heresies by your own Sentence cut off Men from Heaven: But Popery is a bundle of Heresies: Therefore it cuts off Men from Heaven, The minor I prove according to your Churches Principles, that Doctrine is Heresie which is contrary to a point of Faith: But many of the Papists Doctrines are contrary to Points of Faith: Ergo, &c. To pass by now all those Points of Popery which are contrary to what the Holy Scripture revealeth for us to believe (which are many;) I only instance in the Point of Sovereignty, is contrary to the Determination of our General Councils. That which is contrary to what a General Council pronounceth to be believed, is (in the Papists sense) a Heresie: But that the Pope is above a General Council, and that a General Council is above the Pope, are both determined to be believed by General Councils: The one by the Councils, at the Laterane and Florence; and the second by the Councils at Constance and Bafli: They are both Heresies therefore, because they are both against General Councils: and they are both Points of Popery; because both determined in General Councils, (as I have proved in my Key, &c.) If you will peruse a Catalogue in the End of my Book, called The Safe Religion, or the
the Thirty two Novelties mentioned in my Key, pag. 142, 143, 144. you will
see whether Popery be Error. If any other Doctrine contrary to Christ's do in-
fer an Anathema, then everlasting Woe to Papists. And here you may see the
Safety of the true Catholics that have rejected Popery: Our Religion is all con-
tained in the Holy Scripture; we profess to have no other Rule; and you charge
us not (that I know of) with believing too much by holding any positive Error,
but with believing too little, because we believe not your supernumerary Articles:
And therefore you cannot say, that we teach any other Doctrine than Christ's:
though you fancy that we teach not all, because we teach not your Traditions.
But on the contrary, we prove that you teach another Doctrine, and many such,
which Christ never delivered to the Church. But yet to abate your severe Self-
condemnation, let me excuse you thus far, as to say, that you do it upon mistake:
For Gal. 1. faith not, [ Let him be accused that teacheth another Doctrine ] but [ an-
other Gospel: ] While it is the same Gospel in the Essentials that is preached and be-
lieved, this Anathema belongs not even to you that err, till you come to contra-
dict the Essence and make it [ another Gospel ] as well as [ another Doctrine ].
If you have made it your whole business till seven and ten Years of Age to [ pray
to God to direct you to follow his Doctrine ] it's like that I (and many another)
have made it at least, as much of our Business till forty fix Years of Age, as
ever you did, and with better Advantage, and yet are as confident of the Falle-
ness of your Doctrine, as we are that the Earth doth bear us; here therefore you
are not beforehand with us.
But what have you found that cheated or frightned you into Popery: 1. [ The
noviety of Judgments: ] But you never found the far greater variety among Pa-
pists? You never read the voluminous Dispute between the Dominicanes and Je-
suitis (to overpass the rest) ; or perhaps you will (as others do) expect that the
very same Opinion be a Heresy in a Calvinist, and none in a Dominican or fan-
jenfis : or a Heresy in a Lutheran and none in a Jesuit: You will run out of Eng-
land because of Mens diversity of Complexions and finding a greater Diversity in
France, expect it should be esteemed none. If I prove not before any impartial
Judge, that the Papists have far more and greater Differences amongst them-
self than the reformed Churches, called Protestantts (yea, I doubt not, I may add,
more than Greeks, Calvinists, Lutherans, and many more such set together ) then let
your Imagination go for Truth. Bellarmine himself hath enumerated enough.
2. You say, [ the Scripture admits of no private Interpretation ] But 1. You
abuse the Text and your self with a false Interpretation of it, in these Words.
An Interpretation is called private, either as to the Subject Person, or as to the In-
terpreter: You take the Text to speake of the latter, when the Context plainly
sheweth you that it speaks of the former: The Apostle directing them to un-
derstand the Prophecies of the Old Testament, gives them this Caution; That none
of these Scriptures that are spoken of Chrifi the publick Person, must be inter-
preted as spoken of David or other private Persons only, of whom they were
mentioned but as Types of Chrifi: It is subjectively a private Interpretation to
restrain that Scripture (e. g. the Second Psalm) to David or other ordinary Men,
which the Holy Ghost intended of the Messiah. But here's no talk against 
Private Interpreters, but only against a Private Interpretation. 2. But suppose it were
as you imagin, and the publick Judgment of any Cafe suppose a Publick Inter-
preter; yet every Man must fee with his own Eyes, and their private Judgment
of Distinction must be according to their private, that is, personal Interpretation:
Or else your Churches Interpretation must have another publick Interpretation,
and that another, and so endlessly: If we can understand your Councils ( which
your Doctors disagree about ) without another publick Interpretation, we may as
easily understand the Scripture, or at least, much of it: And therefore that can
be none of the Sense which you imagine [ no Scripture, &c. ] 3. Yea, suppose all Interpretation must be publick, and you may not presume to misun-
derstand the Commands of Repentance, Faith or Love, without a publick Com-
men try, do you think this doth not make against you? Is not the Interpretation
of the Papal Seat a more private Interpretation than that of the whole Church: The
Greek, Arminians, Abafines, Protestants, and fo all the far greatest part of the
Church interpret those Texts, which you wont for the Papal Sovereignty, in a
quite other Sense: And is not the Interpretation of your Fourth or Third part of
the Church ( that's partial in the Cafe ) more private than that of all the rest?
would you have Man care no more for their Souls than to call them away upon
the Delusion of such Reasonings as these?
3. You next speak of [Interpretation by Apostolical Tradition]: But are fober
People capable of such a Baffle, as to lay their Salvation on a Dream that ne-
ver had a Being? Was there ever such a thing as an Interpretation of the Bible
by Apostolical Tradition, without which, no Scripture must be interpreted?
Where is that Commentary that the World never knew, and yet all must know
it that will be faved? Written it is not, by Fathers, Popes, or Councils; and if
unwritten, in whole Memory is it, and how learnt they it? Not in the Peoples,
nor the generality of Pfalayers, for they (that were most learned) presume to write
their private Interpretations and Commentaries (never giving us the publick Com-
mentary) and take Liberty to differ about many hundred Texts among themselves.
And are not these then gross Delusions.

4. You say, [the Church is a City set upon a Hill.] Christ speaks there of
Preachers, but let it be of the whole Church. In good fadnefs can you believe that
[the Universality of Christians] which is the true Catholic Church, is not more con-
fipacious than the Papal Faction, or any one particular Part? Should your Sect be
judged more visible than the whole Christian World?

5. That the Church is the Pillar and Ground of Truth, the Pofleffers, Keepers and
Teachers of God's Oracles, and that the Gates of Hell shall not prevail AGAINST it, is most
true and comfortable Truth. But what is this to Rome, any more than to Jerufa-
lem or Alexandria? The Gates of Hell (shall not prevail against the Body of Chrift), the
Universality of Christians, the true Catholic Church: But it may prevail AGAINST
Corinthians, Galatians, Romans, or any particular part: As it prevailed against
Pope John XXII. after XXIII. to make him deny the Resurrection, and AGAINST
Pope Eugenius to make him a Heretick, if General Councils are to be be-
lieved.

6. As to what you fay of [Apostles still placed in the Church]: When any fhow
us an immediate Million by their Commiffion; and by Miracles, Tongues, and
a Spirit of Revelation and infallibility prove themselves Apostles, we fhall believe
them. Till then we remember that Church that was commended for trying them
that faid they were Apostles, and were not, and finding them Liars, Rev. 27, Peter
and the Twelve Apostles with him we acknowledge, and Paul we acknowledge,
but know none properly called Apostles, living now: But if it be only the Name
and not the Office that you differ about; and by Apostles you mean not [Men
immediately sent by Chrift to preach the Gospel with a Spirit of Miracles and Infallility]
(which is our Sense of that Word) but some other fort of Men, then if they
be ordinary Pfalayers or Bifhops, its no matter of Difference; if not, you muft de-
scribe them before we can know them: They are to blame whoever they be,
that they call not themselves Apostles, and tell us where, who, and how many they
are, if they are so indeed.

7. They were to be accounted Heathens and Publicans that heard not the Church
admonifhing them: But fure other Pfalayers besides Apostles mufi admonifh and be heard:
And other Churches besides the Roman, muft hold or refufe Communion, as
is there signified; either you will (erroneously) have that Text understood of
the Universal Church, or elle (truly) of a Particular Church. If the former,
what's that to the Roman Church, that is but a (corrupted) Part? If the latter,
it's no more to the Roman than any other, which are particular Churches also;
Surely this is plain Truth if you are willing to fee.

8. You fay, [The Faith of which Believers were, was that of the Romans spread
through the World.] Anfw. Yes; and it was the Faith of the Ephefians, Philippians,
Coliffians too, and all one: The Romans had not a Faith of their own specifically
different from others: Nor did the Holy Ghost by the Apostles ever give one
Word of Command to other Churches, to conform their Faith to Rome, or
take that Church for their Milfrefs or Sovereign. These Fancies Pride hath fet
up against Chrift: The Faith of Jerufalem was as much known through the World
as that of Rome; and fure you think not that [being known through the World]
made them the Rule or Rulers of the World.

9. [Upon Obfervation, you find this Church shining as a Light, and set as a City on a
Hill.] And was not Jerufalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Ephfus, &c. fo too? Sure
they were. All Faithful Preachers of the Gospel, especially the Apostles, were ob-
vifible (as fuch Lights and City,) to the World, that wondered at their Doctrine
(which is all that Chrift there faith;) and (as I faid) the universal Church is
more obfervable than the Roman Sect: And other particular Churches are and
were as Light and Conspicuous as it: And the most confpicuous Church hath
from thence no Pretence to be the rule or Ruler of the reft.
This Church hath been ever triumphant over Heresies.]

For they have been the great Persecutors, as Lecches lumping and swell’d with the Blood of Thousands and Ten Thousands of the Saints and Martyrs of Jesus: O the Blood that will be found among them, when the righteous Judge of all the World shall make Inquisition for Blood, among their Malefactors and Inquisition.

Was that Church unmoveable in Persecution, when the Head of it (Pope Marcellinum) offered In- 


cence to Idols? And Liberius subscrib’d to the Arrians, and against Athanasius?

What shoul’d I tell you of more, who I perceive are made believe the Crow is white? 3. Again, it is a pitiful Proof of their Rule, to prove them immovable in Persecution. The Church hath many Heads, if every Church or Bishop be its Head that hath stood fast in Persecution.

You add [and always watchful in the Succession of Pastors.]
I give you the same Answers: 1. Watchful indeed! when their own Church Histories tell us of such Multitudes that came in by Synomy or Pofition, or other Murder or Violence, that have been Heretics (as aforeshew’d) or Adulterers, Murderers, and such impious Wretches as the Cannons depose; and when John XII. or XIII. was depof’d by a Council for ravilling Maids and Wives at his Doors, and abundance more such Villanies; and John XXII. for worse; and when Eugenius continued the Succession when a general Council had judged him a Heretic, wicked, depof’d, &c. and when they have had such abundance of Schisms, having two, three or four Popes alive at once; and one Schism of Forty Years, in which no Man knew, or knows to this Day which was the true Pope: and when meer Poseffion is it that must prove their Succession. For (besides these Incapacities)

Mr. Johnfon you may see confelth, that no one way of Election (by Cardinals, People, Emperors, Bishops, Councils, &c.) hath been held or is necessary, nor any Confeffion necessary at all, to the being of the Pope. And it is a Succession of bare Poseffion serv’d, how many Churches have the like? Yea, 2. Constanti- 


gople, Ethiopia, Armenia, and many other Churches have had a far more regular Succession than Rome; or at least as good. 3. And it’s a pitiful Argument, that because a Church hath had a Succession of Pastors, therefore they are the whole Church, and others are no part; or therefore they are the Rule and Rulers to the rest; or therefore we must be of that particular Church only. Sure none denies the Succession of Pastors in England, as to mere posseffion of the Place, if that will serve the turn.

To what you lay of being [men holy, Catholic and Apostolick and cannot de- 


cive you.] I answer, 1. O dreadful Delusion! that a Church headed with hor- 


Vid Monsters and not Men, as their own Histories describe a multitude of their Popes, should call it self and such Men holy! Dare you read what I have written of their Holinels in my Key, chap. 34. Detection 27. or procure them to an- 


swer that and the rest there. 2. Are all that are holy the Rule or Rulers to all others? when you have conversed among the Papists one seven Years, if Delu- 


con leave you Reason and Impartiality, you will be more capable of comparing them with your own Parents, and such as you lived amongst here, and judging which were the more holy. 3. As [Catholic] signifies a Member of the Church Catholic, or such as hold the Catholic Faith, to other Churches are much more such than Rome: As it signifies [the universal Church] Rome is none such. The fame I lay of [Apostolick.] Those that are most exactly of the Apostolick Faith, are to be called Apostolick; but Woe to us if we were in that no better than Rome. . .

14. You may see now what pitiful Grounds you have, for flying into a Pest- 


houte as a City of Refuge; or for forsaking all the cleanest Rooms in the House of God, and betaking your self to that Room that hath the most leprous infected Persons in it, as if it were the only Church of God. And for Novelties, O that the whole Cafe might there be tried! and let that Church that hath introduced most Novelties in Faith and Discipline and Worship be most rejected, as unclean.

Were you impartial the several Rules of our Religion might put that part of the Controversy part Controversy with you: For our Rule of Religion is only the Holy Scripture; (if you knew us that we misunderstand it,) we shall renounce that

Miflin
The LIFE of the

Madam,

London, Jan. 29.
1660.

I rest your Servant for
and in the Truth of Christ,


Since the Writing of this, I am informed that Mr. John
you would have had to Dispute for you: and that did (now and formerly) Dis-
with Dr. Gunning. If so, I like your Condition or Religion never the bet-

'的理解：要理解经文，需要做出新的规则；更多地理解你的教义。'：你所知道的经文没有新奇的教义，只有教义。你的规则是教义和教规，它们是新的、矛盾的，无止境的；你永远不会知道你所拥有的全部，并且在你的智慧达到它的成熟时，会更少地被添加，而不是对所有确定性的直接引用。如果你阅读我的24日、25日和35日的教义，你可能会迅速了解我所写的教义：我写得是否清楚，这取决于你个人的否

Madam,

London, Jan. 29.
1660.

I rest your Servant for
and in the Truth of Christ,


Since the Writing of this, I am informed that Mr. John
you would have had to Dispute for you: and that did (now and formerly) Dis-
with Dr. Gunning. If so, I like your Condition or Religion never the bet-

For the honourable Lady Anne Lindsey at Calice, This.

§ 87. When the King was received with the General Acclamation of his People, the Expectations of Men were various, according to their several Interests and Inducements: Some plain and moderate Episcopal Men thought of Reconciliation and Union with the said Presbyterians; yea, and a Reward to the Presbyterians for bringing in the King. The more Politick Men of the Diocesan way, understood that upon the King's Return, all the Laws that had been made in Nineteen Years, viz. since his Father's departing from the Parliament were void, and that all their Ancient Power, and Honour, and Revenues would fall to them without any more ado; and that they had nothing to do but to keep the Minifters and People in quietness and hopes, till Time should fully do the work. Some few Presbyterians thought the King would favour them as well as others, for flirring up the Soldiers and City to restore him: In London, I found that Mr. Calamy, for his Age and Political Understanding, and Interests in the Earl of Manchester, who kept Correspondence with him in such Matters, was much valued and followed by the London Minifters, as their Guide; and many frequently met at his Houfe: Mr. Calamy took Dr. Reynolds along with him, as one whole Learning and Reputation would be of ufe: And he took Mr. Afb along with him, as one who eminent Holines and Simplicity made him much loved and honoured by all: And he had been the Earl of Manchester's Chaplain in the Wars, and had concurred with him to bring in the King: Thefe three were the Leading Men that kept Correspondence with the Lords, and had moft Interests, feemingly, at Court, as having been moft serviceable to them: To them joined Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, and moft of the City Minifters: But Dr. Steaman and Mr. Jenkins, and some few more, were a little estranged from them, and harder spoken of at Court. Mr. Calamy's Party (and all that brought in the King) were for Confultations with their Friends at Court, for the preferving of the Churches Interests. Dr. Steaman's Party medled not with them, not as being unwilling, but because the Court did give them no Encouragement.

§ 88. For the Gratifying and Engaging some Chief Presbyterians, that had brought in the King; by the Earl of Manchester's means, (who then being Lord Chamberlain, it belonged to his place) above Ten or Twelve of them were designed to be the King's Chaplains in Ordinary. Mr. Calamy and Dr. Reynolds were first put in; and then Mr. Afb was importuned to accept it; and then they put me in for one: (Mr. Narbeit, Newcomen refused it): And then Dr. Spurgeon, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, Mr. Cafe, &c. were admitted. (But never any of them was called to Preach at Court, saving Mr. Calamy, Dr. Reynolds, my Self, and Dr. Spurgeon, each of us once: And I suppose never a Man of them all ever received or expected a Penny for the Salary of their Places.

§ 89. When I was invited by the Lord Broghill (afterwards Earl of Orrery) to meet him at the Lord Chamberlain's; they both perswaded me to accept the Place, to be one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary. I defired to know whether it were his Majesty's defire, or only the Effect of their favourable requeft to him. They told me that it was his Majesty's own defire, and that he would take it as an acceptable furtherance of his Service. Whereupon I took an Oath from the Lord Chamberlain, as a Houhold Servant of his Majesty's, to be true and faithful to him, and Discover any Conspiracy I should know of, &c. And I received this Certificate from him:

These are to Certifie, That Richard Baxter, Clerk, hath been Sworn and Admitted Chaplain to the King's Majesty in Ordinary, to have and Enjoy all Rights, Profits, and Priviledges thenceunto belonging. Given under my Hand this 26th of June, 1660, in the Twelfth year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord the King.

Ed. Manchester.

§ 90.
§ 90. When I was with these two Lords on this occasion, I told them what Conferences I had with several Episcopal Men about the Terms of an Agreement or Coalition, and how much it concerned the Interest, both of the King and of Religion, that we might be so united, and what unhappy Consequences else would follow, and how eafe I thought an Agreement with moderate Men would be, and on what Terms Bishop Uffier and I had agreed in a little space. A little after the Lord Broghill was pleased to come to me; and he told me, That he had told the King of the Business of a Conference for an Agreement, and that the King took it very well, and was resolved to further it. And about the fame time the Earl of Manchefer signified as much to Mr. Calamy: So that Mr. Calamy, Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Asb, and my Self went about it to the Earl of Manchefer Lord Chamberlain, and after Consultations of the Business with him, he determined of a Day to bring us to the King. Mr. Calamy (to whom both I, and I think all the rest, did leave the Nomination of the Persons to be employ'd) advised that all that were the King's Chaplains of us might be called to the Consultation, and that we four might not seem to take so much upon us without others: (if we did go once without them to the King, which I well remember not, that was all): So Dr. Wallis, Dr. Manton, and Dr. S purpos, &c. went with us to the King: who with the Lord Chancellour, and the Earl of St. Albans, &c. came to us in the Lord Chamberlain's Lodgings. We exercised more boldness at first, than afterwards would have been born: when some of the rest had congratulated his Majesty's happy Restoration, and declared the large hope which they had of a happy Union among all Differents by his means, &c. I presumed to speak to him of the Concernments of Religion, and how far we were from desiring the continuance of any Factions or Parties in the Church, and how much a happy Union would conduct to the good of the Land, and to his Majesty's Satisfaction; and though there were turbulent Fanatick Persons in his Dominions, yet that thole Minifters and Godly People, whole Peace we humbly craved of him, were no such Persons, but such as longed after Concord, and were truly Loyal to him, and desired no more than to live under him a quiet and peaceable Life in all godliness and honesty; and whereas there were differences between them and their Brethren about some Ceremonies or Discipline of the Church, we humbly craved his Majesty's favour for the ending of thole Differences, it being easy for him to interpose, that so the People might not be deprived of their faithful Pastors, nor ignorant, scandalous, unworthy Ones obtruded on them! I presumed to tell him, That the People that we spake for were such as were contented with an Interest in Heaven, and the Liberty and Advantages of the Gospel to promote it; and if this were taken from them, and they were deprived of their faithful Pastors, and Liberty of worshipping God, they would take themselves as undone in this World, whatever plenty else they should enjoy: and the Hearts of his most faithful Subjects, who hoped for his help, would even be broken: and that we doubted not but his Majesty desired to Govern a People made happy by him, and not a broken hearted People that took themselves to be undone, by the loss of that which is dearer to them than all the Riches of the World! And I presumed to tell him, That the late Ufhirers that were over us, so well understood their own Interest, that to promote it, they had found the way of doing good, to be the most effectual means; and had placed and encouraged many Thoulard faithful Minifters in the Church, even such as defteet their Ufhiraption: And fo far had they attained their ends hereby, that it was the principal means of their Interest in the People, and the good Opinion that any had conceived of them; and thole of them that had taken the contrary Course, had thereby broken themselves to pieces: Wherefore I humbly craved his Majesty's patience that we might have the freedom to request of him, that as he was our lawful King, in whom all his People (save a few incon siderable Persons) were prepared to Centre, as weary of their Divisions, and glad of the Satisfactory means of Union in him, so he would be pleased to undertake this blessed Work of promoting their Holiness and Concord; (for it was not Faction or Disobedience which we desired him to indulge): And that he would never suffer himself to be tempered to undo the Good which Cowanwil or any other had done, because they were Ufhirers that did it, or disconcertance a faithful Miniftly, because his Enemies had let them up: But that he would rather go them in doing good, and opposing and rejecting the ignorant and ungody of what Opinion or Party forever: For the People whose Caufe we recommend to him, had their Eyes on him as the Officer of God, to defend them in the possession of the Helps of their Salvation; which if he were pleased to vouchsafe them, their E-
states and Lives would cheerfully be offered to his Service. And I humbly be-
ought him that he would never suffer his Subjects to be tempted to have favou-
rable Thoughts of the late Ufcrpers, by seeing the Vice indulged which they sup-
pressed; or the godly Minifters or People dishountained whom they encour-
ged! For the Common People are apt to judge of Governors by the Effects,
even by the Good or Evil which they feel: and they will take him to be the bellt
Governor who doth them moft good, and him to be the worst that doth them
moft hurt: And all his Enemies cannot teach him a more effectual way to retore
the Reputation and Honour of the Ufcrpers, than to do worse than they, and de-
stroy the Good which they had done, that so he may go contrary to his Enemies;
and so to force the People to cry out, We are undone in los of the Means of our
Salvation: It being a hard matter ever to bring the People to love and honour
him, by whom they think they are undone, in comparifon of thofe that they
think made them happy, though the one have a juft Title to be their Governor,
which the other hath not. And again I humbly craved, That no mi1representations
might caufe him to believe, that becaufe fome Fanatics have been Faticious
and Dil informal, therefore the Religious People in his Dominions, who are moft
careful of their Souls, are fuch, though fome of them may be diſfatisfied about
fome Forms and Ceremonies in God's Worship, which others ufe: And that none
of them might go under fo ill a Character with him, by mi1repports, behind their
backs, till it were proved of them personally, or they had anfwered for them-
elves: For we that better knew them than thofe that were like to be their Accusers,
did confidently refljff him to his Majesty on their behalf, that they are refolved En-
emies of Sedition, Rebellion, Difobedience and Divifions; which the World shall fee;
and their Adverfaries be convinced of, if his Majesty's Wifdom and Clemency do but
remove thofe Occafions of Scrupule in fome Points of Discipline and Worship of
God, which give Advantage to others, to call all Di1ferent, Faticious and Difobed-
dient, how Loyal and Peaceable foever. And I humbly craved, That the Freedom
and Plainnes of thofe Expressions to his Majesty might be pardon'd, as being ex-
tracted by the prezent Nefceffity, and encouraged by our revived hopes. I told
him alfo, that it was not for Presbyterian or any Party, as fuch, that we were
fpeaking for, but for the Religious part of his Subjects, as fuch: than whom no
Prince on Earth had better; and how confiderable part of the Kingdom he would
find them to be. And of what great advantage their Union would be to his Ma-
jesty, to the People, and to the Bishops themfelves, and how easily it might be
procured, 3. By making only things Neceffary to be the Terms of Union. 2. And
by the true Exercife of Church Disciplin againft Sin. 3. And not cajting out the
faithful Minifters that muft Exercife it, nor obtruding unworthy Men upon the
People. And how eafe it was to avoid the violating of Mens Solemn Vows and
Covenants without any hurt to any others. And finally, I requefted that we
might but be heard fpeak for our felves, when any Accufations were brought a-
gainft us].

These, with fome other fuch things, I then fpake, when fome of my Brethren
had fpoken firft. Mr. Simeon Affh alfo fpake much to the fame purpofe, and of all
our Defires of his Majesty's Affifiance in our defired Union.

§ 91. The King gave us not only a free Audience, but as gracious an Anwer
as we could expect: profefling his gladnefs to hear our Inclinations to Agreement,
and his Resolution to do his part to bring us together; and that it muft not be by
bringing one Party over to the other, but by abating somewhat on both fides,
and meeting in the Midway; and that if it were not accomplifhed, it fhoult
be long of our felves, and not of him: Nay, that he was refolved to fee it brought
to pafl, and that he would draw us together himfelfl: with some more to this
purpofe. Infomuch that old Mr. Affh burft out into Tears with Joy, and
could not forbear expressing what Gladnefs this Promife of his Majesty had put in-
to his heart.

§ 92. Either at this time, or shortly after, the King required us to draw up,
and offer him fuch Propofals as we thought meet, in order to Agreement about
Church Government; for that was the main Difference: if that were agreed there
would be little danger of differing in the reft: And he defired us to fet down the
moft that we could yield to.

§ 93. We told him, 1. That we were but a few Men, and had no Commission
from any of our Brethren to exprefs their Minds: And therefore defired that his
Majefly would give us leave to acquaint our Brethren in the Country with it, and
take them with us. The King anfwered, That that would be too long, and make
100
too much Noise, and therefore we should do what we would our selves only, with such of the City as we would take with us. And when we then professed that we presumed not to give the Sense of others, nor oblige them; and that what we did must signify but the Minds of so many Men as were present. He answered, That it should signify no more; and that he did not intend to call an Assembly of the other party, but would bring a few, such as he thought meet; and that if he thought good to advise with a few of each side, for his own Satisfaction, none had cause to be offended at it.

§ 94. Also we craved that at the same time when we offered our Concessions to the King, the Brethren on the other side might bring in theirs, containing also the uttermost that they could abate and yield to us for Concord, that seeing both together, we might see what probability of succeed we had. And the King promised that it should be so.

§ 95. Hereupon we departed and appointed to meet from day to day at Sion College, and to consult there openly with any of our Brethren that would please to join with us, that none might say they were excluded: Some City Ministers came among us, and some came not; and Divers country Ministers who were in the City came also to us; as Dr. Worsh (since a Bishop in Ireland) Mr. Fulwood (since Archdeacon of Tauma) &c. But Mr. Matt. Newcomen was most constant in affilting us.

§ 96. In these Debates we found the great inconvenience of too many Actors (though there cannot be too many Conferers to what is well done): For that which seemed the most convenient Expression to one, seemed inconvenient to another, and that we that all agreed in Matter, had much ado to agree in Words. But after about two or three Weeks time, we drew up the following Paper of Proposals, which, with Archbishop Usher's Form of Government (called his Reduction, &c.) we should offer to the King. Mr. Calamy drew up most with Dr. Reynolds; Dr. Reynolds and Dr. Worsh drew up that which is against the Ceremonies; I only prevailed with them to premife the four first Particulars, for the counternaming Godliness, the Ministry, Personal Profession, and the Lord's Day: They were backward because they were not the Points in Controversy; but yielded at last on the Reasons offered them. About Discipline we designably adhered to Bishop Usher's Model, without a Word of alteration; that so they might have left to say against our Offers as being our own; and that the World might see that it was Episcopacy it self which they refused; and that they contended against the Archbishops as well as against us; and that we pleaded not at all with them for Presbytery, unless a Moderate Episcopacy be Presbytery: Yet was there a Faction that called this Offer of Bishop Usher's Episcopacy by the Name of the Presbyterians impudent Expectations. I also prevailed with our Brethren to offer an Arbitrat of our larger Papers, left the reading of the larger should seem tedious to the King; which Arbitrat verbatim, as followeth, at their Desire I drew up, and have hereafter adjoined.

The first Address and Proposals of the Ministers.

May it please Your most excellent Majesty,

W E your Majesty's most Loyal Subjects cannot but acknowledge it as a very great Mercy of God, that immediately after your favouer and peaceable Restoration unto your Throne and Government, (for which we bless his Name) he hath stirred up your Royal Heart as to a zealous Testimony against all Prophanenes in the People, to endeavour an happy composing of the Differences, and healing of the sad Breaches which are in the Church. And we shall according to our bounden Duty become humble Suitors at the Throne of Grace, that the God of Peace who hath put such a thing as this into your Majesty's Heart, will by his heavenly Wisdom and holy Spirit to affit you therein, and bring your Resolutions unto so perfect an Effect and Issue, that all the good People of these Kingdoms may have abundant Cause to rise up and bless you, and to bless God who hath delighted you in to make you his Instrument in so happy a Work. That as your glorious Progenitor, Henry VII. was happy in uniting the Houses of York and Lancaster, and your Grandfather King James of blessed Memory in uniting the Kingdoms of England and Scotland, to this Honour may be...
be reserved for your Majesty as a Radiant Jewel in your Crown, that by your Princely Wisdom, and Christian Moderation the Hearts of all your People may be united, and the unhappy Differences and Mifunderstandings amongst Brethren in matters Ecclesiastical so composed, that the Lord may be one, and his Name one in the midst of your Dominions.

In an humble Conformity to this your Majesty's Christian Design, we, taking it for granted that there is a firm Agreement between our Brethren and us in the Doctrinal Truths of the reformed Religion, and in the substantial parts of Divine Worship, and that the Differences are only in some various Conceptions about the ancient Form of Church-Government, and some particulars about Liturgy and Ceremonies, do in all humble Obedience to your Majesty represent, That in as much as the ultimate end of Church-Government and Ministry is, that Holiness of Life, and Salvation of Souls may be Effectually promoted, we humbly desire in the first place that we may be secured of those things in Practice, of which we seem to be agreed in Principles.

1. That those of our Flocks who are serious and diligent about the matters of their Salvation, may not by Words of Scorn, or any abusive Ulages be suffer'd to be reproachfully handled; but have Liberty and Encouragement in those Christian Duties of exhorting and provoking one another unto Love and good Works, of building up one another in their most holy Faith, and by all religious and peaceable means of furthering one another in the ways of eternal Life; they being not therein opposite to Church-Affembles, nor refusing the guidance and due Inspection of their Pastors, and being responsible for what they do or say.

2. That each Congregation may have a learned, orthodox, and godly Pastor, refining amongst them, to the end that the People might be publicly instructed and edified by preaching every Lord's Day, by Catechising and frequent Administration of the Lord's Supper, and of Baptism and other Ministerial Acts as the Occa-sions and the Necessity of the People may require both in Health and Sicknes; and that effectual Provision of Law be made, that such as are Insufficient, Negligent, or Scandalous, may not be admitted to, or permit-ted in so Sacred a Function and Employment.

3. That none may be admitted to the Lord's Supper, till they competently understand the Principles of Christian Religion, and do personally and publicly own their baptismal Covenant, by a credible Professiohn of Faith and Obedience, not contradicting the same by a contrary Profession, or by a Scandalous Life: And that unto such only Confirmation (if continued in the Church) may be administered: And that the Approbation of the Pastors to whom the catechising and instructing of those under their Charge do appertain, may be produced before any Person receive Confirmation, which Course we humbly conceive will much conduce to the quieting of those fad Disputes and Divisions which have greatly troubled the Church of God amongst us, touching Church-Members and Communicants.

4. That an effectual Course be taken for the Sanctification of the Lord's Day, appropriating the same to holy Exercises both in publick and private without unnecessary Divertements; it being certain and by long Experience found, that the Observation thereof is a special means of preserving and promoting the Power of God-linen, and obviating Prophanences.

Then for the Matters in Difference, viz. Church-Government, Liturgy and Ceremonies, we most humbly represent unto your Majesty.

1. First For Church-Government; that although upon just Reasons we do diff-erent from that Ecclesiastical Hierarchy or Prelacy disclaimed in the Covenant, as it was hated and exercted in those Kingdoms; yet we do not, nor ever did re-nounce the true Ancient and Primitive Presidency as it was balanced and mana- Hh
managed by a due Commixture of Presbyters therewith, as a fit means to avoid Corruptions, Partiality, Tyranny, and other Evils which may be incident to the Administration of one single Person: Which kind of attempered Presidency, if it shall behoove your Majesty's grave Wisdom and gracious Moderation, be in such a manner constituted as that the forementioned, and other like Evils may be certainly prevented, we shall humbly submit thereunto.

And in Order to an happy Accommodation in this weighty Business, we desire humbly to offer unto your Majesty some of the Particulars which we conceive were amiss in the Episcopal Government, as it was practised before the Year 1640.

1. The great Extent of the Bishops Dioces, which was much too large for his own personal Inspection, wherein he undertook a Pastoral Charge over the Souls of all those within his Bishoprick, which must needs be granted to be too heavy a Burthen for any one Man's Shoulders: The Pastoral Office being a Work of Personal Ministration and Trust, and that of the highest Concernment to the Souls of the People, for which they are to give an Account to Christ.

2. That by Reason of this Disability to discharge their Duty and Trust personally, the Bishops did depute the Administration of much of their Work, even in matters of spiritual Cognizance, to Commissaries, Chancellor's and Officials, whereof some were Secular Persons, and could not administer that Power which originally appertaineth to the Pallors of the Church.

3. That those Bishops who affirm the Episcopal Office to be a distinct Order by Divine Right from that of the Presbyter, did assume the sole Power of Ordination and Jurisdiction to themselves.

4. That some of the Bishops exercised an Arbitrary Power, as by sending forth their Books of Articles in their Visitation, and therein unwarrantably enquiring into several things, and swearing the Church-Wardens to present according. So also by many Innovations and Ceremonies imposed upon Ministers, and People not required by Law; and by suspending Ministers at their Pleasure.

For reforming of which Evils, we humbly crave leave to offer unto your Majesty,

1. The late most Reverend Primate of Ireland his Reduction of Ecclesiopacy unto the Form of Synodical Government, received in the ancient Church; as a Ground-work towards an Accommodation and fraternal Agreement in this Point of Ecclesiastical Government: Which we rather do, not only in regard of his eminent Piety and singular Ability as in all other Parts of Learning, so in that especially of the Antiquities of the Church, but also because therein Expedients are offered for healing these Grievances.

And in order to the same end, we further humbly desire that the Suffragans or Coreceptors, mentioned in the Primate's Reduction, may be chosen by the respective Synods, and by that Election be sufficiently authorized to discharge their Trust.

That the Associations may not be so large as to make the Discipline impossible, or to take off the Ministers from the rest of their necessary Employments.

That no Oaths or Promises of Obedience to the Bishops, nor any unnecessary Subscriptions or Engagements be made necessary to Ordination, Injunction, Indulgence, Ministration, Communion or Immunities of Ministers; they being responsible for any Transgression of the Law.

And that no Bishops nor any Ecclesiastical Governors, may at any time exercise their Government by their own private Will or Pleasure; but only by such Rules, Canons, and Constitutions as shall be hereafter by Act of Parliament ratified and established: and that sufficient Provision be made to secure both Ministers and People against the Evils of Arbitrary Government in the Church.

2. Concerning the Liturgy.

1. We are satisfied in our Judgments concerning the Lawfulness of a Liturgy, or Form of publick Worship; provided that it be for the matter agreeable unto the Word of God, and fitly fused to the Nature of the several Ordinances, and
the necessity of the Church; neither too tedious in the whole, nor composed of
the least Prayers, unmeet Repetitions or Reproofs, nor too disjointed from the
Articulations of other Reformed Churches; nor too rigorously imposed; nor the Mi-
nisters to confined thereunto, but that he may also make use of those Gifts for
Prayer and Exhortation which Christ hath given him for the Service and Edifica-
tion of the Church.

2. That inasmuch as the Book of Common Prayer hath in it many things that
are justly offensive, and need amendment, hath been long discontinued, and ve-
ry many, both Ministers and People, Excepts of Pious, Loyal, and Peaceable
Minds are therein greatly dissatisfied; whereupon, if it be again imposed, will
inevitably follow sad Divisions, and widening of the Breaches which your Ma-
jesty is now endeavouring to heal; We do most humbly offer to your Majesty's
Wisdom, that for preventing so great Evil, and for settling the Church in Unity
and Peace, some Learned, Godly, and Moderate Divines of both Perfections,
indifferently chosen, may be employed to Compile such a Form as is before de-
scribed; as much as may be in Scripture words; or at least to Revive and effec-
tually Reform the old; together with an Addition or Insertion of some other
varying Forms in Scripture phrasal, to be used at the Minister's Choice: of which
Variety and Liberty there be Incitations in the Book of Common Prayer.

3. Concerning Ceremonies.

We humbly represent, that we hold our selves obliged in every part of Divine
Worship, to do all things decently, in order and to Edification, and are willing
therein to be determined by Authority in such things as being nearly Circum-
stantial, are common to Humane Actions and Societies, and are to be ordered
by the Light of Nature and Christian Prudence, according to the General Rules
of the Word which are always to be observed.

And as to divers Ceremonies formerly retained in the Church of England, We
do in all Humility offer unto your Majesty these ensuing Considerations.

That the Worship of God is in it self perfect, without having such Ceremo-
\nnice affixed thereto.

That the Lord hath declared himself in the Matters that concern his Worship,
to be a Jealous God; and this Worship of his is certainly then most pure, and most
agreeable to the Simplicity of the Gospel, and to his holy and jealous Eyes, when
it hath least of Humane Admixtures in things of themselves confessedly unneces-
sary, adjoyneyed and appropriated thereunto; upon which account, many faith-
ful Servants of the Lord, knowing his Word to be the perfect Rule of Faith and
Worship, by which they must judge of his Acceptance of their Services, and
must be themselves judged, have been exceeding fearful of varying from his Will,
and of the danger of displeasing him by Additions or Detractions in such Duties
wherein they must daily expect the Communications of his Grace and Comfort;
especially seeing that these Ceremonies have been imposed and urged upon such
Considerations as draw too near to the significance and moral efficacy of Sacra-
ments themselves.

That they have, together with Popery, been rejected by many of the Reformed
Churches abroad, amongst whom notwithstanding we doubt not but the Lord
is worshipped decently, orderly, and in the beauty of Holiness.

That ever since the Reformation they have been Matter of Contention, and
endeavours Difputes in this Church, and have been a Cause of depriving the Church
of the Fruit and Benefit which might have been reaped from the Labours of ma-
ny Learned and Godly Minded, some of whom judging them unlawful, others
unadvised, were in Confidence unwilling to be brought under the power of
them.

That they have occasioned, by the offence taken at them, by many of the
People, heretofore, great Separations from our Church, and to have rather pre-
judiced than promoted the Unity thereof; and at this time, by reason of their
long detention, may be more likely than ever heretofore to produce the same Incon-
veniences.

That they are at best but indifferent, and in their Nature mutable; and that it's
(specially) in various Exigencies of the Church, very needful and expedient,
that things in themselves mutable, be sometimes actually changed, lest they should
by perpetual permanency and constant use, be judged by the People as necessary
as the Substantials of Worship themselves.

And
And though we do most heartily acknowledge your Majesty to be Cæsæs atri-
que Tribus, and to be Suprem Government over all Persons, and in all Things
and Causes; as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, in the next your Majesty's Dominions;yet
we humbly crave leave to beseech your Majesty to consider, whether as a Chri-
lian Magistracy, you be not as well obliged by that Doctrine of the Apostle
touching Things indifferent, not occasioning an offence to weak Brethren, as the
Apostle himself (then one of the highest Officers in the Church of Christ)
judged himself to be obliged: and whether the great Work wherewith the Lord
hath intrusted your Majesty, be not rather to provide by your Sacred Authority,
that the things which are necessary by virtue of Divine Command in his Wor-
ship should be duly performed, then that Things unnecessary should be made by
Humane Command necessary and penal. And how greatly pleasing it will be to
the Lord, that your Majesty's heart is so tenderly and religiously Compa
defurate, to such of his poor Servants departing in so small matters, as to prefer the Peace
of their Consciences in God's Worship above all their Civil Concernments what-
soever.

May it therefore please your Majesty, out of your Princely Care of healing
our Breaches, graciously to grant, That Kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's
Supper, and such Holydays as are but of Humane Institution may not be imposed
upon such as do conscientiously scruple the Observation of them. And that the use
of the Surplice and Crofs in Baptism, and bowing at the Name of Jesus rather
than the Name of Christ or Emmanuel, or other Names whereby that Divine Per-
on, or either of the other Divine Persons is nominated, may be abolished; these
things being in the Judgment of the Imposers themselves but indifferent and mu-
table; in the Judgment of others a Rock of Offence: and in the Judgment of
all not to be valued with the Peace of the Church.

We likewise humbly represent unto your most Excellent Majesty, that divers
Ceremonies which we conceive had no Foundation in the Law of the Land, as
erecting Altars, bowing towards them, and such like, have been not only in-
troduced, but in some places imposed; whereby an Arbitrary Power was usur-
ed, divers Ministers of the Gospel, though Controllable to the Established Cer-
emonies, troubled, some Reverend and Learned Bishops offended, the Protestants
grieved, and the Papists pleased, as hoping that those Innovations might make
way for greater Changes.

May it therefore please your Majesty by such ways as your Royal Wield
shall judge meet, effectually to prevent the imposing and using of such Innov-
ations for the future, that according to the pious intention of your Royal Grand-
father King James of blessed memory, the Publick Worship may be free, not only from
blame, but from suspicion.

In obedience to your Majesty's Royal Pleasure graciously signified to us,
we have tendered to your most Excellent Majesty what we humbly
conceive may most conduces to the Glory of God, to the Peace and
Reformation of the Church, and to the taking away not only of our
Differences, but the Roots and Causes of them. We humbly beg
your Majesty's favourable Acceptance of these our Loyal and Consci-
cious Endeavours to serve your Majesty and the Church of Christ, and
your gracious Pardon, if in any Thing or Expression, we answer not
your Majesty's Expectation: professing before your Majesty, and be-
fore the Lord the Searcher of Hearts, that we have done nothing out of
frife, vain Glory or Emulation: but have sincerely offered what we
apprehend most seafonable and conducing to that happy End of Unity
and Peace which your Majesty doth so piouly procure.

We humbly lay our selves, and these our Addressses, at your Majesty's feet: professing our unfeigned resolution to live and die your Majesty's faith-
ful, loyal, and obedient Subjects: and humbly implore your Gracious
Majesty, according unto your Princely Wisdom and Fatherly Compa-
nion, so to lay your Hand upon the bleeding Rents and Divisions that
are amongst us, that there may be an healing of them: so shall your
Throne be greater than the Throne of your Fathers; in your days the
Righeous shall flourish, Peace shall run down like a River, and the Ge-
nerations to come shall call you blest.

This
This following Paper I drew up at this time, and offered to the Brethren to have been presented to the King as the Summary of our Judgment, that he might see in a few plain words what it was that we indeed desired. But it was not confented to, both because that all of us were not agreed among ourselves, in granting so much of Episcopacy, and because we would not hinder our Success by adding any more to Bishop Usher's Model, hoping that his Authority might have facilitated the Reception of it; to which Reasons I confented.

P a r t II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

The brief Sum of our Judgment and Desires about Church-Government.

1. Power is 1. Imperial and Coercive, by Misdigs and Penalties; 2. or Doctoral and Salviary. The first belongeth only to the Magistrate; The second to the Bishops of the Church.

2. Though in Cales of Necessity the same Man may be both a Magistrate and a Pastor; yet out of such Case it is unlawful or very unmeet: Each Calling will find a Man work enough alone. And our work being persuasive, is successful but as it procureth Complacency and Content; and therefore we should be put upon no such Actions as will render us more feared and hated than desired to our Flocks. We therefore humbly beseech your Majesty to trust no Church-men with the Sword; with any degree of Imperial Coactive Power; but where it must be used, that it be by Magistrates. And that your Execution be not annexed to their Judgment; nor any Man punished by you, merely because he is Excommunica (that is, forei punished) by them.

3. Every stated full Congregation that had many Altars, was by Divine Institution to have a Bishop of their own, or many if they could be had; which Bishops were called Elders also in the Scripture. And for Order sake, where there were many of these, the Churches soon placed the Precedency and Moderatorship in one, whom they called by Eminency the Bishop.

4. Because in the beginning there were no stated Churches or Altars (ordinarily) but in Towns and Cities; therefore the same Apostles that ordained Elders in every Church, are said also to appoint that they be Orained unto others, apposition, in every Town or City. And it being long before the Villages had Churches, they were the Parish or Diocess of the Bishops of the Town. And when Rural Bishops were placed in those Churches, they were subjected to the City Bishops; when every Church, as in the beginning, should have had a Bishop of their own.

5. If you will return to the Scripture Pattern, every stated Congregation that had one Altar, must have Pastors that have the Government of the People; and if you will return to the primitive Episcopacy, eminently so called, every one of these Churches should have a Bishop with Fellow Presbyters as his Colleagues, or Deacons at least in smaller Churches.

6. If you will return to the first and lowest degree of Corruption of Church Order, you must have a Bishop and Presbytery in every City and Town only, such as our Corporations and Boroughs are, who must take care also of the adjacent Villages.

7. For the maintaining of Unity and Concord, and Edifying each other by Communion, these Bishops held ordinary Synods or Meetings, in which by Agreements called Canons (no proper Laws) they bound up themselves in things of mutable Determination, and also tied themselves to their Duties.

8. Besides these particular Bishops, there were General Overseers of the Church, such as the Apostles, Evangelists, and others that fixed not themselves in relation to any one particular Church, but the Care of many. And that these have Successors in this ordinary part of their Work, we do not gainsay. But we humbly crave, that if our Diocesans will be such, they be taken for Archbishops or General Pastors; and that they take only a General Charge of the Flock, overseeing the particular Pastors or Bishops, and receiving Appeals in some Special Cases, and not a particular Charge of each Soul as the particular Bishops have. And therefore, the
that they be not charged with ordinary Confirming (or admitting into the state of Adult Members) all the People, which will bind them in Conscience to know and try them all, or most: Nor yet to receive Prefentments of all Scandals, nor to Excommunicate and absole, or impofe Publick Penitence, on all that these belong to.

9. If these things may not be granted, we muft be bold to leave our Testimony, that Diocfeans affuming the particular Government of all the People, in fo many Churches, as they have in England, are destructive 1. To the very being of all the particular Churches, they the Cathedral or City where they are; (It being that old Maxim, Ubi non eft Epifcopus non eft Ecclesia; viz. in fenu politico): 2. And to the Palloral Office of Chrift's Infitution: 3. And to the moft ancient Epifcopacy, Whenas by the eftablishing of these Parochial Bifhops, (at leaft Oppidatim) the Diocfeans may become of great ufe for the Work of General Overfight. We re- feive not General Officers, fo they overthrow not the particular Officers and Churches: As if General Officers in an Army or Navy would be the Sole Commanders, and depofe all the Captains, and consequently make the Discipline imposfible.

10. We most earnestly befeof your Majesty, that in Matters of Doctrine, Discipline and Worship, the Modes and Circumstances and Ceremonies may not be made more necesfary to our Ordination, Infitution, Miniftration, or Communion than God hath made them, either in Scripture or in the Nature of the thing; left they be still the Engines of our Divifions and Calamity; but that we may hold our Concord and Communion in Necifary things, according to the Primitive Simplicity; and may have Liberty in things Unneceffary, as to Subscriptions, Promifes and Practice; that fo the Churches may have Peace and Charity in both. And that our Discipline which operateth on the Will, may not be corrupted by unnecefsary and unfeamful violence; nor any permitted, much lefs confrained to be Members of our Churches and Communion that wiltfe such Privileges, and cannot be moved by our Exhortations, nor feel the weight of a meer Excommunication. Though a gentle Force is necessary to compel the Learners or Caretumens to submit to the neceafsary means of their Inftruction: and to refrain the petulant from abusing the Worship and Worthippers of the Lord. He that will rather be call out of the Church by Excommunication, than repent and amend his wicked Life, is fo unfit to be a Member of the Church, that it is moft unfit to drive him into it by Imprifonment, Multets, or Secular Force: And this is that which doth corrupt and undo the Church.

I shall here Annex Archbifhop Ufher's Model of Government, which we now alfo prefent.

The Reduction of Epifcopacy unto the Form of Synodical Government received in the Ancient Church, proposed in the Year 1641. as an Expedient for the prevention of those Troubles which afterwards did arise about the Matter of Church-Government.

Episcopal and Presbyterial Government conjoin'd.

By the Order of the Church of England, all Presbyters are charged to (a) minifter the Doctrine and Sacraments and the Discipline of Chrift as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Realm hath received the fame. And that we might the better underftand what the Lord had commanded therein, the Exhortation of St. Paul to the Elders of (b) the Church of Ephesius, is appointed to be read unto them at the time of their Ordination: Take heed unto your felves and to all the flock, among whom the Holy Ghost hath made you Overfiers, to rule the Congregation of God, which he hath purchas'd with his Blood.

Of the many Elders who in common thus ruled the Church of Ephesius, there was one President whom our Saviour in his Epitaffe to the Church, in a peculiar manner fithe, the (c) Angel of the Church of Ephesius. And Ignatius in another Epiffe
pistle written about twelve Years after to the same Church, calld the Bishop there- of. Betwixt which Bishop and the Presbytery of that Church what an harmonious Content there was in the ordering the Church-Government, the same Ignorant doth fully there declare by the Presbytery (with (d) St. Paul) upholding and to the Company of the rest of the Presbytery or Elders who then had a Hand, not only in the delivery of the Doctrine and Sacraments, but also in the Administration of the Discipline of Christ. For further Proof whereof we have that known Testimony of Tertullian in his general Apology for Christians. In (e) the Church are used Exhortations, Chaftisements and divine Cenfures; for Judgment is given with great Advice as among those who are certain they are in the sight of God, and it is the chiefest foreboding of the Judgment that is to come, if any Man hath so offended that he be banished from the Communion of Prayer, and of the Assem- bly, and of all holy Fellowship.

The Presidents that bear rule therein are certain approved Elders who have ob- tained this Honour, and not by Reward, but by good Report. Who were no other (as he himself elsewhere intimateth) but those from (f) whole hands they used to receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

For with the Bishop, who was the Chief President (and therefore flyled by the name Tertullian in another place Summus (g) Sacerdos for distinction sake) the rest of the Dignitaries of the Word and Sacraments were joined in the common Government of the Church. And therefore in matters of Ecclesiastical Jurisprudence, Cavendish, Bishop of Rome used the received Form of (h) gathering together the Pres- bytery.

copus, defunt Presbyteri ex Diana? : idem de Baptismis, Cap. 17. (h) Omnis alius ad re ordinate, quod in- sumit Presbyterum, Cornel. apud Cyprian Epift. 46.

Of what Persons that did consist, Cyprian sufficiently declareth, when he wish- ed him to read his Letters to (e) the flourishing Clergy that there did reside or rule with him.

The presence of the Clergy being thought to be so requisite in matters of Epis- copal Audience, that in the fourth Council of Carthage it was concluded (k) that the Bishop might hear no Man's Caule, without the Presence of the Clergy, which we find also to be inserted into the Canons of (l) Egbert, who was Archbishop of York in the Saxons Times, and afterwards into the Body of the (m) Canon-Law it self.


True it is, that in our Church this kind of Presbyterian Government hath been long disused, yet seeing it still proffeth that every Pastor hath a right to rule the Church (from whence the Name of Rectore also was given at first unto him) and to administer the Discipline of Christ, as well as to entend the Doctrine and Sacraments. And the restraint of the Ecclesiastic Right proceedeth only from the Cullum now received in this Realm: No Man can doubt but by another Law of the Land this Hindrance may be well removed. And how easily this ancient Form of Government by the united Suffrages of the Clergy, might be revived again, and with what little shew of Alteration the Synodical Conventions of the Bishops of every Parish might be ascended, with the Presidency of the Bishops of each Diocese and Province, the indifferent Reader may quickly perceive by the per- tual of the ensuing Propositions.

I.

In every Parish the Rector or the incumbent Pastor, together with the Church-wardens and Sidemen, may every Week take notice of such as live scandalously in that Scotland.
that Congregation, who are to receive such severall Admonitions and Reproofes as
their quality of their Offence shall deserve; and if by this means they cannot be
reclaimed, they may be prented unto the next Monthly Synod, and in the mean
time be debarred by the Pastor from access unto the Lord's Table.

II.

Whereas by a Statute in the Twenty sixth of King Henry VIII. (revived in the
first Year of Queen Elizabeth) Suffragans are appointed to be erected in twenty
six several Places of this Kingdom, the Number of them might very well be con-
formed unto the Number of the federal rural Deaneries into which every Diocefs is
subdivided, which being done the Suffragan (supplying the place of those who in
the ancient Church were called Chorepiscopi) might every Month assemble a Syn-

od of all the Rectors, or incumbent Pastors within the Precinct, and according
to the major part of their Voices conclude all Matters that should be brought into
Debate before them.

To this Synod (the Rector and) Churchwardens might present such impen-
tent Persons, as by Admonition and Suspension from the Sacrament would not be
reformed; who, if they should still remain contumacious and incorrigible, the
Sentence of Excommunication might be decreed against them by the Synod, and
accordingly be executed in the Parish where they lived. Hitherto also all things
that concerned the Parochial Ministers might be refered, whether they did touch
their Doctrine or their Convention: As also the censure of all new Opinions,
Herefies and Schisms which did arise within that Circuit, with Liberty of appeal if
need to require unto the Diocefs Synod.

III.

The Diocefs Synod might be held once or twice in the Year as it should be
thought most convenient, therein all the Suffragans and the rest of the Rectors or
Incumbent Pastors (or a certain selected Number out of every Deanery within that Dio-
cefs) might meet; with whole Consent, or the major part of them, all things
might be concluded by the Bishop or *Superintendent (call him whither you will)
or in his Absence by one of the Suffragans, whom he should depute in his stead to
be Moderator of that Assembly. Here all matters of greater Moment might be tak-

en into Consideration, and the Orders of the Monthly Synods revised and (if
need be) reformed. And if here also any matter of Difficulty could not receive a
full Determination, it might be refered to the next Provincial or National
Synod.

IV.

The Provincial Synod might consist of all the Bishops and Suffragans, and such
of the Clergy as should be elected out of every Diocefs within the Province. The
Primate of either Province might be the Moderator of this Meeting (or in his room
some one of the Bishops appointed by him) and all Matters be ordered therein by
common Consent as in the former Assemblies. This Synod might be held every
third Year, and if the Parliament do then sit (according to the Act for a Triennial
Parliament) both the Primates and Provincial Synods of the Land might join to-
gether, and make up a National Council; wherein all Appeals from inferior Syn-
ods might be received, all their Acts examined, and all Ecclesiastical Constitu-
tions which concern the State of the Church of the whole Nation establisht.

May it please your Grace,

I would desire you to consider whether Presentments are fit to be made by the Churchwardens
alone and not rather by the Rector and Churchwardens. Then whether in the Diocefs Syn-

od the Members of it be not too many, being all to judge and in their own cause, as it may
fall out. Therefore after this Clause, and the rest of the Rectors or incumbent Pa-
flors, whether it be not fit to interline, or four; or six out of every Deaneys.

Ri. Holdsworth.
We are of Judgment, that the Form of Government here proposed, is not in any point repugnant to the Scripture, and that the Suffragans mentioned in the second Proposition, may lawfully use the Power both of Jurisdiction and Ordination according to the Word of God, and the Practice of the ancient Church.

§ 97. When we went with these foresaid Papers to the King, and expected there to meet the Divines of the other party, according to promise, with their Proposals also containing the lowest Terms which they could yield to for Peace; we saw not a Man of them, nor any Papers from them of that Nature, nor not to this Day: But it was not fit for us to expostulate or complain.

§ 98. But his Majesty very graciously renewed his Professions, (I must not call them Promises) that he would bring us together, and see that the Bishops should come down and yield on their Parts; and when he heard our Papers read, he seemed well pleased with them; and told us, he was glad that we were for a Liturgy, and yielded to the Essence of Episcopal, and therefore he doubted not of our Agreement with much more; which we thought meet to recite in our following Address, by way of Gratitude, and for other Reasons easy to be conjectured.

§ 99. Yet was not Bishop Usher's Model the same in all Points that we could with: But it was the best that we could have the least hope (I say not to obtain, but) acceptably to make them any Offers of: For had we proposed any thing below Bishops and Archbishops, we should but have suddenly furnished them with plausible Reasons for the rejecting of all further Attempts of Concord, or any other Favour from them.

§ 100. Before this time, by the King's Return many hundred worthy Minifters were displaced, and cast out of their Charges, because they were in Sequellations where others had by the Parliament been cast out: Our earnest Desires had been that all such should be cast out as were in any Benefice belonging formerly to a Man that was not grossly insufficient or debauch'd; but that all that succeeded such as thefe Scandalous ones should hold their Places: but these WiUes being vain, and all the old ones restored, the King promised, that the Places where any of the old ones were dead, should be confirmed to the Possifors: But many got the Broad Seal for them, and the matter was not great; for we were all of us to be endured but a little longer. However we agreed to offer these five Requests to the King; which he received.

Agreed to be verbally requested of the King.

1. That with all convenient speed we may see his Majesty's Conclusions upon the Proposals of the mutual Condefcencions, before they pass into Resolves, (and if it be thought meet, our Brethren Proposals also.)
2. That his Majesty will publickly declare his Pleasure for the Suspension of Proceedings upon the Act of Uniformity, against Nonconformists in Cate of Liturgy and Ceremonies, till our hoped for Agreement.
3. That his Majesty will be pleased to publish his Pleasure, (at least to those that are concerned in the Execution) that (till the laid expected Settlement) no Oath of Canonical Obedience, nor Subscription to the Liturgy, Discipline, Ceremonies, &c. nor Renunciation of their Ordination by mere Presbyters, or confessing it to be unlawful, be imposed on, or required of any, as necessary to their Ordination, Institution, Induction, or Confirmation by the Scales.
4. That His Majesty will Caufe the revoking of the Broad Seal that is granted to all those Persons, that by it are put into Places where others have Possifion, to which none before could claim a right; that is, such as they call dead Places.
5. That his Majesty will be pleased to provide some Remedy against the Return or Settlement of notoriously insufficient or scandalous Minifters, into the Places from which they were cast out, or into any other.

§ 101. While we waited for the promised Condefcencions of the Episcopal Divines, there came nothing to us, but a Paper of bitter Oppositions, by way of Confutation of our former Proposals. We were not insensible of the unworthines of this dealing, and
The Brethren at first desired me to write an Answer to it. But afterward they considered that this would but provoke them, and turn a Treaty for Concord into a sharp Disputation, which would increase the Discord; and so what I had written was never seen by any Man; left it should hinder Peace.

The Bishop's Answer to the first Proposals of the London Ministers, who attempted the Work of Reconciliation; which was brought them afterward instead of their Concessions, before expected and promised. When we looked to see how much they would abate of their former Impositions, for the attaining of Unity and Peace, we received nothing but this Contradiction.

Concerning the Preamble.

§ 1. We first observe that they take it for granted that there is a firm Agreement between them and us in the Doctrinal Truths of the reformed Religion, and in the Substantial Parts of Divine Worship; and that the Differences are only in some various Conceptions about the Ancient Forms of Church-Government, and some Particulars about Liturgy and Ceremonies. Which maketh all that follows the least considerable and lets reasonable to be fixed upon to the hazard of the Disturbance and Peace of the Church.

§ 2. They seem to intimate as if we did discountenance the Practice of those things which in Principles we allow, which we utterly deny. In sundry Particulars therein proposed, we do not perceive what farther Security can be given, than is already provided for by the established Laws of this Realm; whereunto such Persons as shall at any time find themselves aggrieved may have recourse for Remedy.

§ 3. 1. We heartily desire (as well as they) that all Animosities be laid aside, Words of Scorn, Reproach, and Provocation might be mutually forborn, and that to Men of different Persuasions such a Liberty may be left of performing Christian Duties according to their own way within their own private Families, as that yet Uniformity in the publick Worship may be preferred; and that a Gap be not thereby opened to Sectaries for private Conventicles; for the evil Consequences whereof none can be sufficiently responsible unto the State.

§ 4. 2. We likewise desire that every Congregation may have an able and Godly Minister to Preach, Expositor, administer the Sacraments, and perform other Ministerial Offices as need shall require. But what they mean by refuding, and how far they will extend that Word, and what effectual Provision of Law can be made more than is already done concerning the Things here mentioned, we know not.

§ 5. 3. Confirmation (which for sundry Ends we think necessary to be continued in the Church) if rightly and solemnly performed, will alone be sufficient as to the point of Instruction. And for notorious and scandalous Offenders, provision is made in the Rubric before the Communion, which Rules, had they been carefully observed, the Troubles of the Church by the Disputes and Divisions here mentioned had been prevented.

§ 6. 4. There cannot be taken a more effectual Courfe in this behalf than the Execution of the Laws already made for the due Observation of the Lord's Day: which in this particular are very much stricter than the Laws of any Foreign reformed Churches whatsoever.

Concerning Church-Government.

§ 4. They do not suggest, nor did we ever hear any just Reasons given for their denial from the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy or Prelacy, as it was stated and established in this Kingdom. Which we believe to be for the main, the true ancient primitive
mitive Episcopacy, and that to be more than a mere presidency of Order. Neither do we find that the fame was in any Time ballanced or managed by any Authoritative Commixture of Presbyters therewith. Though it hath been then, and in all Times since usually exercised with the Affiliation and Counsel of Presbyters in subordination to the Bishops.

§ 8. And we cannot but wonder that the Administration of Government by one single Person, should by them be affirmed to be so liable to Corruptions, Partialities, Tyrannies, and other Evils, that for the avoiding thereof it should be needful to have others joined with him in the power of Government. Which if applied to the Civil State, is a most dangerous Intimation. And we verily believe what Experience and the Constitutions of Kingdoms, Armies and even private Families sufficiently confirmeth (in all which the Government is administered by the Authority of one single Person, although the Advice of others may be requisite also; but without any share in the Government) that the Government of many is not only most subject to all the aforesaid Evils and Inconveniences, but more likely also to breed and foment perpetual Fractions both in Church and State, than the Government by one is or can be. And since no Government can certainly prevent all Evils which is liable to the least and fewest is certainly to be preferred.

As to the four particular Instances of things amis, &c.

§ 9. 1. We cannot grant that the Extent of any Diocess is so great, but that the Bishop may well perform that, wherein the proper Office and Duty of a Bishop doth consist; which is not the personal Inspection of every Man's Soul under his Government (which is the Work of every Parochial Minifter in his Care) but the Pastoral Charge of overseeing, directing, and taking care that the Miniflers and other Ecclesiastical Officers within his Diocess, do their several respective Duties in their several Stations as they ought to do. And if some Diocesses shall be thought of too large Extent, the Bishops may have Suffragan Bishops to affift them, as the Laws allow. It being a great mistake, that the Personal Inspection of the Bishop is in all places of his Diocess at all times necessary. For by the same reason, neither Princes, nor Governors of Provinces, nor Generals of Armies, nor Mayors of great Cities, nor Minifters of great Parifhes could ever be able to discharge their Duties in their several Places and Charges.

§ 10. 2. We confefs the Bishops did (as by the Law they were enabled) depute part of the Administration of their Ecclesiastical Jurifdictions to Chancellors, Commissaries and Officials as Men better skill'd in the Civil and Canon Laws. But as for Matters of more Spiritual Concernment, viz. the Sentences of Excommunication, and Abfolution, with other Censures of the Church, we conceive they belong properly to the Bishop to decree and pronounce, either by himself where for the present he refideth, or by some grave Ecclesiastical Perfon by him Surrogated for that purpose, in such Places where he cannot be Personally present. Wherein if many things have been done amis for the time past, or shall be reasonably conceived inconvenient for the future, we shall be as willing to have the fame Reformed and Remedied, as any other Persons whatsoever.

§ 11. 3. Whether a Bishop be a distinct Order from Presbyter or not, or whether they have power of sole Ordination or no? is not now the Question. But we affirm that the Bishops of this Realm have constantly (for ought we know, or have heard to the contrary) Ordained with the Affiliation of Presbyters, and the Imposition of their Hands together with the Bishops. And we conceive it very fit, that in the execution of that part of their Jurifdictions which appertaineth to the Censures of the Church, they should likewise have the Advice and Affiliation of some Presbyters. And for this purpose the Colleges of Deans and Chapters are thought to have been instituted, that the Bishops in their several Diocesses might have their Advice and Affiliation in the Administration of their respective Pastoral Charge.

§ 12. 4. This last dependeth upon Matter of Fact. Wherein if any Bishops have or shall do otherwise than according to Law, they were and are to be answerable for the same. And it is our desire (as well as theirs) that nothing may be done or imposed by the Bishop, but according to the known Laws.
For Reforming of which Evils, &c.

§ 13. 1. The Primates Reduction, though not published in his Life time, was formed many years before his Death, and shewed to some Perfons (ready to atta
the fame) in the Year 1640, but it is not confentful with two other Discourse
of the fame Learned Primate (viz. the one of the Original of Episcopacy, and
the other of the Original of Metropolitans) both printed in the Year 1641, and written with great diligence and much variety of ancient Learning. In nei
ther of which is to be found any mention of the Reduction aforesaid. Neither is there in either of them propounded any fuch Model of Church-Government, as in the faid Reduction is contained. Which doubts would have been done, had that Platform been according to his fطةd Judgment in thofe Matters.

In which Reduction there are fundry things (as namely the Conforming of Suffragans to the number of Rural Deaneries) which are apparently private Concep
tions of his own; accomodated at that time for the taking off fome present Ani
mofities: but wholly deftleite of any Colour of Testimony or President from An
tiquity, nor is any fuch by him offered towards the proof thereof.

And it would be considered, whether the Final Resolution of all Ecclefsaftical Power and Jurifdiction into a National Synod, where it femeeth to be placed in
that Reduction without naming the King, or without any dependance upon him, or relation to him, be not deftructive of the King's Supremacy in caufes Eccle
affical.

It is observable nevertheless, that even in the Reduction Archi-Epifcopacy is ac
knowledged.

As for the super-added Particulars;

§ 14. 1. The Appointment and Election of Suffragans is by the Law already vefted in the King, whose Power therein is by the Courfe here propofed taken away.

§ 15. 2. What they mean by Association in this place, they explain not; but we conceive it dangerous that any Association (whatever is underftood thereby) should be made or entered into without the King's Authority.

§ 16. 3. We do not take the Oaths, Promifes and Subscriptions by Law requi
red of Minifters at their Ordination, Inftitution, &c. to be unnecessary: although they be responsible to the Laws if they do amifs: it being thought requisite, as well by fuch Cautions to prevent Offences, as to punifh Offenders afterwards. Upon which Consideration it is, that Officers in the Court, Freemen in Cities, and Corporate Towns, Masters and Fellows of Colleges in the Universities, &c. are required at their Admission into their feveral refpective places to give Oaths for well and truly performing their feveral refpective Duties, their liablenefis to puni
ment in cafe of Non-performance accordingly norwithstanding. Neither doth it feem reafonable that fuch Perfons as have themselves with great fervency precribed and exacted antecedent Conditions of their Communion not warranted by Law, should be exempted from the rye of fuch Oaths and Subscriptions as the Laws re
quire.

§ 17. 4. We agree that the Bishops, and all Ecclefsiatical Governours, ought to exercise their Government, not Arbitrarily but according to Law.

5. And for Security againft fuch Arbitrary Government and Innovations the Laws are, and from time to time will be fufficient provision.

Concerning Liturgy.

§ 18. A Liturgy or Form of Publifk Worfhip being not only by them acknowled
ged lawful, but by us alfo (for the preservation of Unity and Uniformity) deemed neceffary, we confider the Liturgy of the Church of England, contained in the Book of Common Prayer; and by Law established, to be fuch a one as is by them defired; according to the Qualifications here mentioned, viz.

1. For
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

1. For Matter agreeable to the Word of God, which we and all other lawful Ministers within the Church of England, have, or by the Laws ought to have attested by our Personal Subscription.

2. Fitly suited to the Nature of the several Ordinances, and the Necessities of the Church.

3. Nor too tedious in the whole. It's well known that some Mens Prayers before and after Sermon, have been usually not much shorter, and sometimes much longer than the whole Church Service.

4. Nor the Prayers too short. The Wisdom of the Church, both in ancient and latter times, hath thought it a fitter means for relieving the Infirmities of the meaner sort of People (which are the major part of most Congregations) to contrive several Petitions into fundry shorter Collects or Prayers, than to comprehend them altogether in a continued stole, or without interruption.

5. Nor the Repetitions unmeet. There are Examples of the like Repetition frequent in the Psalms and other parts of Scripture. Not to mention the unhandsome Tautologies that oftentimes happen, and can scarce be avoided in the Extemporary and undigested Prayers that are made; especially by Persons of meaner Gifts.

6. Nor the Responsals. Which if impartially considered, are pious Ejaculations fit to stir up Devotion, and good Symbols of Conformity betwixt the Minister and the People, and have been of very ancient practice and continuance in the Church.

7. Nor too dissolvent from the Liturgies of other Reformed Churches. The nearer both their Forms and ours come to the Liturgy of the Ancient Greek and Latin Churches, the less are they liable to the Objections of the Common Enemy; To which Liturgies, if the Form used in our Church be more agreeable than those of other Reformed Churches, and that it were at all needful to make a Change in either, it seemeth to be much more reasonable that their Form should be endeavoured to be brought to a nearer Conformity with ours, than ours with theirs: Especially the Form of our Liturgy having been so signally approved by fundry of the most Learned Divines of the Reformed Churches abroad, as by very many Testimonies in their Writings may appear. And some of the Compilers thereof have Sealed the Protestant Religion with their Blood, and have been by the most Eminent Persons of those Churches esteemed as Martyrs for the same.

§ 19. As for that which followeth: Neither can we think that too rigorously imposed which is imposed by Law, and that with no more rigour than is necessary to make the Imposition effectual (otherwise it could be of no use but to beger and nourish factions). Nor are Ministers denied the use and exercise of their Gifts in praying before and after Sermon. Although such praying be but the continuance of a Custom of no great Antiquity, and grown into Common use by Sufferance only without any other Foundation in the Laws or Canons, and ought therefore to be used by all sober and godly Men with the greatest infensiveness and moderation possible.

§ 20. If any thing in the Established Liturgy shall be made appear to be justly offensive to sober Persons, we are not at all unwilling that the same should be changed.

The discontinuance thereof, we are sure was not our Fault. But we find by experience that the use of it is very much desired, where it is not; and the People generally are very well satisfied with it where it is used: which we believe to be a great Conservatory of the chief Heads of Christian Religion, and of Piety, Charity and Loyalty in the Hearts of the People.

We believe that the difficulty thereof for fundry late years hath been one of the great Causes of the sad Divisions in the Church; and that the restoring the same, will be by (by God's blessing) a special means of making up the Breach. There being (as we have great cause to believe) many Thousands more in the Nation that desire it, than dislike it.

Nevertheless we are not against reviving of the Liturgy by such discreet Persons as his Majestie shall think fit to employ therein.
Of Ceremonies.

§ 21. We conceived there needs no more to be laid for justifying the Imposition of the Ceremonies by Law establisht, then what is contained in the beginning of this Section: which giveth a full and satisfactory Answer to all that is alleged or objected in the following Discourse, which is for the most part rather Rhetorical than Argumentative. Inasmuch as lawful Authority hath already determined the Ceremonies in question to be decent and orderly, and to serve to Edification; and consequently to be agreeable to the General Rules of the Word.

We acknowledge the Worship of God to be in itself perfect in regard of Essentials, which hindereth not but that it may be capable of being improved to us by addition of Circumstantials in order to Decency and Edification.

As the Lord hath declared himself Jealous in Matters concerning the Substance of his Worship, so hath he left the Church at liberty for Circumstantials to determine concerning Particulars according to Prudence as occasion shall require, so as the aforesaid General Rules be still observed. And therefore the imposing and using indifferent Ceremonies, is not varying from the Will of God, nor is there made thereby any addition to, or detraction from the holy Duties of God's Worship. Nor doth the same any way hinder the Communication of God's Grace or Comfort in the performance of such Duties.

§ 22. The Ceremonies were never esteemed Sacraments, or imposed as such; nor was ever any Moral efficacy ascribed to them, nor doth the signification (without which they could not serve to Edification) import or infer any such thing.

§ 23. Ceremonies have been retained by most of the Protestant Churches abroad, which have rejected Popery, and have been approved by the Judgment of the most Learned, even of those Churches that have not retained them. Every National Church being suppos'd to be the belt and most proper Judge what is fittest for themselves to appoint in order to Decency and Edification, without prescribing to other Churches.

§ 24. That the Ceremonies have been Matter of Contention in this or any other Church was not either from the Nature of the Thing enjoyned, or the enjoying of the same by lawful Authority: but partly from the weakness of some Men's Judgments unable to search into the Reason of Things: and partly from the unblushe'dness of some Men's Spirits more apt to contend, than willing to submit their private Opinions to the Publick Judgment of the Church.

§ 25. Of those that were obnoxious to the Law, very few (in comparison) have been deprived, and none of them (for ought we know) but such as after admonition and long forbearance finally refused to do, what not only the Laws required to be done, but themselves also formerly had solemnly and (as they professed) willingly promised to do.

§ 26. We do not see with what Conscience any Man could leave the Exercise of his Ministry in his peculiar Charge, for not submitting to lawful Authority in the using of such things as were in his own Judgment no more than inexpedient only. And it is certainly a great mistake at the least, to call the submitting to Authority in such things, a bringing the Conscience under the power of them.

§ 27. The Separation that hath been made from the Church, was from the taking a Scandal where none was given: The Church having fully declared her fence touching the Ceremonies imposed, as Things not in their Nature necessary, but indifferent. But was chiefly occasioned by the Practice, and defended from the Principles of those that refused Conformity to the Law, the just Rule and Measure of the Churches Unity.

§ 28. The Nature of Things being declared to be mutable, especially that they may therefore be changed, as they that are in Authority shall see it expedient; but it is no proof at all that it is therefore expedient that it should be actually changed. Yet it's a sufficient Caution against the Opinion (or Objection rather) of their being held by the Impolders either necessary or Substantials of Worship. Besides, this Argument, if it were of any force, would infer an expediency of the often changing even of good Laws, whereas the Change of Laws, although liable to
some Inconveniencies, without great and evident necessity, hath been by Wisemen ever accounted a thing not only Imprudent, but of evil, and sometimes pernicious Consequence.

§ 29. We fully agree with them in the acknowledgment of the King's Supremacy, but we leave it to his Majesty's Prudence and Goodness to consider, whether for the avoiding of the offence of some of his weak Subjects, he be any way obliged to Repeal the Established Laws: the Repealing whereof would be probably dissatisfactory to many more, and those (so far as we are able to judge) no less considerable a part of his Subjects. Nor do we conceive his Majesty by the Apostle's either Doctrine or Example obliged to any farther Condescension to particular Persons, than may be subservient to the general and main Ends of Publick Government.

The Lord hath entrusted Governors to provide, not only that Things necessary in God's Worship be duly performed, but also that things advisedly enjoined, though not otherways necessary, should be orderly and duly observed. The too great neglect whereof would cut the Sinews of Authority, that it would become first infrum, and then contemptible.

As we are no way against such tender and religious Compassion in Things of this Nature, as his Majesty's Piety and Wisdom shall think fit to extend; so we cannot think that the Satisfaction of some private Persons is to be laid in the Balance against the Publick Peace and Uniformity of the Church.

Concerning particular Ceremonies.

§ 30. It being most convenient that in the Act of receiving the Lord's Supper one and the same Gesture should be uniformly used by all the Members of this Church; and Kneeling having been formerly enjoined and used therein, as a Gesture of greatest Reverence and Devotion, and so most agreeable to that Holy Service. And Holy-days of human Inquisition having been observed by the People of God in the Old-Testament, and by our blessed Saviour himself in the Gospel, and by all the Churches of Christ in Primitive and following times, as apt means to preserve the Memorials of the chief Mysteries of the Christian Religion. And such Holy-days being also fit times for the honest Recreation of Servants, Labourers, and the meaner fort of People.

For these Reasons, and the great Satisfaction of far the greatest part of the People, we humbly desire (as a thing in our Judgment very expedient) that they may both be still continued in the Church.

§ 31. As for the other Three Ceremonies, viz. the Surplice, Cross after Baptism, and bowing at the Name of Jesus; although we find not here any sufficient Reason alleged why they should be utterly abolished: Nevertheless, how far forth in regard of tender Consciences a Liberty may be thought fit to be indulged to any, his Majesty, according to his great Wisdom and Goodness, is left to be left by Judge.

§ 32. But why they that confefs that in the Judgment of all the things here mentioned are not to be valued with the Peace of the Church, should yet after they are established by Law, disturb the Peace of the Church, about them, we understand not.

§ 33. We heartily desire that no Innovations should be brought into the Church, or Ceremonies which have no foundation in the Laws of the Land imposed to the disturbance of the Peace thereof. But that all Men would use that Liberty that is allowed them in things indifferent, according to the Rules of Christian Prudence, Charity and Moderation.

§ 34. We are so far from believing that his Majesty's Condescending to these Demands will take away not only Differences, but the Roots and Causes of them, that we are confident it will prove the Seminary of new Differences, both by giving dissatisfaction to those that are well pleased with what is already established; who are much the greater part of his Majesty's Subjects; and by encouraging unequilt Spirits when these things shall be granted, to make further Demands. There being no assurance by them given, what will content all Differents: than which nothing is more necessary for the settling of a firm Peace in the Church.
A Defence of our Proposals to his Majesty for Agreement in Matters of Religion.

Concerning the Preamble.

§ 1. We are not insensible of the great Danger of the Church, through the Doctrinal Errors of many of those with whom we are at difference also about the Points of Government and Worship now before us. But yet we chose to lay of the Party, that we are agreed in Doctrinals, because they subscribe the fame Holy Scriptures and Articles of Religion, and Books of Homilies as we do. And the Contradictions to their own Confessions, which too many are guilty of, we thought not just to charge upon the Party; because it is but Personal guill. As to the differences (which in Charity and for Peace, we had rather extenuate than aggravate;) it is of Objective Conceptions that we speak, there being a difference in the things, as well as in our apprehensions. And we conceive that [The Ancient Form of Church-Government, and the Soundness of the Liturgy, and freedom from corrupting unlawful Ceremonies] are Matters that are worthy a confecionable regard: and no such little inconsiderable things as to be received without sufficient trial, or used against the Disturbances of our Consciences. No Sin should seem so small as to be wilfully committed; especially to Divines. He that will sin for little or nothing, is not to be trusted when he hath great Temptations. Whosoever shall break one of these least Commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the Kingdom of Heaven; but whosoever shall do, and teach them the same, shall be called great in the Kingdom of Heaven, Math. § 19. And whether the Imposer or the Forbearers do hazard and disturb the Church, the nature of the thing declareth. To you it is indifferent before your Imposition; and therefore you may without any regret of your own Consciences forbear the Imposition, or pervert the Law-makers to forbear it. But to many of those that differ from you, they are sinful; and therefore cannot be yielded to by them without the willful violation of their Duty, to the absolute Sovereign of the World. If in the Church of Rome, the Conscience of a Subject forbid the use of Crucifixes, and Images, and Christ, and Holy Water, &c. Is it therefore they? or is it the Pallors that needlessly impose these Things, that are the Disturbers of the Church? The Princes might have forborne to make a Law refraining Daniel three days from Prayer; but Daniel could not forbear praying three days, though the Law commanded it: And which of them then was the Disturbers of the Peace? If you say that we are willful, and our Consciences are peevish and misinformed; Charity and Modesty require you not to overvalue your own, or groundlessly vilifie the Judgments and Consciences of your Brethren. We study as hard as you; and are ready to joy in you in the solemn Prophesiations, as before the Lord, that we are earnestly diligent to know the Truth: and we suppose we stand on the calmer side the Hedge, in point of Temptation: for if we err it is to our cost and loss, and have little but Reproach and Suffering to entice us willingly to mistake. And we are always ready to try by Argument which Side it is that is mistaken.

§ 2. May we not crave that necessary things may be secured to us, without being interpreted to seem to intimate Accusations against you? As it is not the Authors of this Anfwer personally considered, that we could be imagined to accuse, because we knew them not; so there are others beside the party with whom we are seeking a Reconciliation, that may be averse to the practice of those things about which Divines are doctrinally agreed in, especially that part of the Vulgar who are practically of no Religion. And it is very duplicating to us to be called out to an Accusation of others; as being a Course that will tend more to exasperate than reconcile. Therefore we would have had leave to Petition for our Liberty and for the security of Religion, without accusing any of being injurious to it. But it is the unhappy Advantage of those that are uppermost, that they can cut our applause such work for theses that they would use as Adversaries, that shall either make them from their Adversaries, or appear to be really the Adversaries or Betrayers of the Truth, and cast them upon Inconveniences and Odium which way ever they go. But to be plain with you, if you would but agree with us in the practising and promoting the Practice of those things about which you profess to be agreed in Principles,
Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

 PART II.  

pples, our Differences in all other things would quickly be at an End. The great Controversies between the Hypocrite and the true Christian, whether we should be 
furious in the Practice of the Religion which we commonly profess? hath troubled
England more than any other: None being more hated and detested as Puritans,
than those that will make Religion their Business, and make it predominant in their
Hearts and Lives, while others that hate them, take it up in custom, for Fashion,
or in jest, and use it only in Subserviency to the Will of Man and their Worldly
Ends, and honour it with Complements, and paint the Skin while they stab the
Heart. Reconcile this Difference, and most others will be reconciled.

§ 3. Whether this signify any Repentance for the voluminous Reproaches which
many of you have written against those you call Puritans, your Amendment will
interpret. That you will give us Liberty in our Family-Duties alone is a Courte-
sy that you cannot well deny a Papist or a Mahometan, because you have there no
Witnesses of what they do; and yet we shall take our selves beholden for it, so
low are our Expectations. But is there no Duty that private Christians owe to one
another, for the furthering their Salvation, but only for their several Families?
why may not those that on the Lord's Day repeat a Sermon in their Families, ad-
mit a Neighbour-Family to be present, which is not able so to help themselves? A
great part of the Families among the Poor are composed of such as can neither
write nor read, and therefore know not how to spend the Lord's Day when they
are out of the Congregation: And a Sermon forgotten will hardly be so well pra-
cised as if it were remembered; and the Ignorant will hardly remember it if they
never hear it but once. At least methinks it should be an Encouragement to you,
when you have studied what to say to the People (rather than matter of Offence)
to fee them so far value it, as to desire toatten it in their Memories. And if feve-
ral Families join alfo in the singing of Psalms of Praise to God, and calling on him
for a Blessing on the Minifter and themselves, is this a Crime? when perhapsmoft
of thofe Families either cannot pray at all, or not with fuch cheerful Advantage,
by themselves: If you are againft fuch mutual Helps as thefe, you are againft the
Benefit of the Peoples Souls: The Lord pity the Flocks that have fuch Pfaltors. If
you are not againft them, why are you againft our Desires of encouragement in
them? Have the Laws of the Land secured any of thefe to us againft your Canons?
If they have, why have fo many Families formerly been undone, for fuch Exerci-
ises as thefe? and for falling and praying together for the Pardon of their Sins? To
deal freely with us, you are confrained fo well to know with whom we have to do,
that our Bufines is to requell you of the Clergy, not to provoke the Law-giv-
ers to make any Law againft this: That it may not become a Crime to Men, to
pray together, and provoke one another to Love, and to good Works; when it is
no Crime to talk, to play, and drink, and feast together. And that it may be
no Crime to repeat a Sermon together, unlefs you resolve that they shall hear none
which is worth their repeating and remembering. And whereas you speak of open-
ing a Gap to Sectaries for private Conventicles, and the evil Consequents to the
State, we only defire you to avoid all the chattering of Ignorance and Prophe-
cy, and suppress all Sectaries, and Spare not, in a way that will not suppress the
means of Knowledge and Godlines. As you will not forbid all praying or preaching,
left we should have Sectarian Prayers or Sermons, to let not all the People of the
Land be prohibited such Affiliation to each others Souls, as Nature and Scripture
oblige them to, and all for fear of the Meetings of Sectaries: We thought the
Cautions in our Petition were fufficient, when we confined it Subjectively to
thofe of our Flocks, and Objectively to their Duties of exhorting and provoking one another
to Love and to good Works, and of building up one another in their most holy Faith.
And only by religious peaceable means of furthering each other in the ways of eternal Life:
And for the Order [They being not opposite to Church Assemblies (but subordinate)
not refusing the Guidance and Injunction of their Pfaltors (who may be sometime with
them and preferbe them their Work and Way, and direct their Actions) and be
ning reponsible for what they do or say (their Doors being open there will not want
Witnesses against them, if they do amifs). And is not all this enough to secure you
against the Fear of Sectaries, unlefs all fuch Helps and mutual Comforts befor-
bidden to all that are no Sectaries. This is but as the Papifts do in another Cafe,
when they deny People Liberty to read the Scriptures left they make Men Here-
ricks or Sectaries. And for the Danger of the State, cannot Men plot againft it in
Ale-houses, or Taverns, or Fields, or under Pretence of Horse-Races, Hunting,
Bowles, or other Occasions, but only under pretence of Worshipping God? If they
may, why are not all Men forbidden to feaft, or bowl, or hunt, &c. left Sectaries

K k
make advantage of such Meetings, as well as to fast and pray? God and wise Men know that there is something more in all such J ealousies of Religious Duties.

§ 4. Do you really desire that every Congregation may have an able, godly Minifter? Then call not out those many Hundreds or Thousand that are approved such, for want of Re-ordination, or for doubting whether Diocesans with their Chancellors &c. may be subcribed to, and let not up ignorant ungodly ones in their Places. Otherwise the poor undone Churches of Christ will no more believe you in such Professions, than we believed that those Men intended the King's just Power and Greatness, who took away his Life.

But you know not what we mean by Refidence, or how far we will extend that Word. The Word is so plain, that it's easily understood by those that are willing: But he that would not know, cannot understand, as King Charles told Mr. Henderson. I doubt the People will quickly find that you did not understand us. And yet I more fear left many a Parish will be glad of Non-refidence, even if Prieft and Curate and all were far enough from them, through whole Fault I say not.

§ 5. Two Remedies you give us instead of what we desired for the Reformation of Church-Communion: 1. You say, Confirmation if rightly and solemnly performed will alone be sufficient as to the point of Instruction. Anfw. But what we desired was necessary to the right and solemn Performance of it. Doth not any Man that knoweth what hath been done in England, and what People dwell there, know that there are not more ignorant People in this Land than such as have had, and such as desire Episcopal Confirmation? Is it Sufficient in point of Instruction, for a Bishop to come among a company of little Children and other People, whom he he never saw before, and of whom he never heard a Word, and of whom he never asketh a Question which may inform him of their Knowledge or Life; and presently to lay his Hands on them in order, and hastily say over a few Lines of Prayer, and so dismiss them? I was confirmed by hon'ble Bishop Morton, with a multitude more, who all went to it as a May-game, and kneeled down, and he dispatched us with that short Prayer so fast, that I scarce understood one word he said; much less did he receive any Certificate concerning us, or ask us any thing which might tell him whether we were Christians; and I never saw nor heard of much more done by any English Bishop in his course of Confirmation. If you say that more is required in the Rubrick, I say then it is no Crime for us to desire it. 2. And for your Provision in the other Rubrick again scandalous Communicants, it enableth not the Minifter to put away any one of them all, fave only the malicious that will not just be reconciled. Be not angry with us, if in forrow of Heart, we pray to God, that his Churches may have experienced Pastors, who have spent much time in serious dealing with every one of their Parishes personally, and known what they are, and what they need, instead of Men that have conversed only with Books, and the Houfes of great Men; or when they do sometimies ftoop to speak to the ignorant, do but talk to them of the Market or the Weather, or ask them, what is their Name.

§ 6. To your Anfw. we reply, Those Laws may be well made stricter: They hindered not the Imposition of a Book to be read, by all Ministers in the Churches, for the Peoples Liberty for Dancing, and other such Sports on the Lord's Day, and this in the King's Name, to the ejecting or suspending of those Ministers that durst not read it. And those Laws which we have may be more carefully executed. If you are ignorant how commonly the Lord's Day is profan'd in England by Sporting, Drinking, Revelling and Idlenes, you are fad Pastors that no better know the Flock: If you know it, and defire not the Reformation of it, you are yet worse. Religion never prospered any where so much, as where the Lord's Days have been most carefully spent in holy Exercises.

Concerning Church-Government.

§ 7. Had you well read but Gerfom, Bucer, DioIoacius, Parker, Baynes, Salmasius, Blondell, &c. yea, of the few Lines in Bishop Uther's Reduction which we have offered you, or what I have written of it in DiSp. r. of Church-Government; you would have seen just Reason given for our Diffent from the Ecclesiasfical Hierarchy as fta Ted in England; and have known that it is unlike the primitive Epifcopacy: But if that which must convince you, must be brought nearer your Eyes, by God's help we undertake to do that fully whenever we are called to it.

§ 8. The
8. The Words which you here except against with admiration of the Corruptions, Partialities, Tyranny, which Church-Government by a single Person is liable to, was taken by us out of the Book commonly ascribed to King Charles himself called Iron. Bifhif. but we purposely suppress his Name to try whether you would not be as bitter against his Words, as against ours, and did not esteem Fidem per personas, non personas per fidem.

And further we reply, it is one thing for a Bishop to rule alone when there are no Presbyters, or to rule the Presbyters themselves alone: and another thing when he hath Presbyters yet to rule all the Flock alone; for by this means, he grants Exercitium at least degradeth all the rest, or changeth their Office; which is to guide as well as to teach: As it the General of an Army, or the Collonel of a Regiment shoule rule all the Souldiers alone; doth he not then depose all his Captains, Lieutenants, Corners, Corporals, Sergeants, &c. But especially, it is one thing for Ignatius his Bishop of one Church that had but one Altar to rule it alone (though yet he commandeth the People to obey their Presbyters) and another thing for an English Diocesan to rule a Thousand such Churches alone! And when all is done, do they rule alone indeed? Or doth not a Lay-Chancellor exercise the Keys? So far as is necessary to suppress private Meetings for Fasting and Prayer, &c. and to force all to the Sacrament, and enforce the Ceremonies, and some such things; and for the great Discipline it is almost altogether left undone. We are sorry that you should be able to be ignorant of this; or if you know it, that such Candles flick not with you, but go down so easily.

Instancies of things amis.

§ 9. 1. That which you cannot grant (that the Diosceffes are to great) you would quickly grant if you had ever conscionably tried the task which Dr. Ham mond describeth as the Bishops Work; yea, but for one Parish, or had ever believed Ignatius and other ancient Descriptions of a Bishop's Church.

But if faithful dealing with your Brethren or your Conferences (pardon our Freedom in so weighty a Cafe) to dispute as though you made a Bishop but an Archibishop to see by a general Inspection of the Parish-Paffors that they do their Office, and as if they only ruled the Rulers of the particular Flocks (you know we never strove against) when as no knowing English Man can be ignorant that our Bishops have the sole Government of Pariahs and People, having taken all Jurisdiction or proper Government (or next all) from the particular Parishes to themselves alone. Is not the Quellen rather as whether the King can rule all the Kingdom by the Chancellor, or a few such Officers, without all the Justices and Mayors; or whether one Schoolmaster shall only rule a thousand Schools and all the other Schoolmasters only teach them. You know that the depriving of all the Parish Paffors of the Keys of Government is the matter of our greatest Controversies: Not as it is any hurt to them, but to the Church, and a certain Exclusion of all true Discipline. And whether the Office of the Bishops of particular Churches inforo Ordinis, vel grades, be not for Personal Inspection and Ministration, as well as the Office of a Schoolmaster or Physician, you will better know when you come to try it faithfully, or answer fearfully for Unfaithfulness. We know that the knowing Lord Bacon in his Considerations faith so as well as we.

And for what you lay of Suffragans, you know there are none such.

§ 10. 2. We are glad that in so great a matter as Lay-Chancellors Exercife of the Keys in Excommunications and Abolitions, you are forced plainly, and without any Exeute to confefs the Errors of the way of Government. And let this fland on Record before the World to Juflyf us when we shall be silenced and reproached as Schinimarchs, for defiring the Reformation of such Abuses, and for not swearing Canonical Obedience to such Government.

§ 11. 3. And you have almost as little to say in this Cafe. Mark Reader, that we must all be silenced, and cast out of our Offices, if we subscribe not to the Bock of Ordination ex Animo, as having nothing contrary to the Word of God: And the very Preface of that beginneth with the Affirmation of this Definition of Orders, Offices, Functions, from the Apolles Days, and one of the Prayers affiribeth it to the Spirit of God; and yet now it is here laid, that whether a Bishop be a defined Order from a Presbyter or not, is none of the Quellen: That must be none of the Quellen when the King calleth them to treat for a Reconciliation or Unity, which
The LIFE of the

which will be out of Question against us when we are called to subscribe, or are to be forbidden to preach the Gospel.

And let what is here confessed for Presbyters Assistance in Ordination, stand on Record against them when it is neglected or made an insignificant Ceremony.

§ 13. 4. In the last also you give up your Cause, and yet it's well if you will amend it. Whether the Canons be Laws, let the Lawyers judge: And whether all the Bishops Books of Articles (as against making Scripture our Table talk, and many such others) be either Laws, or according to Law, let the World judge.

The Remedies offered for reforming these Evils.

§ 13. 1. Whereas to avoid all Exception, or frustrating Contentions or Delays, we offered only Bishof Utber's Platform (subscribed also by Dr. Holfsworthe) that the World might see that it is Episcopacy it self that we plead for; you tell us that it was formed many Years before his Death, and is not consistent with two other of his Dialogues: In which either you would intimate that he contradicted himself, and could not speak consistently, or that he afterward retracted this Reduction. For the first, We must believe that many Men can reconcile their own Writings, when some Readers cannot, as better understanding themselves than others do. And that this reverend Bishof was no such raw Novice, as not to know when he contradicted himself in so publick and practical a Cafe, as a Frame of Church-Government; Nor was he such an Hypocrite as to play light and loose in the things of God: But upon Debate we undertake to vindicate his Writings from this Apostion of Inconsistency; only you must not take him to mean that all was well done, which as a Historian he faith was done. And as to any Retraction, one of us (my self) is ready to witness that he owned it not long before his Death, as a Collection of fit Terms to reconcile the Moderate in these Points, and told him that he offered it the late King.

And whereas you tell us that the confuming of Suffragans to Rural Deaneries, and other fuch, are his private Conceptions, defitute of any Testimony of Antiquity: We answer, No marvel, when Rural Deaneries were unknown to true Antiquity. And when in the Ancient Church, every Church had its proper Bishof, and every Bishof but one Church, that had also but one Altar. But surely the Corepiscopi were no Strangers to Antiquity, as may appear (before the Council at Nice) in Concil. Ancyran, Can. 12. and in Concil. Antiochen. Can. 10. &e. It was unknown in the days of Ignatius and Justin Martyr, that a Church should be as large as a Rural Deanery, containing a dozen Churches with Altars, that had none of them peculiar Bishops: But it was not strange then that every Church had a Bishof; and if it were Rural, a Corepiscopus. As also you may gather even from Clemens Romans.

The Quarrel which you pick with the Archbishops Reduction for not Naming the King, as if he destroyed his Supremacy, is such as a low degree of Charity, with a little Understanding, might easily have prevented. Either you know that it is the Power of the Keys, (called Spiritual and proper ecclesiastical) and not the Coercive Power circa Ecclesiastica, which the Archbishop speaketh of, and all our Controversie is about, or you do not know it. If you do know it, either you think this Power of the Keys is resolved into the King, or not: If you do think so, you differ from the King, and from all of your selves that ever we talked with, and you contradict all Protestant Princes, that have openly disclaimed any such Power, and published this to the World to stop the Mouths of Calemmating Papiifs: And we have heard the King, and some of you, disclaim it: And how can you then fitly debate these Controversies that differ from all Protestant Kings, and from the Church! But if you your selves do not so think, had you a Pen that would charge the Archbishop for destroying the King's Supremacy, for asserting nothing but what the King and you maintain? And if you knew not that this Spiritual Power of the Keys, as distinct from Magistratical Coercive Power, is the Subject of our Controversie, we dispute to good purpose indeed with Men that know not what Subject it is that we are to dispute about! So that which way ever it go, you see how it is like to fall; and how Men that are out of the dust and noise will judge of our Debates. And here we leave it to the Notice and Observation of Posterity, upon the peril of all your Exceptions. How little the English Bishops had to lay against the Form of Primitive Episcopacy contained in Archbishops Utber's Reduction, in the day when they rather chose the increas of our Divisions, the Silencing of many Hundred
Of the Superadded Particulars:

§ 14. 1. This is scarce Serious: The Primates Suffragans or Choripfificopi are Rural Deans, or as many for number: The Suffragans you talk of by Law are other things, about Sixteen in all the Land. The King's Power is about the Choice of them as Humane Officers, but as pastors of the Church or Bishops, the Churches had the Choice for a Thoufand years after Chrift, through moft of the Christian World. And what if it be in the King's power: Is it not the more reaOnable that the King be petitioned to in the Buiftes? The King doth not choose every Rural Dean himfelf: And is it any more O destructive of his Power to do it by the Synods, than by the Diocelans? This use the Name and Power of Kings is made of by fome kind of Men, to make a noife againft all that crofs their Domination, but all that is exercised by themselves is no wifte derogatory to Royalty. And yet how many Men have been Excommunicated for refufing to Anfwer in the Chancellor's Courts, till they profefs to fit there by the King's Authority?

§ 15. We much doubt whether you designed to read the Archbishops Redution when you anawered our Papers: If you did not, why would you choose to be ignorant of what you anawered, when fo light a Labour might have informed you? If you did, how could you be ignorant of what we meant by Associations, when you faw that, fuch as our Rural Deaneries was the thing fpoken of and propofed by the Redution? And 2. Are the Rural Deaneries think you, without the King's Authority? If not, what mean you by fuch Intimations? unlefs you would make Men believe that we breathe Treafon, as oft as we breathe (as the Soldier charged the Country-man for whifhing Treafon, when he meant to plunder him). 2. And what though Associations may not be entered into without the King's Authority: Do you mean that therefore we may not thus defire his Authority for them? If you do not, to what fence or purpofe is this Anfwer? Sure we are, that for Three hundred years when Magiftrates were not Chriftian, there was Preaching, Praying, and Associating in particular Churches hereunto without the Kings Authority, and also Associating in Synods: And after that for many a Hundred year the Chriftian Magiftrates conform'd and over ruled fuch Associations, but never overthrew them, or forbade them.

§ 16. But the Apoftles of Chrift, and all his Churches for many hundred years, thought all thefe Subscriptions and Oaths unnecessary; and never prefcribed, nor required either them or any fuch: So unhappy is the prefent Church in the happy Understandings of thefe Men of Yefterday, that are wifer than Chrift, his Apoftles and Universal Church, and have at laft found out these neceffary Oaths and Subscriptions. And you are not quite miftaken: Necessary they are, to fet up thofe that fhall rule by Contrainft as Lords over God's Heritage, and neceffary Engines for the dividing and perfecuting of the Church: But judge thou, O Lord, according to thy righteousness, in the day which is coming.

But the Examples of Corporations and Colledges are brought in, who prevent Offences by Subscriptions and Oaths. And even to hath Chrift (whose Spirit would impose nothing on the Churches but things necessary) appointed a Vow and Sollem
lemen Covenant to be the way of Entrance into his Church: And the Apish Spirit which followed him (to counter-work him) by the Addition of Human Churches, Sacraments and Ordinances, doth also imitate him in making their Oaths and Promises necessary to engage Men to their Service and Institutions, as Christ hath made Baptism necessary to engage us to his Service and Institutions. And your Arguments for Diocesanis are so weak, that we wonder not that you think both Oaths, Subscriptions, Prifons, Confessions and Banishments necessary to enforce them.

What you add of [such Persons as have themselves exacted Conditions of their Communion not warranted by Law], we understand not: Either the Law warranteth Men to own Christ for their Saviour, and to own their own Membership in the particular Church which they demand constant Communion with; or it doth not. If it do not, we have reason to desire more than is warranted by that Law. If it do, you should have done well to inculcate what Perfons and what Exactions you mean. If you speak this of all the Churches of the Land that dislike your Prelacy, it is too great an untruth to have been uttered in the Light. If you speak only of some Persons or Parties, that is no reason why others should be deprived of their Liberty and Ministry. Nor indeed is it good Arguing that such Oaths and Subscriptions as the Church of old did never know, may be imposed by the Laws of Men, because some Brethren have lately required such Conditions of their Communion, as are imposed by the Laws of God. But let us prevail with you to drive this no further than the Perfons. (whoever they be) did drive it whom you blame: Their utmost Penalty on the Refusers of their Conditions was Non-Communion with them: (A thing which many of you voluntarily chose). Let this be all our Penalty for refusing your Oaths and Subscriptions (if we can get no better from you): But shall we be Silenced, Imprisoned, Convicled, Banished, for refusing your Oaths and Subscriptions, because somebody imposed Things which the Law allowed not in order to their own Communion. These are no fit Proportions of Jullice.

§ 17. Out of your own Mouths then is your Government condemned. What Act of Parliament ratified your Canons? What Law imposed Altars, Rails, and the forcing of Ministers to read the Book for Dancing on the Lord's Days? Or what Law did ratifie many Articles of your Visitation Books? And did the Laws sufficiently provide for all those poor Ministers that were Silenced or Suspended for not reading the Dancing Book, or any such things? What the better were all those for the Laws that were Silenced, or driven into Foreign Lands? But perhaps the Laws will provide for us, indeed as you desire.

Concerning the Liturgy.

§ 18. 1. The Doctrine is found. But the Apocryphal Matter of your Leffons, in Tobith, Judith, Bell and the Dragon, &c. is scare agreeable to the Word of God.

2. Whether it be fully suited, let our Exceptions and other Papers be heard before your Judgment go for infallible.

3. What Mens Prayers you take your Measure or Encouragement from, we know not: But we are sure that if all the Common Prayers be twice a day read, the time for Psalms and Sermons will be short. And yet were they free from disorder and defectiveness in Matter, we could the better bear with the length, though other Prayers and Sermons were partly excluded by them.

4. Though we live in the same Countryes, we scarce differ any where more than in our very Experiences: Our Experience unprofitably convinceth us, that a continued Prayer doth more to help most of the People, and carry on their Devotions, than turning almost every Petition into a distinct Prayer; and making Prefaces and Conclusions to be near half the Prayers. And if the way of Prayer recorded in Scripture (even in the Jews Church, where Infirmity might be pleaded more than now) were such as yours, we shall say no more in that against it: But if it were not, be not wife then overmuch.

5. We are content that the Liturgy have such Repeated as the Scriptures have, so it may have no other! And we are content that all Extemporate Prayer be restrained which is guilty of as much Tautology and vain Repetition as the Liturgy is: If this much will satisfy you, we are agreed.

6. Nor
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

6. Nor are we against any such Resolutions as are fit to the Ends you mention: If ours are all such (upon impartial Examination), let them stand.

7. But the Question is, 1. Whether the Greek and Latin Churches in the three first Ages, or those of later Ages, be more imitable. 2. And whether the other Reformed Churches have not more imitated the ancientest of those Churches, though we have more imitated the latter and more corrupt. 3. And whether our first work be to flop the Papists Mouths by pleasing them, or coming too near them, when we know they that are like them in all their Corruptions please them best. Yet are we not for any unnecessary difference from them, or affection of causeth singularity.

As to the Reformed Churches Testimony of our Liturgy, shall their very Charity become our Snare? If they had liked our Form of Prayers best, they would some of them have imitated us. And our Martyrs no doubt, they honoured as we do, not as suffering for the Modes and Ceremonies of that Book, as opposite to the Reformed Churches Mode (for so they suffered not); but as suffering for the Sound Doctrine and True Worship of the Protestant, as opposite to Popery and the Mafs.

§ 19. Your Reasons to prove your Impostums not too rigorous, are 1. Because they are by Law: If we tell you that so is the Spanish Inquisition; you'll say, we compare our Law-givers to the Spaniards: If we say that your New-mentioned Martyrs were burnt by Law in England, you'll say that we compare them to Papists. But all these are Laws: And so are those in Reformed Countries which are against Bishops and Ceremonies: Do you therefore think them not too rigorous? 2. Your other Reason is, that the Rigour is no more then is necessary to make the Imposition effectual. You never spake words more agreeable to your hearts, as far as by your Practices we can judge of them. Either you mean effectual to change Men's Judgments, or effectual to make them go against their Judgments, or effectual to rid them out of the Land or World. The first you know they are unfit for: If you think otherwise, would you that your Judgments should have such kind of helps to have let them right? The second way they will be effectual with none but wicked Men and Hypocrites, who dare Sin against their Confidences for fear of Men: And is it worth so much ado to bring the Children of the Devil into your Church? The third way of Efficacy, is but to kill or banish all the Children of God that are not of your Opinion: for it is they that dare not Sin against Confidence whatever they fuffer: and this is but such an Efficacy as the Spanish Inquisition, and Queen Mary's Bonfires had, to send those to God whom the World is not worthy of. You know every Man that is true to his God and his Confidence, will never do that which he taketh to be Sin, till his Judgment is changed; and therefore with such it can be no lower than Blood, or Banishment, or Imprisonment at least, that is the Efficacy which you desire: And if no such rigour be too much, its pity the French, that murdered 30,000 or 40,000 at their Bartholomew days, or as Dr. Peter Mauin faith 100,000 within a few Weeks; and the Irish that murdered 20,000 had not had a better Cause: For they took the most effectual way of rigour.

But when God maketh Inquisition for the Blood of his Servants, he will convince Men that such rigour was too much, and that their Wrath did not fulfil his Righteousness.

You shew your Kindness to Men praying in the Pulpit without your Book: Make good what you say, that such Praying is of no great Antiquity, and we will never contradict you more! Or if we prove it not the Ancientst way of Praying in the Christian Church, we will give you free leave to hang or banish us, for not Subscribing to the Common Prayer Book: which the Apostles used, and which was imposed on the Church for some hundred years. But it seems you think that we are beholden to meet Sufferance without Law or Canon for conceived Prayers: How long then it will be suffered we know not; if we must live by your Patience.

§ 20. It seemeth that our Conversation and yours much differ: The most that we know or meet with had rather be without the Liturgy: and you say, That the People generally are well satisfied with it. By this time they are of another Mind. If it were so, we take it for no great honour to it; considering what the greater Number are in most places, and of what Lives those Persons are (of our Parishes and Accountability generally or for the most part) who are for it: Or what those are that are against it; and whom for its fake you desire your effectual rigour may be exercised against. The Lord prepare them to undergo it innocently.
§ 21. Doth there need no more to be said for the Ceremonies? How little will satisfy some Men's Consciences! Lawful Authority hath in other Countries cast out the same Bishops and Ceremonies which are here received: Doth it follow that they are good in one Country, and disorderly and undecent in another? Or that our Authority only is infallible in judging of them?

Is not God's Worship perfect without our Ceremonies, in its Integrals as well as its Essentials?

As for Circumstantial when you saw us allow of them, you need not plead for them as against us. But the Question is, whether our Adoptions be not more than Circumstances.

§ 22. We suppose that you give all to the Cross in Baptism which is necessary to a Humane Sacrament: And this we are ready to try by just Dispute.

When you say that never was Moral Efficacy ascribed to them, you seem to give up all your Caule: for by denying this ascribed Efficacy, you seem to grant them unlawfully it be so: And if it be not so, let us bear the blame of wronging them. The informing and exciting the dull mind of Man, in its duty to God, is a Moral Effect from Moral Efficacy. But the informing and exciting the dull Mind of Man in its Duty to God is an Effect ascribed to our Ceremonies: Ergo, a Moral Effect from Moral Efficacy is ascribed to our Ceremonies. The major cannot be denied by any Man that knoweth what a Moral Effect and Efficacy is: that which worketh not per medium Nature in genere Causa efficientia naturalis only, but per medium objecti, vel in genere causa finalis, upon the Mind of Man, doth work morally: but do our Ceremonies: Ergo—lure the Armenians that deny all proper Physical Operations of God's Spirit, as well as his Word, and reduce all to Moral Efficacy, will not say that Ceremonies have such a Physical Efficacy more than Moral. And if it be so, the good Effects here mentioned can be from no lower Efficacy than Moral. And the minor which must be denied, is in the words of the Preface to the Common Prayer Book, and therefore undeniable. The Word of God it self worketh but moraliter proponendo objectum, and do our Ceremonies.

§ 23. There is a great difference between Sacramental Ceremonies, and meer Circumstances, which the Reformed Churches keep. These we confound not, and could have wilfed you would not. Our Cross in Baptism is [ A dedicating sign (faith the Canon) or transient Image, made in token that this Child shall not be affidged of Christ crucified, but mayly fight under his Banner against the Flee, the World, and the Devil, and continue Christ's faithful Servant and Soldier to his Lives end. So that 1. It is a Dedicated Sign, performed by the Minister, and not by the Peron himself, as a bare Professing Sign is. 2. It engageth the Party in a Relation to Christ [as his Soldier and Servant]. 3. And in the Duties of this Relation against all our Enemies, as the Sacramentum Militare doth a Soldier to his General; and that in plainer and fuller words than are annexed to Baptism. 4. And it is no other than the Covenant of Grace or of Christiinity it self, which this Sacrament of the Cross doth enter us into, as Baptism also doth. It is not made a part of Baptism, nor called a Sacrament, but as far as we can judge, made effentially a Humane Sacrament adjoynd to Baptism. The Reformed Churches which use the Cross, we mean the Lutherans, yet use it not in this manner.

§ 24. This is but your unproved Affertion, That the Fault was not in the Ceremonies, but in the Contenders: we are ready to prove the contrary: but if it had been true, how far are you from Paul's mind, expressed Rom. 14. & 15. and 1 Cor. 8. You will let your weak Brother perish, and spare not, so you can but charge the Fault on himself; and lay Stumbling-blocks before him, and then fave him by your effecual vigour, by Imprisonment or Punishment.

§ 25. Thefe feem a few to you that feem many to us: Had it been but one hundred such as Cartwright, Ameinim, Bradhaw, Parker, Hilderham, Dod, Nicolls, Longley, Page, Hering, Baynes, Bates, Davers, Hooker, Wilson, Cotton, Norton, Shophard, Coblet, Ward, &c. they had been enough to have grieved the Souls of many Thousand godly Christians; and enough for any one of the Reformed Churches, had they poiffed them, to have gloryed in; and many far meane are yet the glory of the Ancient Churches, and called, and reverence as Fathers. But we doubt this fame Spirit will make you think that many Hundred more are but a few to be Silenced e're long. And then your Clemency will comfor the poor People that have ignorant or debilitatedReaders instead of Ministers (for too many fuch we have known) that it was their Pafiors faults that oblimately refusid to Conform, when they had promifi'd it; that is, that repented of the Sin of their Subcription when they difcarded it: And had they never been ignorant enough to Subcribe, they had never entered: And the many hundreds which you thus keep from the Miniftry, you make nothing of.
§ 26. Whether Diocesans be a lawful Authority as claiming Spiritual Government, and how far Men may own them even in lawful things, are Controversies to be elsewhere managed. We jutify no Man's leaving his Ministry upon the refusal of any thing but what he judged unlawful, yea, and what was really so.

§ 27. Whether any Offence were given (though not enough to warrant Separation) let our Arguments on both sides declare. The said Declaration of the Churches Senec is not the smallest part of the Scandal. Calling a humane Sacrament, indifferent, or no Sacrament, proveth it not to be as it is called. That the Nonconformists were the Cause of Separation, who did most against it, is easily said, and as easily proved as the Arrians proved that the Orthodox were the cause of the Schism of the Luciferaus who separated from the Church for receiving the Arrians too early to Communion.

§ 28. Church Matters in this much differ from Civil Matters; and its one thing to change a Church Custom when it dangerously prevailed to corrupt Mens Understandings, and another thing when there is no such Danger. So Heresick thought when he destroyed the Brazen Serpent, and Paul (who before circumcised Timothy) when he said, If ye be circumcised Christ shall profit you nothing. Could Men have foreseen that the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome in the imperial Churches, would have been sublimated to such a challenged Supremacy over all the Christian World, we supposie the Ancients would have held it their Duty to have removed the Primacy to some other Seat.

§ 29. According to your Council will you be judged of God? The Not-abating of the Impostion is the casting off of many hundreds of your Brethren out of the Ministry, and of many thousand Christians out of your Communion: But the abating of the Impostions, will so offend you, as to silence or excommunicate none of you at all: For e. g. we think it a Sin to Subcribe, or wear canonical Obedience, or use the transient Image of the Cross in Baptism, and therefore these must call us out: But you think it no Sin to forbear them, if the Magistrate abate them, and therefore none of you will be cast out by the Abatement. But it feemeth that your Charity judgeth the bare displeasing of your Apetite to the Ceremonies, is a greater evil than the silencing and excommunicating all us, your poor Brethren, though our Imprisonment follow: Nay, this is not all; For your Displeasure will be only that another Man subscribeth not, croslenth not, &c. while you may do it your selves as much as you please.

Whether the casting out of so many Ministers and Christians, for such things do more subserve the main ends of publick Government, than the forbearance would do, if you know not, we leave you to God's Conviction. As also whether these things be well imposed, and Mens Obedience to Authority, and the Peace of the Church, and its Uniformity or Unity, be well and justly laid upon them: Such Concessions indeed might bear you out far.

Concerning particular Ceremonies.

§ 30. Why then is it not as meet that one Gesture be used by all in singing Psalms or hearing Sermons? Why doth the Ministers stand in Prayer, even in the Sacrament Prayer, while the People kneel? We speak against none of your Liberty in using either kneeling or Holy-days, and perhaps some of us mean to use both our selves; but only befeech you, that they may be no more imposed than the ancient Church imposed them, and we desire no more; and if you reverence Antiquity, why will you not imitate it, in point of Impostion, as well as in the thing it self. But yet that Antiquity was against Kneeling on the Lord's Day at the Sacrament, and that they had but few of our Holy-days for many hundred Years, we supposie you are not ignorant.

§ 31. It's well you have no more to say against Liberty to forbear the other three Ceremonies; the more unexecutable will you be, when you silence and excommunicate those that use them not.

§ 32. And its strange that meaner Understandings than yours cannot see why Men should forbear that which is not to be valued with the Churches Peace: A Lyre or a falle Subcription, is not to be valued with the Churches Peace: And is it therefore a Wonder to you that Men should scruple them? It is fitter Matter for the Wonder of good Men, that after so long Experience, those that will needs be the Lords and Governors in Spiritual Matters, should so resolutely lay the Churches Peace.
Peace upon such things as these, where they know beforehand, that Men of no Conscience will all be peaceable, and thousands of godly People are unsatisfied; and that they will needs take all for Diffurbers of the Peace, who jump not with their Humour in every Ceremony, how willing ever to be ruled by the Laws of God.

§ 33. We are glad that you justify not Innovation and Arbitrariness; and yet desire not such a Cure as some do, by getting Laws which may do their Work.

§ 34. If your want of Charity were not extraordinary, it could not work effectually to the afflicting of your Brethren and the Church; when we tell you what will end your Differences, you know our Minds so much better than our selves, that you will not believe us: But you will be confident that we will come on with new Demands: This is your way of Conciliation; when you were to bring in your utmost Concessions in order to our Unity, and it was promised by his Majesty, that you should meet us half way, you bring in nothing, and perforce his Majesty also that he should not believe us in what we offer, that it would be satisfactory if it were granted! You say that it will give Dissatisfaction to the greater Part of his Majesty's Subjects! We are more charitable than to believe that a quarter of his Majesty's Subjects are so uncharitable, as to be dissatisfied if their Brethren be not silenced and excommunicated for not swearing, subscribing, or using a Ceremony, while they may do it as much as they list themselves. And whereas you say, that there is no assurance given that it will content all Dissenters; you know that there are many Dissenters, as Papists, Quakers, &c. for whom we never medled: And we think this an unjust Answer to be given to them, who craved of his Majesty, that they might send to their Brethren through the Land, to have the Testimony of their common Consent, and were denied it, and told that it should be our work alone, and imputed to no others.

In Conclusion, we perceive your Counsels against Peace are not likely to be frustrated: Your Desires concerning us are like to be accomplished: You are like to be gratified with our Silence and Ejection, and the Excommunication and Consequent sufferings of Dissenters. And yet we will believe that blessed are the Peace-makers, and though Deceit be in the Heart of them that imagin Exile, yet there is Joy to the Counsellors of Peace, Prov. 12. 20. And though we are slop by you in our following of Peace, and are never like thus publickly to seek it more (because you think that we must hold our Tongues, that you may hold your Peace;) yet are we resolved by the help of God, if it be possible, and as much as in us lieth, to live peaceably with all Men, Rom. 12. 18.

§ 102. Hereupon some very learned, godly Men, renewed their former Speeches, [That it was a vain Attempt to Endeavour a Reconciliation with such Men: that their Minds were exasperated, and they were resolved to monopolize the Favour of our Prince, and all Honours and Preferments to themselves: That there was no hope they would do any thing for the promoting of strict serious Godliness, or any thing that deferred the Name of Ecclesiastical Discipline: That undoubtedly they do but draw us on, partly to shin out the time till they are ready to persecute us without any danger to themselves, and partly to set us together by the Ears, and otherwise abuse us, by drawing us to grant them that which they know our Brethren cannot grant.]

§ 103. To all this I answered for my own part, [That though Charity commanded me to hope that there were some Men among them better than this Description doth import, yet my Reason forced me, all things considered, to have as low Expectations of this Conference as they had; and that I made no doubt but that the End would be of much that was said; that for my own part I looked e're long to be silenced by them, with many hundred more, and that all this was but to quiet Men till the time. But yet for all that I was fully convinced that it was our Duty not only to yield to an offered Treaty, but to be the Seekers of it, and follow it on till we see the Issue: 1. Because we are commanded if possible as much as in us lieth, to live peaceably with all Men. 2. Because though we have too great a probability of such an issue as they describe, yet we are not certain of it; and the least possibility of a better issue, may shew us that we should wait on God, in the use of the Means, till we are disappointed. 3. Because we have no other means at all to use: To keep our Flocks and publick Work we cannot: For the old Laws will be in force again, if we say nothing; and new ones will further enforce them if there be need. And for our parts we are not formidable to the Bishops at all; were our Number five times as great as their: For we abhor all Thoughts of Sedition and Rebellion, and they know that this is our Judgment, and therefore how should they be afraid of Men, whose Conferences Bind them to make
make no resistance to the legal Exercise of a lawful Authority. If it were the Ana-
baptists, Millinaries or Levellers they would fear them. But for my part, I thought
it very unmeet that such a Word as intimated any formida-blens in us, should
ever come out of our Mouths, either to them, or to our People, or among our
felles; for it seemeth to intimate either that we would refist, or would have them
think so. 4. And I looked to the end of all these Actions, and the chief things
that moved me next the pleading of God and Conscience, is, that when we are all
silenced and perfecuted, and the History of these things shall be delievered to po-
tility, it will be a just blot upon us if we suffer as refusing to sue for Peace, and it
will be our just Vindication when it shall appear, that we humbly petitioned for;
and earnestly pursu'd after Peace, and came as near them for the obtaining it, as
Scripture and Reason will allow us to do, and were ready to do any thing for Peace,
exto fin and damn our Souls. And for my own part, I could suffer much
more comfortably when I had used these means, and been repuls'd, than if I had
used none 5. And Laffly, I gave them all notice, that I hoped if we got no
more, to have an opportunity by this Treaty to state our Difference right to the
understanding of Foreigners and Potterity, and to bear my Testimony to the Cause
of Truth, and Peace, and Godliness, openly under the Protection of the King's
Authority, both by Word and Writing, which they that fay still would never do;
but look on with secret filent Grief till all is gone; and then have their Conferences
and others tell them, that they never made any juft attempt, or spake a Word to
prevent the Ruine.

§ 104. But as to the point of yielding too far to them, I told them firft, that
moderate Episcopacy was agreeable to my Judgment, and that they knew that I
medleyd not as a Presbyterian, but as a Chriftian that is obliged to seek the Church-
es Peace: And alfo that others may accept of thofe Terms as better than worfe,
which yet they cannot take to be the belt. And if we refit it as to the way or
terms, our Brethren that thought fo had the Liberty to acquaint us with our Er-
or, and to fee us right.

§ 105. Shortly after this, instead of the Diocefans Confeffions, it was told us
that the King would put all that he thought meet to grant us into the Form of a De-
claration, and we lhou'd fee it firft, and have Liberty to give notice of what we
liked not, as not conform to the defired Concord (and to the Diocesans cannot
be charg'd with any mutability, as having ever granted us fuch Abatements which
after they receded from); We thankfully acceffed of this Offer, and received from
the Lord Chancellor the following Copy of the Declaration.

This Copy of a Declaration the Lord Chancellor next sent us to perufe and
alter before it were publifh'd, that it might fatisfie our Deffires. Received
on Sept. 4.

His Majesty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects of his Kingdom
of England and Dominion of Wales, concerning Ecclefiaftical
Affairs.

HOW much the Peace of the State is concerned in the Peace of the Church,
and how difficult a thing it is to prelerve Order and Government in Civil,
whilst there is no Order and Government in Ecclefiaftical Affairs, is evident to the
World; and this little part of the World, our own Dominions hath had fo late
Experience of it, that we may very well acquiefce in the Conclufion, without
enlarging our felf in difcourfe upon it, being a Subject we have had frequent oc-
cafion to contemplate upon, and to lament abroad, as well as at home.

In our Letter to the Speaker of the H. of Commons from Breda, we declared how much
we defired the Advancement and Propagation of the Protestant Religion: That nei-
ther the Unkindnefs of thofe of the fame Faith towards us, nor the Civilities and
Obligations from thofe of a contrary Profession (of both which we have had abun-
dant Evidence) could in the leaft degree flartle us, or make us fwerve from it,
and that nothing can be proposed to manifold our Zeal and Affection for it, to
which we will not readily content. And we faid then, That we did hope in due
time our felf to propofe somewhat for the propagation of it, that will fatisfie the

World
World that we have always made it both our Care and our Study, and have e-
ough observed what is most like to bring disadvantage to it. And the truth is,
we do think our self the more competent to propose, and with God's assistance
to determine many Things now in difference, from the time we have spent,
and the Experience we have had in most of the Reformed Churches abroad; in
France, in the Low Country, and in Germany, where we have had frequent Con-
ferences with the most Learned Men, who have unanimously lamented the great
Reproach the Protestant Religion undergoes, from the Diftempering and too noto-
rious Schisms in Matters of Religion in England. And as the most Learned a-
mongst them, have always with great Submission and Reverence, acknowledged
and magnified the Established Government of the Church of England, and the
great countenance and shelter the Protestant Religion received from it, before these
unhappy times; so many of them have with great ingenuity and, forrow con-
fessed, That they were too easily misled by misinformation and prejudice, into
some disesteem of it, as if it had too much complied with the Church of Rome;
wheras they now acknowledge it to be the beltest fence God hath yet raised against
Popery in the World: And we are persuaded they do with great Zeal with it re-
flowered to its old Dignity and Veneration.

When we were in Holland, we were attended by many Grave and Learned Mi-
nisters from hence, who were looked upon as the most able and principal Asserters of
the Presbyterian Opinions, with whom we had as much Conference as the multitude
of Affairs, which were then upon us, would permit us to have; and to our great
Satisfaction and Comfort, found them Persons full of Affection to us, of Zeal for the Peace
of the Church and State; and neither Enemies (as they have been given out to be) of
Epsicopacy or Liturgy; but modestly to define such Alterations in either, as without shaking
Foundations, might best ally the present Diftempers, which the Indisposition of the Times,
and the Tenderness of some Mens Conferences had contraltered. For the better doing
whereof, we intended upon our first Arrival in this Kingdom, to call a Synod of
Divines, as the most proper Expedient to provide a proper Remedy for all those
Differences and Difjsatifications which had or should arise in Matters of Religion:
and in the mean time we published in our Declaration from Breda, A Liberty to
tender Conferences, and that no man should be disquieted or called in question for differences of
Opinion in Matters of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and
that we shall be ready to content to such an Act of Parliament as shall upon ma-
ture deliberation be offered to us, for the full granting that Indulgence.

Whilst we continued in this Temper of Mind and Resolution, and have so far
complied with the Persuasion of particular Persons, and the Diftemper of the
Time, as to be contented with the Exercise of our Religion in our own Chappel,
according to the constant Practice and Laws established, without enjoying that
Practice, and the Observation of those Laws in the Churches of the Kingdom,
in which we have undergone the Confusion of many, as if we were without that
Zeal for the Church which we ought to have; and which by Gods Grace we
shall always retain; we have found our self not so candidly dealt with as we
have desired, and that there are unquiet and restless Spiris, who without abat-
ing any of their own Diftemperies in recompence of the Moderation they find
in us, continue their bitternes against the Church, and endeavour to raise Je-
alousies of us, and to lessen our Reputation by their Reproaches; as if we were not
true to the Professions we have made. And in order thereunto, they have very
unreasonably caused to be printed, published, and dispersed throughout the King-
dom, a Declaration heretofore printed in our Name, during the time of our be-
ing in Sweden; of which we shall lay no more than that the Circumstances by
which we were enforced to Sign that Declaration are enough known to the World:
That we did from the moment it palled our Hand, ask God forgiueness for our
part in it; which we hope, he will never lay to our Charge; and that the wor-
thief and greatest part of that Nation did even then detect and abhor the ill
nature of us, in that particular, when the fame Tyranny was exercized there, by
the power of a few ill Men, which at that time had spread it over this King-
dom: and therefore we had no reason to expect, that we should at this season,
when we are doing all we can to wipe out the Memory of all that hath been
done amiss by other Men, and we thank God, have wiped it out of our own re-
membrance, have been our self assulted with those Reproaches, which we will
likewise forget. A
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Since the printing of this Declaration, several Seditions Pamphlets and Queries have been published and scattered abroad, to inflame Dislike and Jealousies into the Hearts of the People, and of the Army; and some who ought rather to have repented their former Mischief they have wrought, than to have endeavoured to improve it, have had the hardines of to publish, That the Doctrine of the Church, against which no Man can with we have contended hath Excepted, ought to be reformed as well as the Discipline.

This over-passionate and turbulent way of Proceeding, and the Impatience we find in many for some speedy Determination in these Matters, whereby the Minds of Men may be composed, and the Peace of the Church established, hath prevailed with us to invent the Method we had proposed to our selfs, and even in order to the better Calling and Composing of a Synod (which the present Jealousies will hardly agree upon) by the affilience of God's blest Spirit, which we daily invoke and supplicate, to give some determination our self to the Matters in difference, until such a Synod may be called, as may without passion or prejudice, give us such a further affilience towards a perfect Union of Affections, as well as Submission to Authority, as is necessary. And we are the rather induced to take this upon us, by finding upon the full Conference we have had with the Learned Men of several Perversions, that the Mischief under which both the Church and State do at present suffer, do not relite from any formed Doctrine or Conclusion which either Party maintains or avows; but from the Paffion and Appetite and Interell of particular Persons, who contract greater Prejudice to each other from thse Affections, than would naturally arise from their Opinions; and those Diftempers must be in some degree allayed, before the Meeting in a Synod can be attended with better Success, than their Meeting in other places; and their Difcourts in Pulpits have hitherto been; and till all thoughts of Victory are laid aside, the humble and necessary Thoughts for the vindication of Truth cannot be enough entertained.

We must for the Honour of all thse of either Perversion, with whom we have concorded, declare, That the Professions and Defires of all for the Advance of Piety, and true Godlines, are the same: their Professions of Zeal for the Peace of the Church, the same; of Affection and Duty to us, the same: They all approve Episcopacy: They all approve a Set-Form of Liturgy: And they all disapprove and dislike the Sin of Sacrilege, and the Alienation of the Revenue of the Church; And if upon these excellent Foundations, in Submission to which there is such a Harmony of Affections, any Super-Structures should be raised to the shaking these Foundations, and to the contracting and refining the blessed Gift of Charity, which is a Vital part of Christian Religion, we shall think our self very unfortunate, and even suspect, that we are defective in that Administration of Government, with which God hath intrusted us.

We need not profess the high Affection and Esteem we have for the Church of England, as it is established by Law; the Reverence to which hath supported us, with God's Blessing, against many Temptations: Nor do we think that Reverence in the least degree diminished by our Condescension, nor peremptorily to insist upon some Particulars of Ceremony, which however introduced, by the Piety and Devotion and Order of former Times, may not be so agreeable to the present; but may even lessen that Piety and Devotion, for the improvement: whereof they might happily be first introduced, and consequentely may well be dispensed with. And we hope this Charitable compliance of ours, will dispense the Minds of all Men to a cheerful Submission to that Authority, the prefervatiion whereof is so necessary for the Unity and Peace of the Church; and that they will acknowledge the Support of the Episcopal Authority, to be the best Support of Religion; by being the belt means to contain the Minds of Men within the Rules of Government. And they who would refrain the Exercis of that holy Function, within the Rules which were observed in the Primitive Times, must remember and consider, that the Ecclesiastical Power being in thse blest Times always subordinate and subject to the Civil, it was likewise proportioned to such an Extent of Jurisdiction as was agreeable to that: And as the Sanctity and Simplicity and Renunciation of that Age, did then refer many things to the Bishops, which the Policy of succeeding Ages would not admit, at least did otherwise provide for; so it can be no Reproach to Primitive Episcopacy, if where there have been great Alterations in the Civil Government from what was then, there have been likewise some Difference and Alteration in the Ecclesiastical, the Esteem and Foundation being still preferred; And upon this Ground, with-
out taking upon us to Confirme the Government of the Church in other Countries, where the Government of the State, is different from what it is here, or enlarging our self upon the Reason why, whilst there was an Imagination of Expecting a Democratical Government here in the State, they should not be willing to continue an Aristocratical Government in the Church, it shall suffice to say, That since by the wonderful Blessing of God, the Hearts of this whole Nation are returned to an Obedience to Monarchique Government in the State, it must be very reasonable to Support that Government in the Church, which is established by Law; and which with the Monarchy hath flourished through so many Ages, and which is in truth as ancient in this Island, as the Christian Monarchy thereof: and which hath always in some respects or degrees been enlarged or restrainted, as hath been thought most conducing to the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom; and therefore we have not the least doubt but the present Bishops will think the present Concessions now made by us, to aly the present Diffemper very just and reasonable, and will very cheerfully Conform themselves thereunto.

1. We do in the first place declare, That as the present Bishops are known to be Men of Great and Exemplary Piety in their Lives, which they have manifested in their notorious and unexampled Sufferings, during these late DiSempers; and of great and known Sufficiency of Learning; so we shall take Special Care by the AffiUance of God, to prefer no Men to that Office and Charge, but Men of Learning, Vertue, and Piety, who may be themselves the best Examples to those who are to be Governed by them: and we shall expect and provide the best we can, that the Bishops be frequent Preachers, and that they do very often preach themselves in some Church of their Diocefs, except they be hindered by Sicknes, or other bodily Infirmities, or some other justifiable occasion, which shall not be thought justifiable if it be frequent.

2. If any Diocefs shall be thought of too large an Extent, we will appoint Subfragan Bishops for their AffiUance.

3. No Bishop shall Ordain or Exercise any part of Jurisdiction which appertains to the Cenfures of the Church, without the Advice of the Presbyters, and no Chanceller shall exercise any Act of Spiritual Jurisdiction.

4. As the Dean and Chapters are the most proper Council and AffiUants of the Bishop both in Ordination, and for the other Offices mentioned before; so we shall take care that those Preferments be given to the most Learned and Pious Presbyters of the Diocefs, that thereby they may be always at hand and ready to advise and aflift the Bishop: And moreover, That some other of the most Learned, Pious, and Discreet Presbyters of the fame Diocefs (as namely the Rural Deans, or others, or so many of either as shall be thought fit, and are near) be called by the Bishop to be present and affiUant together with those of the Chapter, at all Ordinations, and at all other Solemn and Important Actions in the Exercise of Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, especially wherein any of the Miniflers are concerned. And our Will is, that the great Work of Ordination be constantly and solemnly performed by the Bishop in the Presence, and with the Advice and AffiUance of his aforesaid Presbytery at the four fett Times and Seasons appointed by the Church for that purpose.

5. We will take care that Confirmation be rightly and solemnly performed by the Information and with the Advice of the Minifter of the Place, and as great diligence used for the Instruction and Reformation of notorious and scandalous Offenders as is possible; towards which the Rubrick before the Communion hath prescribed very wholesome Rules.

6. No Bishop shall Exercise any Arbitrary Power, or do or impose any thing upon the Clergy or the People, but what is according to the known Laws of the Land.

7. We are very glad to find that all with whom we have conferred do in their Judgments approve a Liturgy, or Set-Form of Publick Worship to be lawful; which in our Judgment for the preservation of Unity and Uniformity, we conceive to be very necessary; And though we do esteem the Liturgy of the Church of England, contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and by Law estabUshed, to be the best we have seen, and we believe that we have seen all that are extant and used in this part of the World, and well know what Reverence most of the Reformed Churches, or at least the most Learned Men in those Churches have for it; Yet since we find some Exceptions made to many absolute words, and other Expressions used therein, which upon the Reformation and Improvement of the
the English Language may well be altered, we will appoint some Learned Divines of different Perfections to review the fame, and to make such Alterations as shall be thought most necessary, and some such Additional Prayers as shall be thought fit for emergent Occasions, and the improvement of Devotion; the using of which may be left to the Discretion of the Ministers: In the mean time, and till this be done, we do heartily wish and desire, that the Ministers in their several Churches, because they dislike some Clauses and Expressions, would not totally lay aside the use of the Book of Common Prayer, but read those Parts against which there can be no Exception, which would be the best Instance of declining those Marks of Distinction, which we so much labour and desire to remove.

8. Lastly, Concerning Ceremonies, which have administered so much Matter of Difference and Contention, and which have been introduced by the Wildomi and Authority of the Church, for Edification and the Improvement of Piety; we shall say no more, but that we have the more Esteem of all, and Reverence for many of them, by having been present in many of those Churches where they are most abolished or discountenanced, and where we have observed so great and scandalous Indecency, and to our Understanding so much absence of Devotion, that we heartily wish that those pious Men who think the Church of England o-verburthened with Ceremonies, had some little Experience, and made some Observation in those Churches abroad which are most without them.

And we cannot but observe, That those Pious and Learned Men with whom we have conferred upon this Argument, and who are most solicitous for Indulgence of this kind, are earnest for the fame out of Compassion to the Weakness and Tenderness of the Conscience of their Brethren, not that themselves who are very zealous for Order and Decency, do in their Judgments believe the Practice of those particular Ceremonies which they except against, to be in it self unlawfull; and it cannot be doubted, but that as the Universal Church cannot introduce one Ceremony in the Worship of God that is contrary to God's Word expressed in the Scripture; so every National Church (with the approbation and consent of the Sovereign Power) may and hath always introduced such particular Ceremonies, as in that Conjunction of Time, are thought most proper for Edification, and the necessary Improvement of Piety and Devotion in the People; though the necessary Practice thereof cannot be deduced from Scripture, and that which before was, and in itself is indifferent, ceases to be indifferent after it is once established by Law: And therefore our present Consideration and Work is, to gratify the private Conferences of those that are grieved with the use of some Ceremonies, by indulging to, and dispensing with their omitting those Ceremonies, not utterly to abolish any which are established by Law (if any are practiced contrary to Law, the same shall cease) which would be unjust, and of ill Example, and to impose upon the Conscience of some, and we believe much Superior in Number and Quality, for the Satisfaction of others, which is otherwise provided for; as it would not be reasonable that Men should expect, that we should our self decline or enjoy others to do so, to receive the Blessed Sacrament upon our Knees, which in our Conscience is the most humble, most devout, and most agreeable Porce for that holy Duty, because some other Men, upon Reason's seat, if not only known to themselves, choose rather to do it Sitting or Standing: We shall leave all Decisions and Determinations of that kind, if they shall be thought necessary for a perfect and entire Unity and Uniformity throughout the Nation, to the Advice of a National Synod, which shall be duly called after a little time, and a mutual Conversation between Persons of different Perfections, hath mollified those Diffemper, abated those Sharpnesses, and extingwhshed those Jealousies which make Men unfit for those Constitutions; and upon such Advice, we shall use our best Endeavour that such Laws might be establisht as may best provide for the Peace of the Church and State.

1. In the meanwhile, out of Compassion and Compliance towards those who would forbear the Cross in Baptism, we are content that no Man shall be compelled to use the same, or suffer for not doing it; But if any Parent desire to have his Child Christned according to the Form used, and the Minister will not use the Sign, it shall be lawful for the Parent to procure another Minister to do it; And if the proper Minister shall refuse to omit that Ceremony of the Cross, it shall be lawful for the Parent who would not have his Child so Baptized, to procure another Minister to do it, who will do it according to his Desire.
The LIFE of the

2. No Man shall be compelled to bow at the Name of Jesus, or suffer in any degree for not doing it, without reproaching those who out of their Devotion continue that Ancient Ceremony of the Church.

3. For the Use of the Surprice, which hath for so many Ages been thought a most decent Ornament for the Clergy in the Administration of Divine Service; and is in truth of a different fashion in the Church of England, from what is used in the Church of Rome; we are contented that Men be left to their Liberty to do as they shall think fit, without suffering in the least degree for the wearing or not wearing it; provided that this Liberty do not extend to our own Chappel, Cathedral, or Collegiate Churches, or to any College in either of our Universities; where we would have the several Statutes and Customs observed, which have been formerly.

And because some Men (otherwise Pious and Learned) say they cannot conform to the Subscription required by the Canon at the time of their Institution and Admission into Benefices, we are content (so they take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy) that they shall receive Institution and Induction, and shall be permitted to exercise their Function, and to enjoy the Profits of their Living, without any other Subscription, until it shall be otherwise determined by a Synod called and confirmed by our Authority.

In a word, we do again renew what we have formerly said in our Declaration from Breda, for the Liberty of tender Confidences, that no Man shall be disquieted or called in question for Difference of Opinions in Matters of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and if any have been disturbed in that kind since our Arrival here, it hath not proceeded from any Direction of ours.

To conclude, and in this place to explain what we mentioned before, and said in our Letter to the House of Commons from Breda, that we hoped in due time our self to propose somewhat for the propagation of the Protestant Religion, that will satisfy the World that we have always made it both our Care and our Study, and have enough observed what is most like to bring disadvantage to it; we do conjure all our Loving Subjects to acquiesce in, and submit to this our Declaration, concerning those differences which have so much disquieted the Nation at home, and given such Offence to the Protestant Churches abroad, and brought such reproach upon the Protestant Religion in general from the Enemies thereof, as if upon obscure Notions of Faith and Fancy, it did admit the Practice of Christian Duties and Obedience to be discountenanced and suspended, and introduce a Licentie in Opinions and Manners to the prejudice of the Christian Faith: And let us all endeavour, and emulate each other in those Endeavours, to countenance and advance the Protestant Religion abroad, which will be best done by supporting the Dignity and Reverence due to the best Reformed Protestant Church at home; and which being once freed from the Calamities and Reprehensions it hath undergone from these late ill times, will be the best shelter for those abroad, which will by that Countenance, both be the better protected against their Enemies, and be the more easily induced to compose the Differences amongst themselves, which give their Enemies more advantage against them. And we hope and expect that all Men will henceforward forbear to vent any such Doctrine in the Pulpit, or to endeavour to work in such manner upon the Affections of the People, as may dispoze them to an ill Opinion of us and the Government, and to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom; which if all Men will in their several Vocations endeavour to preserve with the same Affection and Zeal we our self will do, all our Good Subjects will by God's Blessing upon us enjoy as a great measure of Felicity, as this Nation hath ever done, and which we shall constantly labour to procure for them, as the greatest blessing God can bestow upon us in this World.

Note, That the two Papers which the King's Declaration publisheth his Offence against, were 1. A Declaration which the Scots drew the King to publish when they Crowned him in Scotland, disclaiming his Father's Wars and Actions, in Language so little tender of his Father's Honour, that it was no wonder that the King was hardly drawn to it then, nor that Cromwell derided their Doings as Hypocritical, nor that the King was
was angry with those rath People, whoever they were, who now reprinted it.

2. A Book of Dr. Cornelius Burgess, who (though he was for a moderate Euphocy) had written to prove the Necessity of a Reformation in Doctrine, Discipline and Worship: whereas in all our Treaty we had never meddled with the Doctrine of the Church: Because, though the most part of the Bishops were taken to be Arminians (as they are called) yet the Articles of Religion we took to be found and moderate, however Men do variously interpret them.

§ 106. When we had received this Copy of the Declaration, we saw that it would not serve to heal our Differences; Therefore we told the Lord Chancellor (with whom we were to do all our Business till before it came as from us to the King) that our Endeavours as to Concord would all be frustrate, if much were not altered in the Declaration (I pass over all our Conferences with him, both now and at other times): In conclusion, we were to draw up our Thoughts of it in writing; which the Brethren imposed on me to do. My judgment was, That all the Fruit of this our Treaty (besides a little Reproof from intended Ejection) would be but the Satisfying our Consciences and Pofterity that we had done our Duty, and that it was not our Fault that we came not to the desired Concord or Coalition, and therefore feared we had no (considerable) higher hopes, we should speak as plainly as Honesty and Conscience did require us. But when Mr. Calamy and Dr. Reigndols had read my Paper, they were troubled at the plainness of it; and thought it would never be endured, and therefore desired some Alteration; especially that I might leave out 1. The Prediction of the Evils which would follow our Non-Agreement, which the Court would interpret as a Threatning. 2. The mentioning the Aggravations of Covenant-breaking and Perjury. I gavethem my Reasons for passing it as it was. To bring this to pass more effectually they told the Earl of Manbey (with whom as our fire Friend we still confedered, and whom the Court used, to Communicate to us what they desired: And he called the Earl of Anglesey and the Lord Hollis to the Conference as our Friends: And these three Lords, with Mr. Calamy and Dr. Reigndols, perused all the Writing, and all with earnestness perfwaded me to the said Alterations. I confess I thought those two Points material which they excepted against, and would not have had them left out, and thereby made them think me too plain and unpleasing, as never used to the Language or Converse of a Court: But it was not my unskilfulness in a more pleasing Language, but my Reason and Conscience (upon foresight of the Illue) which was the Cause. But when they told me that it would not so much as be received, and that I must go with it my self, for no body else would, I yielded to such an Alteration as here followeth. It was only in the Preface that the Alteration was desired. I shall therefore, that you may see what it was, give you as first drawn up, and afterwards alter'd.

Our Petition to the King, upon our Sight of the First Draught of his Declaration.

May it please your Majsly,

'S O great was the Comfort created in our Minds by your Majsly's oft-expressed Resolution to become the effectual Moderator in our Differences, and your self to bring us together by procuring such mutual Condefcitions as are necessary thereto, and also by your gracious Acceptance of our Proposals, which your Majfly heard and received not only without blame, but with Acknowledgment of their Moderation, and as such as would intar a Reconciliation between the differing Parties; that we must needs say, the leaft Abatement of our Hopes, is much the more unwellome and grievous to us: And it is no small Grief that lurtprizeth our Hearts, from the Complaints of the Students ejected in the Universities, and of Faithful Ministers removed from their beloved Flocks; and denied Initiation, for
for want of Subscription, Re-ordination, or an Oath of Obedience to the Bishop; 
but especially from many Congregations in the Land, that cry out they are undone 
by the loss of the Means of their Spiritual Welfare, which were dearer to them 
than all worldly Riches, and by the grievous Burden of Ignorant, or Scandalous, 
or dead unprofitable Ministers set over them, to whom they dare not commit the 
Guidance and care of their Immortal Souls, and whose Ministry they dare not 
own or continue, lest they be guilty of their Sins: And it addeth to our Grief 
and Fear in finding so much of the proposed necessary Means of our Agreement, 
especially in the point of Government here passed by, in your Majesty's Declaration, 
as it were denied us. But yet remembering the gracious and encouraging 
Promises of your Majesty, and observing your Majesty's Clemency in what is here 
granted us, and your great Condemnation in vouchsafing not only so graciously 
to hear us in these our humble Addresses and Requests, but also to grant us the 
Sight of your Declaration before it is resolved on, with Liberty of returning our 
Additional Desires, and hope that they shall not be rejected; we re-affirm our 
Confidence, and comfortably expect, that what is not granted in this Declaration 
that is reasonable and necessary to our Agreement, shall yet be granted upon 
further Consideration of the Equity of our Requests.

As our Designs and Desires are not for any worldly Advantages or Dignities to 
our selves, to have we not preceeded to intermediate with any Civil Interest 
of your Majesty, or any of your Officers; nor in the matters of mere 
Convenience to call our Reason into the Ballance against your Majesty's Prudence; 
but merely to speak for the Laws and Worship and Servants of the Lord, 
and for the Peace of our Consciences, and the Safety of our own and Brethrens 
Souls. It lifts us up with Joy to think what happy Consequences will ensue, if your 
Majesty shall entertain these healing Motions: How happily our Differences 
will be reconciled, and the exasperated Minds of Men composed: How Temptations to Contention and Uncharitableness will be removed: How comfortably 
your Majesty will reign in the dearest Affections of your Subjects; and how firmly 
they will adhere to your Interest as their own: How cheerfully and zealously 
the united parts and Interests of the Nation will conspire to serve you: What a 
Strength and Honour a righteous Magnificacy, a learned, holy, loyal Ministry, 
and a faithful praying People will be to your Throne: And how it will be your 
Glory to be the King of the most religious Nation in the World, that hath no 
considerable Parties, but what are Centered (under Christ) in you: What a 
Comfort it will be for the Bishops and Pastors of the Church, to be honoured and 
loved by all the most religious of their Flocks; to see the Success of their Labours 
and the Beauty of the Church promoted by our common Concord, and 
Brethrens to assemble and dwell together in Unity; serving one God, according 
to one Rule, with one Heart and Mouth.

(And on the contrary, it is to be hoped) that the Consequences that would follow it (which God forbid) your Majesty should re- 
fnue the most necessary, moderate Ways of Concord, and be 
engaged by a party to exalt them by the Suppression of the 
reft! How would a Day would it prove to your Majesty and 
your Dominions, in which you should thus eloque a Caufe 
and Interrest injurious to the Interest of Christ, and the Cause 
of Unity and Love, and contrary to your Majesty's gracious 
Inclinations be engaged unawares in a feeming necessity to deal 
hardly with the Ministers and Servants of the Lord! How 
considerable a part of the Three Nations for Number, Wife, 
don, Piety and Interest, you would be drawn to govern with 
a grievous Hand; and to lay them under the greatest Sorrow 
who restored and received your Majesty with Joy! How the 
Difent of Ministers from the Government and Ceremonies of 
the Church, were it exprifed but by their Groans and Tears, and 
moderate Complaints to God, or Not-praying for that Church 
Government which they dare not pray for, would be reckon'd 
as Difcontent and Sedition; and it would be judged a Crime 
to feel when they are hurt! What Occasion this would give to irreligious Tempo-
rizers to arrogate the Name of your Majesty's best Subjects, and to let out their 
Malice against the Upright, and make Religion a Reproach! And then what a 
Fridance that would be to the Conversion and saving of the Peoples Souls! and 
what a fruitful Noursh of all Vice! How grievously Charity would be over-
thrown,
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter

thrown, while the People are engaged in the hardiest Thoughts and Speeches of each other! What a Temptation it would be to the afflicted part, to abate their Honour and due Respect to those they suffer by, when they are deprived of that which is dearest to them in the World; and when the Groans and Cries of afflicted Innocents arrive at Heaven, and have awakened the Justice of the King of Kings, the greatest cannot stand before him. And what a Snare and Grief will it be to the Bishops and Patrors of the Church to be excepted from being the Honour of their Ministry, and the Comfort of their Lives. And when Divisions and separated Assemblies are thus multiplied (the People being driven from the publick Congregations) either it will bring them under Trouble, or let in Papists and others that are intolerable into an equal Tolleration; and such Discord and Distractions in the Church, will not be without their Influence on the State. And by all this how much will Satan and the Enemies of our Religion be gratified, and God dishonoured and displeased. And, being all this may falsely and easily be now prevented, we humbly beseech the Lord, in Mercy to vouchsafe to your Majesty a Heart to discern of time and Judgment.

And as these are our General Ends and Motives, so we are induced to insist upon the Form of Synodical Government conjunct with a fixed Presidency, or Episcopalcy, for these Reasons:

1. We have reason to believe that no other Terms will be so generally agreed on. And it is no way injurious to Episcopal Power; but most firmly establisheth all in that can pretend to Divine Authority or true Antiquity. It granteth them much more than Reverend Bishop Hall (in his Peace-maker) and many others of that Judgment, do require; who would have accepted the fixing of the President for Life, as sufficient for the Reconciliation of the Churches.

2. It being most agreeable to the Scripture and the Primitive Government, is likely to be the way of a more Universal Concord, if ever the Churches arrive on Earth at such a Blessing. However it will be most acceptable to God, and to well informed Conferences.

3. It will promote the Practice of Discipline and Godliness without Disorder, and promote Order without the hindering of Discipline and Godliness.

4. And it is not to be silenced (though in some respects we are loath to mention it) that it will save the Nation from the Violation of the Solemn Vow and Covenant, without wronging the Church at all; or breaking any other Oath.

And, whether the Covenant were lawfully impos'd or not, we are averse from the Nature of a Vow to God, and from the Cakes of Saul, Zedekiah, and others, that it would be a terrible thing to us to violate it on that pretense. Though we are far from thinking that it obligeth us to any Evil, or to go beyond our Places and Callings to do Good, much less to resist Authority; yet doth it undoubtedly bind us to forbear our own Comfort to those Luxuriances of Church-Government which we there renounced, and for which no Divine Institution can be pretended. *It is not only the Presbyterians, but multitudes of the Episcopal Party, and the Nobility, Gentry, and others that adhered to his late Majesty, in the late unhappy Wars, that (at their Composition.) took this Vow and Covenant †[† And God forbid that ever the Souls of so many thousands should be driven upon the Sin of Perjury, and upon the Wrath of God, and the Flames of Hell: Or, that under Pretence of calling them to repent of what is evil, they should be urged to commit so great an Evil. If once the Conferences of the Nation should be so debauched, what good can be expected from them? or what Evil shall they ever after be thought to make Conscience of? or what Bonds can be impose'd to oblige them? or how can your Majesty place any Confidence in them, notwithstanding the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy which they take? or how can they be taken for competent Witnesses in any Cause, or Persons meet for human concert? or how should those Preachers be regarded by their Auditors that dare wilfully violate their Solemn Vows? and it would be no Comfort nor Honour to your Majesty to be the King of a Perfidious Nation. And, whatever Palliation Flattery might at Hand procure, undoubtedly at distance of time and place (where Flattery cannot silence Truth) it would be the Nations perpe-

* This was thus express'd in the Petition that was presented, not presuming to meddle with the Conferences of those many of the Nobility and Gentry, &c.

† What follows in this double inclosure, was omitted in the Copy presented, this only being inserted in the room of it. [We only crave your Majesty's Clemency to our selves and others, who believe themselves to be under its Obligations. And God forbid that we are Miserers in the room of it. We only desire your Majesty's Subjects to call off the Confidence of an Oath.]
actual Intimacy! And what Matter of Reconciliation would it be to the guilty Pa-
piets, when we blame their impious Doctrines that have such a tendency? How
loose would it leave your Majestys Subjects, that are once taught to break such
sacred Bonds] Till the Covenant was decrified as an Almanack out of date,
and its Obligation taken to be null, that odious Fact could never have been per-
petrated against your Royal Father: Nor your Majestys have been so long expul-
sed from your Dominions. And the Obligation of the Covenant upon the Con-
sciences of the Nation, was not the weakest Instrument of your Return. We
therefore humbly beseech your Majestys (with greater importance then we think
we should do for our Lives) that you will have Mercy on the Souls and Con-
sciences of your People, [r and will not urge or tempt them to this grievous
Sin, nor drive them on the insupportable Wrath of the Almighty, whole Judg-
ment is at hand, where Princes and People must give that account, on which
the irreverible Sentence will depend: For the honour of our Religion, and of
your Majestys Dominions, and Reign, we beseech you], suffer us not to be
tempted to the violating of such Solemn Vows: and this for nothing! when an
Expedient is before you, that will avoid it without any detriment to the Church;

\[This enclosed part was quite left out of the Copy that was presented.\]

\[The Prelacy which we disclaimed is] [That of Diocesans upon the Claim of a
Superior Order to a Presbyter, affuming the sole Power of Publick Admonit-
on of particular Offenders, injoyning Penitence, Excommunicating and Abfol-
ving (besides Confirmation) over so many Churches, as necessitated the Cor-
rupement or Expiration of Discipline, and the using of Humane Officers (as
Chancellors, Surrogates, Officials, Commiffaries, Arch-Deacons) while the un-
doubted Officers of Christ (the Paftors of the particular Churches) were hin-
dered from the Exercise of their Office].

\[The Restoration of Discipline in the particular Churches, and of the Paftors
to the Exercise of their Office therein, and of Synods for necessary Consultation
and Communion of Churches, and of the Primitive Prefidency or Episcopacy
for the avoiding of all these of Innovation an Diorder] is that which we hum-
ibly offer as the Remedy: beseeching your Majesty, that if any thing affered
seem unproved, an Impartial Conference in your Majestys hearing may be al-
lowed us in order to a just Determination.

Concerning the Preamble in your Majesty's Declaration, we presume
only to tender these Requests.

1. THAT as we are perswaded it is not in your Majestys Thoughts to inti-
mate that we are guilty of the Offences which your Majesty here reciteeth,
so we hope it will rather be a motive to the hastening of the Nation's Cure, that
our Unity may prevent Mens Temptations of that Nature for the time to come.

2. Though we have professed our willingness to submit to the Primitive Epif-
copacy, and a Reformed Liturgy, hoping it may prove an Expedition to an hap-
py Union, yet have we expressed our dislike of the Prelacy and present Liturgy,
while unreformed. And though Sacrilegious and unjust Alienation of Church-
lands is a Sin that we detest, yet whether in some Cases of true Superfluities of
Revenues, or true Necessity of the Church, there may not be an Alienation which
is no Sacrilege, and whether the Kings and Parliaments have been guilty of that
Crime that have made some Alienations, are Points of high Concernment, of which
we never had a Call to give our Judgment: And therefore humbly beseech your Ma-
jefty, that concerning these Matters, we may not to our Prejudice be otherwise
understood, than as we have before and here expressed.

3. That as your Majestys harh here vouchsafed us your gracious Acknowledg-
ment of our Moderation, it might never be faid, That a Ministry and People of
such moderate Principles, concurring to Primitive Episcopacy and Liturgy, could
not yet be received into the Settlement and countenanced Body of your People,
nor polishe their Stations in the Church, and Liberty in the Publick Worship of

4. And
Concerning the Matter of your Majesty's Concessions, as related to our Proposals.

1. We humbly renew our Petition to your Majesty, for the effectual Security of those premised Necessaries, which are the Matter of our chiefest Care, and whereunto the Controverted Points subserve: viz. 1. That private Exercises of Piety might be encouraged. 2. That an able, faithful Ministry may be kept up, and the insufficent, negligent, scandalous, and non-resident, call out. 3. That a credible Profession of Faith and Obedience be pre-required of Communicants. 4. That the Lord's Day be appropriated to Holy Exercises without unnecessary Diversions.

2. For Church-Government. In this your Majesty's Declaration, Parish Discipline is not sufficiently granted us. Inferior Synods with their Presidents are pallied by; and the Bishop which your Majesty declareth for, is not Episcopus Praefet, but Episcopus Princps; induced with sole Power both of Ordination and Jurisdiction. For though it be said, That [the Bishop shall do nothing without the Advice of Presbyters] yet their Consent is not made necessary, but he might go contrary to the Counsel of them all. And this Advice is not to be given by the Diocesan Synod, or any chosen Representatives of the Clergy, but by the Dean and Chapter, and as many and such others as he pleach to call. In all which there being nothing yielded us, which is sufficient to the desired Accommodation and Union, we humbly prosecute our Petition to your Majesty, that the Primitive Presidency with the respective Synods described by the late Reverend Primate of Ireland, may be the Form of Church-Government established among us: At least in these Three needful Points.

1. That the Pastors of the respective Parishes may be allowed, not only publicly to Preach, but personally to Catechize or otherwise Instruct the several Families, admitting none to the Lord's Table that have not personally owned their Baptismal Covenant by a credible Profession of Faith and Obedience, and to admonish and exhort the Scandalous, in order to their Repentance; to hear the Witnesses and the accused Party, and to appoint fit Times and Places for these things; and to deny such Persons the Communion of the Church in the Holy Eucharist, that remain impenitent; or that willfully refuse to come to their Pastors to be instructed, or to answer such probable Accusations; and to continue such Exclusion of them till they have made a credible Profession of Repentance, and then to receive them again to the Communion of the Church; provided there be place for due Appeals to Superior Power.

All this we beseech your Majesty to express under your Fifth Concessions, because it is to us of very great weight, and the Rubrick is unsatisfactory to which we are referred.

2. That all the Pastors of each Rural Deaneries, having a stated President chosen by themselves (if your Majesty please to grant them that liberty) may meet once a Month, and may receive Prefentments of all such Persons as now withstanding the
ing Suspension from Communion of the Church, continue impenitent or unre-formed, and having further admonished them, may proceed to the Sentence of Solemn Excommunication, if after due patience they cannot prevail. And may receive the Appeals of those that conceive themselves injuriously Suspended, and may decide the Cause.] Or if this cannot be attained, at least [that the Pastors of each Rural Deanery with their President, may have power to meet Monthly, and receive all such Prefentments and Appeals, and judge whether they be fit to be tranmitted to the Diocesan or not; and to call before them and admonish the Offenders so prefented].

Yet if Prefentments against Magistrates and Minifters be referred only to the Diocesan Synod, and their Appeals immediately there put in, we shall therein submit to your Majesty’s pleasure.

3. That a Diocesan Synod, confifting of the Delegates of the several Rural Synods, be called as often as need requireth: and that without the Consent of the major part of them, the Diocesan may not Ordain, or Exercise any Spiritual Cenfures on any of the Minifters: nor Excommunicate any of the People but by consent of the Synod, or of the Pastors of the particular Parifhes where they had Communion. And that not only Chancellors, but also Arch-deacons, Commissaries, and Officials as fuch, may pass no Cenfures, purely Spiritual.

But for the Exercife of Civil Government coercively by Mulcts or Corporal Penalties by Power derived from your Majesty, as Suprem over Perfons, and in things Eccleiaftical, we premise not at all to interfere: but shall submit to any that act by your Majesty’s Commiffion.

Our Reafons for the first part of Discipline, viz. in particular Parifhes, are these:

It is necessary to the Honour of the Christian Profeflion, to the integrity of Worship, to the deſtruction of Impiety and Vice, to the Prefervation of the Sound, the raising them that are Fallen, the comforting of the Penitent, the strengthening of the Weak; the Purity, Order, Strength and Beauty of our Churches, the Vanity of Believers, and the Pleafing of Chrift who hath required it by his Laws. And withal, it is agreeable to the ancient Canons and Practice of the Churches, and is confented to by our Reverend Brethren, and fo is no Matter of Controversie now between us.

Yet is not the Rubrick satisfactory which we are referred to: 1. Because it leaves the People at their liberty, whether they will let us know of their intention to Communicate, till the Night or Morning before; and allow us then only to admonith them, when (in great Parifhes) it is impossible for want of time.

2. Because it doth allow us to deny the Sacrament to thoſe only that maliciously refuse Reconciliation with their Neighbours, and only admonish other scandalous Sinners to forbear: Though the Canons forbid us to deliver them the Sacrament.

The Reafons why we inſit on the second Propofal, are these:

It being agreed on between us, That the younger les discreet fort of Minifters are unfit to pafs the Sentence of Excommunication, without Advice and Moderation by others, and every Church is not like to be provided with grave, discrete, judicious Guides; the neceffity of these frequent leffer Synods for such Moderation and Advice and Guidance will appear by these two general Evidences.

1. It is the very Nature and Subftance of the Office of a Prebyter, to have the Power of the Keys for binding and lo fing, retaining or remitting Sin; which therefore together or apart, as there is occasion, they are bound to Exercise. And this being the Inftitution of Jesus Chrift, cannot be altered by Man. In their Or- dination, according to the eftablifhed Order in England, it is faid, ‘Who fays fins thou decl warrant, they are remitted: who fays fins thou doft reput, they are retained.’ And they are commanded, [to Minifter the Doctrine, Sacraments, and Discipline of Chrift, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Realm hath received the fame, as expressly as the Bishop,
Bishops are. And as the late Primate of Ireland observed in his Reduction, That they may the better understand what the Lord hath commanded, the Exhortation of St. Paul to the Elders of the Church of Ephesus is appointed to be read to them at the time of their Ordination. Take heed to thy felves, and to all the Flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, (to feed or) rule the Congregation of God which he hath purchased with his blood. And it is apparent in this Acts 20. 17, 18, 28. and 15. 23, 25. and 16. 4. 1 Thess. 5. 12, 13. 1 Tim. 3. 4. 5. and 5. 17. Heb. 13. 7, 17, 24. and other places, that it is the Office of a Presbyter to oversee, Rule, and Guide the Flock (which the Ministerial Rule which consists in the Exercise of the Keys, or Management and Personal Application of God's Word to the Consciences and Cafes of particular Persons, for their Salvation, and the Order of the Church; the Coercive Power belonging to the Magistrate). And this was the Practice in the Ancient Church, as appeareth undeniably in Ignatius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hilarus, Chrysostom, etc. and is confirmed by the chieftest Defenders of Episcopacy.

2. If all Prefentments and Appeals be made to the Bishop and his Consistory alone, it will take from us the Parish Discipline which is granted us, and call almost all Discipline out of the Church. As it is most apparent to them that by experience are acquainted with the quality of our Flocks, and with the true Nature of the Pastoral Work. Considering 4. How many hundred Churches are in a Diocess. 2. How many thousand Persons are in very many Parishes: and of those what a number are obstinate in willful gros Ignorance or Scandal, refusing to be instructed, or admonished by their Pastors. 3. How long, and earnestly, and tenderly Sinners must be dealt with, before they are cut off by Solemn Excommunication. 4. How unsatisfactory it must be to the Consciences of a Bishop or Synod, to cut off a Man as impenitent upon the bare report of a Minifter, before full Examination they have proved him impenitent themselves; especially when too many Minifters are (to say nothing of Paffion that might cause partial Accusations) unable to manage a Reproof and Exhortation, as is necessary to work on the Consciences of the People, and to convict Refifters of flat Impenitency. 5. What abundance of Work the Bishop will have besides: Constant preaching will require time for preparation: Visiting the several Churches: Confirming all the Souls in so many hundred Parishes: (which alone is more than any one Man can do aight, if he had nothing else to do): Ordaining, Instituting, and Examining the Persons, to far as to satisfy a tender Consciente (that takes not all on trust from others, and is the Executor of their Judgments). Thefe, and much more, with the care of Church-buildings, Lands, and his own Affairs and Family, and Sicknesses, and necessary absence sometimes, will make this great additional Work, which must be constantly performed for so many hundred Parishes, to be impossible. 6. Reproofs and Suspension would fo exasperate the Scandalous, that they would vex the Pastors with numerous Appeals. 7. The Pastors will be undone by travelling and waiting, and maintaining such a multitude of Writs as is necessary for the prosecuting of Prefentments, and answering so many Appeals. 8. The Business will be so tedious, chargeable and troublesome, that Writs will not come in.

9. The Minifter by thefe Prosecutions and Attendances, will be taken off the rest of his Ministerial Work. 10. Bishops (being but Men) will be tempted by this intolerable Burden to be weary of the Work, and flumber it over, and cast it upon others, and to discontinue the most confeientious Minifters that most trouble them with Prefentments: which when the Offenders perceive, they will the more infult and vex us with Appeals.

So that the Discouragements of Minifters, and the utter Incapacity of the Bishops to perform a quarter of this Work, will nullifie Discipline; as leaving it impossible. Experience hath told us this too long.

And then when our Communion is thus polluted with all that are most incapable through utter Ignorance, Scandal, and Contempt of Piety, 1. Minifters will be deterred from their Administrations to Subjects so incapable. 2. Bishops that are tender Conscientes, will be deterred from undertaking fo impossible a Work, and of so ill Success. 3. And Men that have least tenderness of Conscience, and Care of Souls, and Fear of God's displeasure, will seek for and intrude into both places. 4. And the tender confeientious People will be tempted to speak hardly of such undisciplined Churches, and of the Officers; and to withdraw from them. 5. And hereby they will fall under the Displeasure of Superiors, and the Scorn of the Vulgar, that have no Religion but what is subservient to their Flesh. 6. And fo while the most pious are brought under Discomfiture and Reproach, and the most
most impious get the Reputation of being most Regular and obedient to their Rules, Piety it left will grow into dissembl: and Impiety escape its due disgrace: And this hath been the Cause of our Calamities.

3. As to the Liturgy; it is Matter of great Joy and Thankfulness to us, that we have heard your Majesty more than once so relolutely promising, That [none thal] suffer for not using the Common Prayer and Ceremonies, but you would secure them from the Penalties in the Act for Uniformity, as that which your Declaration at Brede intended], and to find here so much of your Majesty's Clemency in your gracious Concessions for a future Emendation. But we humbly crave leave to acquaint your Majesty, (1.) That it grieveth us all to hear, that, yet it is given in Charge by the Judges at the Affizes, to indict Men upon that Act for not using the Common Prayer. (2.) That it is not only [Some absolute words and other expressions] that are offensive. (3.) That many Scripture using some part of the Book as it is, left they be guilty of countenancing the whole, who yet would use it when reformed.

Therefore we humbly crave that your Majesty will here declare, [That it is your Majesty's pleasure that none be punished or troubled for not using the Book of Common Prayer, till it be effectually reformed by Divines of both Perfwations equally deputed thereunto].

And that your Majesty would procure that Moderation in the Imposition hereafter, which we before desired.

4. Concerning Ceremonies. Returning our humble Thanks for your Majesty's gracious Concessions (of which we are allured you will never have caule to repent) we further crave,

1. That your Majesty would leave out those words concerning us, That we [do not in our judgments believe the practice of those particular Ceremonies which we except against to be in itself unlawful]; for we have not so declared our Judgments. Indeed we have said, that treating in order to a happy uniting of our Brethren through the Land, our Work is not to lay what is our own Opinion, or what will satisfy us; but what will satisfy so many as may procure the said Union. And we have said, that some think some of them unlawful in themselves, and others but inconvenient. And while the Impolders think them but indifferent, we conceived they might reasonably be entertained to let them go; for the lying of their Brethrens Conferences and the Churches Peace. We are sure that a Christian's Conscience should be tender of adding to, or diminishing from the Matter of God's Worship in the smallest Point; the Laws of God being herein the only perfect Rule, Deut. 12. 32. And that a Synod infallibly guided by the Holy Ghost, would lay upon the Churches no greater burden then necessary things, Acts 15. 28. And that for things indifferent, Christians should not dispute or judge each other, Rom. 14. much less by silenced the able and faithful Ministers of the Gospel, to punish the Flocks even in their Souls, for the tolerable Differences and fuppofed Miftakes of Ministers. We doubt not but Peter and Paul went to Heaven without the Ceremonies in question.

And being your Majesty well expresseth it, [That the Universal Church cannot introduce one Ceremony in the Worship of God that is contrary to God's Word exprefled in the Scriptures], and Multitudes of Protestants at home and abroad do think that all Mystical Sacramental Rites of Humane Inftitution are contrary to the perfection of God's Law, and to Deut. 12. 32. &c. (though the Determination of such Circumstances necessary in general, be not fo), and therefore dare not use them, for fear of the Displeasure of God the Universal Sovereign; it must needs be a great Expreflion of your Majesty's wisdom and tendenies of God's Honour and the Safety of your Peoples Souls, to refuse in things unnecessary to drive Men upon (apprehended) Sin, and upon the Wrath of God, and the Troubles of a Condemning Consequence.

2. We befeech your Majesty to understand, that it is not our meaning by the Word [abolishing] to crave a Prohibition against your own or other Mens Liberty in the things in question; but it is a full Liberty that we defire; such as should be in unnecessary things; and such as will tend to the Concord of your People, viz. That there be no Law or Canon for or against them, commanding, recommending or prohibiting them: As now there is none for any particular Gellure in singing of Psalms, where Liberty preferveth an uninterrupted Unity.
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter. 273

For the Particular Ceremonies.

1. We humbly crave as to kneeling in the Act of Receiving, that your Majesty will declare our Liberty therein, that none should be troubled for receiving it standing or sitting.

And your Majesty’s Expressions [upon Reasons best known, if not only to themselves] command us to render some of our Reasons.

1. We are sure that Christ and his Apostles sinned not, by not receiving it kneeling; and many are not sure that by kneeling they should not sin; and therefore for the better Security, though not for absolute Necessity, we crave leave to take the latter side.

2. We are sure that kneeling in any Adoration at all, in any Worship, on any Lord’s Day in the Year, or any Week-day between Easter and Pentecost, was not only allowed, but forbidden by General Councils (as Concil. Niceon. x Cau. 20. and Concil. Trull. &c.) and disclaimed by ancient Writers, and this as a general and uncontrolled Tradition: And therefore that kneeling in the Act of receiving is a Novety contrary to the Decrees and Practice of the Church for many hundred Years after the Apostles.

And if we part with the venerable Examples of all Antiquity where it agrees with Scripture, and that for nothing, we shall depart from the Terms which most Moderns think necessary for the Reconciling of the Churches. And Novety is a Disgrace to any part of Religion: And if Antiquity be Honourable, the most ancient, or nearest the Legislation and Fountain, must be most honourable. And it is not safe to intrust a Charge of Unreverence upon all the Apostles and primitive Christians, and the Universal Church, for so many hundred Years together of its settled Time.

3. Though our meaning be good, it is not good to shew a needless Countenance of the Papists Practice of Adoring the Bread as God, when it is used by them round about us: Saith Bishop Hall in his Lile, pag. 20. [I had a dangerous Confcfl with a Sarbenf, who took occasion by our kneeling at the Receipt of the Euffamb, to pursue all the Company of our Acknowledgment of a Transubftantiation.

4. Some of us that could rather kneel than be deprived of Communion, should yet suffer much before we durft put all others from the Communion that durft not take it kneeling; which therefore we crave we might not be put upon it.

2. We humbly crave allo [that the religious Observation of Holy-days of human Institution may be declared to be left indifferent, that none be troubled for not observing them.]

3. We humbly tender your Majesty our Thanks for your gracious Concession of Liberty as to the Croft and Surplice, and bowing at the Name [Jesus] rather than [Christ] or [God]. But we farther humbly beseech your Majesty, That this Liberty in forbearing the Surplice, might extend to the Colleges and Cathedrals also; that it drive not thence all those that Scrape it, and make not those Places receptive only of a Party; and that the Youth of the Nation may have just Liberty as well as the Elder. If they be engaged in the Universities, and their Liberties there cut off in their beginning they cannot afterwards be free; many hopeful Persons will be elle diverted from the Service of the Church. 2. That your Majesty will endeavour the repeating of all Laws, and Canons by which these Ceremonies are imposed, that they might be left at full Liberty.

4. We also humbly tender our Thanks to your Majesty for your gracious Concesion of the Forbearance of the Subscription required by that Canon. But (1.) we humbly acquaint your Majesty, that we do not dissent from the Doctrine of the Church of England, expressed in the Articles and Homilies: But it is the controverted Passages about Government, Liturgy and Ceremonies, and some By-passages and Phrases in the doctrinal Part, which are scrupled by those whose Liberty is desired. Not that we are against subscribing the proper Rule of our Religion, or any meet Confession of Faith. Nor do we scruple the Oath of Supremacy or Allegiance. Nor would we have the Door left open for Papists or Heretics to come in. 2. We take the boldness to lay that since we have had the Promises of your gracious indulgence herein, and upon divers Addresses to your Majesty and the Lord Chancellor, had comfortable Encouragement to expect our Liberty, yet cannot Minus our ancient Institution without renouncing their Ordination by Presbyters, or being recomposed, nor without Subscription and the Oath of Canonical Obedience. 3. We must observe with Fear and Grief, that your Majesty’s Indulgence and Concessions

N n
Conceffions of Liberty in this Declaration extendeth not either to the abatement of Re-ordination, or of subscriptional Ordination, or of the Oath of Obedience to the Bishops. We therefore humbly and earnestly crave, that your Majesty will declare your Pleasure. 1. [That Ordination, and Institution, and Induction may be conferred without the said Subscription or Oath. And 2. That none be urged to be ordained, or denied Institution for want of Ordination by Prelates, that was or is denied by Presbyters. 3. And that none be judged to have forfeited his Preference or Benefit, nor be deprived of it for not reading those Articles of the 39 that contain the controverted Points of Government and Ceremonies.

Lately, We humbly crave that your Majesty will not only grant us this Liberty till the next Synod, but will endeavour that the Synod be impartially chosen, and that your Majesty will be pleased to endeavour the Procurement of such Laws as shall be necessary for our security till the Synod, and for the Ratification of moderate and healing Conclusions afterwards, and that nothing by meer Canon be imposed on us, without such Statute Laws of Parliament.

These Favours (which will be injurious to none) if your People may obtain of your Majesty, it will revive their Hearts to daily and earnest Prayer for your Prosperity, and to rejoice in the thankful Acknowledgment of that gracious Providence of Heaven, that hath bleffed us in your R e f t o r a t i o n , and put it into your Heart to heal our Breaches, and to have compassion on the faithful People in your Dominions, who do not petition you for Liberty to be Schismatical, Factional, Seditional, or abusive to any, but only for leave to obey the Lord, who created and redeemed them, according to that Law by which they must all be shortly judged to overlifting Joy or Mifery. And it will excite them to, and unite them in the cheerful Service of your Majesty, with their Eftates and Lives, and to tranfmit your delayed Prazes to Pofterity.

A little before this, the Bishops Party had appointed (at our Request) a Meeting with some of us, to try how near we could come, in preparation to what was to be resolved on. Accordingly Dr. Morley, Dr. Hindeban, and Dr. Cofins, met Dr. Reignolds, Mr. Calamy, and my Self; and after a few roving Diffcourfes we parted without bringing them to any particular Conceffions for Abatement, only their general talk was from the beginning, as if they would do any thing for Peace, which was fit to be done, and they being at that time newly elect (but not confeffed) to their several Bifhopricks, we called them [my Lords] which Dr. Morley once returned with fuch a Passage as this [we may call you als fo suppose by the fame Title]: by which I perceived they had some Purpoles to try that way with us.

§ 107. This Petition being delivered to the Lord Chancellor was fo ungrateful that we were never called to preffent it to the King: But instead of that, it was offered us that we should make fuch Alterations in the Declaration as were neceffary to attain its Ends: But with thefe Caufions, that we put in nothing but what we judged of flat neceffity. And 2. That we altered not the Preface or Language of it. For it was to be the King’s Declaration, and what he fpake as expressing his own O f e n c e , was nothing to us; but if we thought he imposed any thing intolerable upon us, we had leave to express our Deifes for the altering of it. Whereupon we agreed to offer this following Paper of Alterations, letting all the rest of the Declaration alone; But withal, by Word to tell thofe we offered it to (which was the Lord Chancellor) [That this was not the Model of Church-Government which we at firft offered, nor which we thought moft expedient for the healing of the Church: But feeing that cannot be obtained, we fhall humbly submit, and thankfully acknowledge his Majesty’s Condeffion, if we may obtain what now we offer, and fhall faithfully endeavour to improve it to the Churches Peace, to the utmost of our Power]. Having declared this (with more) we delivered in the following Paper.

The
The Alterations of the Declaration which we offered.

1. WE do in the first place declare that our Purpose and Resolution is, and shall be to promote the Power of Godliness, to encourage the Exercifes of Religion, both publick and private, and to take care that the Lord's Day be appropriated to holy Exercifes, without unnecessary Divertisements; and that insufficient, negligent, non-resident, and scandalous Ministers be not permitted in the Church: And as the present Bishops are known to be Men of great and exemplary Piety, &c.

2. [Because the Diocesses, especially some of them, are thought to be of too large Extent, we will appoint such a Number of suffragan Bishops in every Diocess, as shall be sufficient for the due Performance of their Work.]

3. [No Bishops shall ordain, or exercise any part of Jurisdiction which appertains to the Ceremonies of the Church, without the Advice and Consent of the Presbyters, and no Chancellors, Commissaries, Archdeacons, or Officers shall exercise any Act of Spiritual Jurisdiction.]

4. [To the end that the Deans and Chapters may be the better fitted to afford Counsel and Affiliation to the Bishops; both in Ordination, and in the other Ordinances mentioned before, we will take care that those Preferments be given to the most learned and pious Presbyters of the Diocess.]

[And moreover, that at least an equal Number of the most learned, pious, and discreet Presbyters of the same Diocess, (annually chosen by the major Vote of all the Presbyters of that Diocess) shall be assiduous and confiding together with those of the Chapter at all Ordinations, and all other Acts of spiritual Jurisdiction.]

[Not shall any Suffragan Bishops ordain, or exercise any act of spiritual Jurisdiction, but with the Consent and Affiliation of a sufficient Number of the most judicious and pious Presbyters, annually chosen by the major Vote of all the Presbyters in his Precincts:]

And our will is, that the great Work of Ordination be constantly and solemnly performed at the four set times and Seasons appointed by the Church for that purpose.

5. [We will take care that Confirmation be rightly and solemnly performed, by the Information, and with the Consent of the Minister of that Place. Who shall admit none to the Lord's Supper, till they have made a credible Profession of their Faith, and promised Obedience to the Will of God according as is expressed in the Consideration of the Rubrick before the Catechism; and that all possible Diligence be used for the Instruction and Reformation of scandalous Offenders, whom the Ministers shall not suffer to partake of the Lord's Supper until they have openly declared themselves to have truly repented, and amended their former naughty Lives, as is partly expressed in the Rubrick, and more fully in the Canons. Provided there be place for due Appeals to superior Powers.

6. No Bishops, &c.

7. We are very glad to find that all with whom we have conferred, do, in their Judgments, approve a Liturgy, or a Set Form of publick Worship to be lawful, which in our Judgments, for the Preservation of Unity and Uniformity, we conceive to be very necessary: And although we do esteem the Liturgy of the Church of England contained in the Book of Common-Prayer and by Law established, to be the best that we have seen, (and we believe that we have seen all that are extant, and used in this part of the World) and we know what Reverence most of the reformed Churches, or at least the most learned Men in those Churches have for it; yet since we find some Exceptions made against several things therein [We will appoint an equal Number of learned Divines of both Persuasions to review the same, and to make such Alterations as shall be thought most necessary; and some additional Forms (in Scripture Psalms as near as may be)] suited unto the Nature of the several Ordinances, and that it be left to the Minister's choice to use one or the other at his Discretion.]

In the mean time, and till this be done, although we do heartily wish and desire that the Ministers in their several Churches because they dislike some Clauses, and Expressions, would not totally lay aside the use of the Book of Common Prayer, but read thofe Passages against which there can be no Exception, which would be the best Instance of declining those Marks of Divination, which we so much labour and desire to remove: Yet in comparrison to divers of our good Subjects who
who scruple the use of it as now it is, our Will and Pleasure is that none be punished or troubled for not using it, until it be reviewed and effectually reformed as aforesaid."

In the Preface concerning Ceremonies, we declare that at least these Words be left out. [Not that themselves do in their Judgments believe the Practice of these particular Ceremonies, which they except against, to be in it self unlawful.]

As concerning Ceremonies, our Will and Pleasure is, 1. That none shall be required to kneel in the act of receiving the Lord's Supper; but left at Liberty therein.

2. That the religious Observation of Holy days of human Institution be left indifferent, and that none be troubled for not observing of them.

3. That no Man shall be compell'd to use the Cross in Baptism, or suffer for not using it.

4. That no Man shall be compell'd to bow at the Name of Jesus.

5. For the use of the Surprice, we are contented that all Men be left to their Liberty to do as they shall think fit, without suffering in the least Degree for wearing or not wearing it.

And because some Men otherwise pious and learned, say they cannot conform unto the Subscription required by the Canons, nor take the Oath of Canonical Obedience, we are content, and it is our Will and Pleasure (so they take the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy) that they shall receive Ordination, Institution, and Induction, and shall be permitted to exercise their Function, and to enjoy the Profits of their Livings without the said Subscription, or Oath of Canonical Obedience.

And moreover, that no Persons in the Universities shall, for the want of such Subscription be hindred in taking their Degrees.

Lastly, That such as have been ordained by Presbyters, be not required to renounce their Ordination, or to be re-ordained, or denied Institution and Induction for want of Ordination by Bishops.

And moreover, that none be judged to forfeit their Presentation or Benefice, or be deprived of it, for not reading of those of the 39 Articles that contain the controverted Points of Church-Government and Ceremonies.

§ 108. After all this a Day was appointed for his Majesty to peruse the Declaration as it was drawn up by the Lord Chancellor, and to allow what he liked and alter the rest, upon the hearing of what both Sides should say: Accordingly he came to the Lord Chancellor's House, and with him the Duke of Albemarle, and Duke of Ormond (as I remember) the Earl of Manchester, the Earl of Anglesey, the Lord Holis, &c. and Dr. Sheldon (then) Bishop of London, Dr. Morley (then) Bishop of Hereafter, Dr. Hinshem (then) Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Ciftin Bishop of Durham, Dr. Gadson (after) bishop of Exeter and Hereafter, Dr. Barwick (after) Dean of Paulis, Dr. Hacket Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, with divers others; among whom, Dr. Gunning was most notable. On the other part flood Dr. Rainolds, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Ais, Dr. Wadis, Dr. Monton, Dr. Spurflower, my self, and who else I remember not. The Business of the Day was not to dispute, but as the Lord Chancellor read over Declaration, each Party was to speak to what they disliked, and the King to determine how it should be, as liked himself. While the Lord Chancellor read over the Preface, there was no Interruption, only he thought it best himself to blot out those Words about the Declaration in Scotland, for the Covenant [That we did from the Moment it passed our Hand, ask God Forgivenss for our Part in it.] The great matter which we stopped at was, the Word [Consent] where the Bishop is to confirm by the Consent of the Pastor of that Church; and the King would by no means pass the Word Consent either there or in the Point of Ordination or Ceremonies; because it gave the Ministers a negative Voice: We urged him hard with a Passage in his Father's Book of Meditations, where he expressly granteth this Consent of the Presbyters; but it would not prevail. The most that I insisted on was from the end of our Endeavour, that we came not hither for a Personal Agreement only with our Brethren of the other way, but to procure such gracious Concessions from his Majesty, as would unite all the sober People of the Land: And we knew that on lower Terms it would not be done. Though [Consent] be but a little Word, it was necessary to a very desirable end; if it were purposed that the Parties and Divisions should rather continue unhealed, then we had no more to say, there being no Remedy: But we were sure that Union would not be attained.
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

if no Content were allowed Ministers in any part of the Government of their Flocks, and to they should be only Teachers without any Participation, and the ruling of the People, whose Rectors they are called. And when I perceived some Offence at what I said, I told them that we had not the Judgments of Men at our command: We could not in reason suppose that our Conceptions, or any thing we could do, would change the Judgments of any great Numbers; and therefore we must consider what will unite us in case their Judgments be not changed, or else we labour to no purpose.

§ 109. But Bishop Morley told them how great our Power was, and what we might do if we were willing; and he told the King that no Man had written betres of these Matters than I had done, and there my five Disputations of Church Government, &c. lay ready to be produced; and all was to initiate, as if I now contradicted what I had there written. I told him, that I had best reason to know what I had written, and that I am still of the same mind, and stand to it all, and do not speak any thing against it. A great many words there were about Prelacy and Re-ordination; Dr. Gunning and Bishop Morley speaking almost all on one side (and Dr. Hinchman and Dr. Colins sometimes): and Mr. Calamy and my Selfe most on the other side: But I think neither Party doth value the rambling Discourses of that Day, so much, as to think them worthy the Recording. Mr. Calamy answered Dr. Gunning from Scripture very well against the Divine Right of Prelacy as a distinct Order. And when Dr. Gunning told them, that Dr. Hammond had said enough against the Presbyterians Caufe and Ordination, and was yet unanswered: I thought it meet to tell him, that I had answered the Substance of his Arguments, and laid enough moreover against the Diocesan Frame of Government, and to prove the validity of the English Presbyters Ordination, which indeed was unanswered, though I was very desirous to have seen an Answer to it: which I said because they had got the Book by them, and because I thought the unreasonableness of their dealing might be evinced, who force so many hundreds to be Re-ordained, and will not any of them answer one Book which is written to prove the validity of that Ordination which they would have nullified, though I provoked them purposely in such a Presence.

§ 110. The most of the time being spent thus in speaking to Particulars of the Declaration as it was read, when we came to the end, the Lord Chancellour drew out another Paper, and told us that the King had been petitioned also by the Independants and Anabaptists, and though he knew not what to think of it himself, and did not very well like it; yet something he had drawn up which he would read to us, and desire us also to give our Advice about it. Thereupon he read, as an Addition to the Declaration, That [others also be permitted to meet for Religious Worship, so be it, they do it not to the disturbance of the Peace and that no Justice of Peace or Officer disturb them]. When he had read it, he again desired them all to think on it, and give their Advice: But all were silent. The Presbyterians all perceived, as soon as they heard it, that it would secure the Liberty of the Papists; and one of them whispered me in the Ear, and intreated me to lay nothing, for it was an odious Bulfinch, but let the Bishops speak to it. But the Bishops would not speak a word, nor any one of the Presbyterians neither, and so we were like to have ended in that Silence. I knew if we confessed to it, it would be charged on us, that we spake for a Toleration of Papists and Sectaries: (But yet it might have lengthened out our own). And if we spake against it, all Sects and Parties would be set against us, as the Causers of their Sufferings, and as a partial People that would have Liberty our selves, but would have no others have it with us. At last, seeing the Silence continue, I thought our very Silence would be charged on us a Content if it, went on, and therefore I only said this, That [this Reverend Brother Dr. Gunning even now speaking against Sects, had named the Papists and the Socinians: For our parts we desired not favour to our selves alone, and rigorous Severity we desired against none! As we humbly thanked his Majesty for his Indulgence to our selves, so we distinguished the tolerable Parties from the intolerable: For the former, we humbly crave just lenity and favour; but for the latter, such as the two sorts named before by that Reverend Brother, for our parts we cannot make their Toleration our request:) To which his Majesty said, That there were Laws enough against the Papists; and I replied, That we understood the Question to be, whether those Laws should be executed on them, or not. And so his Majestie brake up the Meeting of that Day.

§ 111. Before the Meeting was dissolved, his Majesty had all along told what he would have stand in the Declaration, and he named four Divines to determine of
of any Words in the Alteration, if there were any difference, that is, Bishop Morley, Bishop Hindeoman, Dr. Reignolds, and Mr. Calamy, and if they disapproved, that the Earl of Anglesey and the Lord Hals should decide it. As they went out of the Room, I told the Earl of Anglesey, That we had no other business there that day but the Churches peace and welfare, and I would not have been the Man that should have done so much against it as he had done that day, for more than he was like to get by it: (for being called a Presbyterian, he had spoken more for Prelacy than we expected): And I think by the consequent that this saying did some good; for when I after found the Declaration amended, and asked him how it came to pass, he intimated to me that it was his doing.

§ 112. And here you may note by the way, the fashion of these Times, and the state of the Presbyterians: Any Man that was for a Spiritual serious way of Worship (though he were for moderate Episcopacy and Liturgy), and that lived according to his Profession, was called commonly a Presbyterian, as formerly he was called a Puritan, unless he joined himself to Independents, Anabaptists, or some other Sect which might afford him a more odious Name. And of the Lords, he that was for Episcopacy and the Liturgy, was called a Presbyterian, if he endeavoured to procure any Abatement of their Impositions, for the Reconciling of the Parties, or the ease of the Ministers and People that disliked them. And of the Ministers, he was called a Presbyterian that was for Episcopacy and Liturgy, if he conformed not so far as to Subscribe or Swear to the English Diocesan Frame, and all their Impositions. I knew not of any one Lord at Court that was a Presbyterian; yet were the Earl of Manchester (a good Man) and the Earl of Anglesey, and the Lord Hals called Presbyterians, and as such appointed to direct and help them: when I have heard them plead for moderate Episcopacy and Liturgy my self; and they would have drawn us to yield further than we did.

§ 113. And if ever any hereafter shall say, That at King Charles the Second's Restoration, the Presbyterian Caufe was pleased, and that they yielded to all that was in the King's Declaration, I leave it here on Record to the Notice of Posterity, that to the best of my knowledge the Presbyterian Cause was never spoken for, nor were they ever heard to petition for it at all: for the rest of the Ministers who came not to us, were still, and said nothing; and for my self, I ever professed my Judgment to be so far for Episcopacy, Liturgy, &c. as I have expressed in my fifth Disputation for Church-Government, and I drew on this Treaty, not as a Presbyterian, but as a Reconciler: and for Mr. Calamy, he pleaded for no more than I did, whatever his Judgment was; only at the Meeting before the King, he pleaded well that the words Bishops and Presbytery are in Scripture of the same signification, and that they differ but gradually, not ordinate, which abundance of Episcopall Men also hold, as did Bishop Ufford, and even many Schoolmen, and other Papists. And as for Dr. Reignolds, he was always of Mr. Stillingfleet's mind (as I have heard him profess) That no Form of Church-Government is determin'd of in the Word of God, but it is variable as occasion requireth. And as for Mr. Ab, though he was a Presbyterian, yet that good Man being all for Holiness, and Peace, and being no Disputer, he went along with us, and spake for no more than we did. Never did we write or speak a word (that I knew of, who was always with them) for Ruling Elders, nor for the Government of Synods or Presbyteries without Bishops or elected Presidents, nor against Liturgy in general, nor against Holydays in general, nor against Kneeling at the Sacrament (but only against the rejecting the from the Churches-Communion who dare not kneel, as supposing it Idolatrous); nor for any one thing which is proper to Presbyterian: Insomuch that when they still suppos'd us to plead for Presbyterian, in one Paper I drew up an Enumeration of abundance of Particulars which we never pleaded for, which the Presbyterian's usally hold, and shewed that we never medled with their proper Cause, partly because we were not all of a mind our selves in every small matter; and partly because we knew such a Plea would not now be heard; and partly because we took those Terms to be insufficient for the Churches Union, nor would our selves lay its Concord on so narrow a Foundation. But Mr. Calamy would not let it pass, because it might offend the Presbyterian Brethren, who expected more from us.

§ 114. But to return to the Hillory: When I went out from the Meeting on Octob. 22. I were deposted, as being fully satisfied, that the Form of Government in that Declaration would not be Satisfactory, nor attain that Concord which was our end, because the Pfaltors had no Government of the Flocks; and I was resolved to meddle no more in the Business, but patiently suffer with other Difficents: But
But two or three days after, I met the King's Declaration cried about the Streets, and I presently went into a House to read it, and seeing the word [Confess] put in about Confirmation and Sacrament, though not as to Jusification, and seeing the [Pastoral pastoral power] of Governing left to all the Ministers with the Rural Dean, and some more Amendments, I wondered at it, how it came to pass, but was exceeding glad of it, as perceiving that now the Terms were (though not such as we desired, yet) such as any sober honester Ministers might submit to: And I was presently resolved to do my best to persuade all, according to my Interest and Opportunity, to Conform according to the Terms of this Declaration; and cheerfully to promote the Concord of the Church, and Brotherly Love which this Concord doth bepeak.

§ 115. Having frequent Business with the Lord Chancellor about other Matters (of which somewhat anon) I was going to him, when I met the King's Declaration in the Street, and I was so much pleased with it, that (having told him why I was so earnest to have it fullest to the desired end) I gave him hearty thanks for the Additions, and told him that if it. The Liturgy may be but altered, as the Declaration promised; 2. And this may be settled and continued to us by a Law, and not reverred, I should take it to be my Duty to do my best to procure the full Convent of others, and promote our happy Concord on these Terms, and should rejoice to see the Day that Factions and Parties may all be swallowed up in Unity, and Contentions turned to Brotherly Love. At that time he began to offer me a Bishoprick (of which more anon).

§ 116. I shall here a little look to a passage of another Nature. Before this, I was called to preach at Court before the King (by the Lord Chamberlain who had sworn me his Chaplain, and invited me under that Name): And after Sermon it pleased his Majesty to lend the Lord Chamberlain to require me to print it. And the Earl of Lauderdale told me, that when he spake to the King of the great number of Citizens that wrote it in Characters, and laid that some of them would publish it; the King answered, I will prevent that, for I will have it published. Yet when this Sermon came abroad, Dr. Thomas Pierce went up and down raging against me, for calling my self on the Title page [His Majesty's Chaplain] (which if I had not, it would have been taken as a Contempt) and for saying it was printed by his Majesty's Special Command: and he renewed all the Railings which in print he had lately vented against me. I admired that a Man, whom the Diocesan Party so much gloried in, should be guilty of so great folly and imprudency, and could no better cloak his Malice: When he could not but know that the King himself would have fought Satisfaction if I had so foolishly belied him on my Title Page: Therefore I desired some that told me, to give it me under their Hands, that I might convince him of it. And no I received these following Testimonies, from two of his Familiars, but honest understanding Men, viz. Mr. Grigg of Blackfryars, and Mr. Brent of Creed-lane.

To my honoured Friend, Mr. William Allen, at his House in Broad-street.

SIR,

YOU being so well acquainted with Mr. Baxter, I desire you will please to ask him, whether he be the King's Chaplain in Ordinary, or not? And whether he had, at he hath printed, his Majesty's Special Command for the printing of his Sermon. For, lately Dr. Pierce told me, that he was the King's Chaplain no more than I was, and that he had no order from the King for the printing of his Sermon; which did so amaze me, that I took the boldness to make you this Trouble, who am,

Aug. 30. 1660.

SIR,

Your true Friend to serve you,

John Grigg.

The
The LIFE of the

Dr. Pierce called Mr. Baxter bold, impudent, saucy Fellow, for preaching such a Sermon to the King, and for printing himself his Majesty's Chaplain, and his Sermon to be printed at his Majesty's Command, when neither were true; and called Mr. Baxter, Thief, Murderer, the greatest of Rebels, worse than a Whoremaster or Drunkard, &c. Some of this I heard him speak my self; the rest I had from a Friend which heard it from Mr. Price.

George Brent.

By this tafte, the Reader that knew not the Men, may judge with what force of Men we had to do; for Dr. Pierce was not without too many Companions of this Temper. These Men that witnesst these Words of his were godly Men, who having been Mr. John Goodwin's Disciples, had been made Arminians by him; and fell in with Dr. Pierce, for his Agreement with them in the Arminian Points: But they could not lay by Piety and Charity in Partiality for Opinions, and being impatient of his Impudence, thus made it known to me. I purposed to have produc'd it before all the Bishops, when Dr. Pierce was there (having no other Opportunity to fee him): But I had no fit Occasion, and was both in Business of publick respect, to interpose any thing that meerly concerned my self; and so I never yet told him of it.

§ 117. That the Reader may understand this the better, by knowing the occasion of his Malice, this Mr. Tho. Pierce (being a confident Man, that had a notable Stile and Words at Will, and a venomous railing Pen and Tongue against the Puritans and Calvinists) having written somewhat in Defence of Grotius, as a judicious peaceable Protestant, in Opposition to some Passages in my [Christian Censur'] where I warn the Episcopal Party to take heed of Grotianism that was creeping in upon them, I did thereupon write a little Collection out of the late Writings of Grotius (especially his Difensio Apostolicae Rivetiani) to prove him to have turned Papift; and that Popery was indeed his Religion (though he communicated with no Church) (for he expressly pleadeth for our confenting to the Council of Trent, and all other general Councils as the Churches Law, and to the Pope's Sovereign Government; to be according to those Laws, and to the Miftrust of the Church of Rome over all other Churches, and to Pope Pius's Oath, with much more to that purpose: and telleth us that he was turned from us because he saw that the Protestant Churches had no possibility of Union among themselves, &c. and there is a Book written (I think by Vincentius) a French Minifter, called Grotius Papizans, which proveth it: And Claud. Sarracina, an honourable learned Counsellor of Paris, in his printed Epiftles published the fame from Grotius's own Mouth) But Mr. Pierce was vehemently furious at my Book, and wrote a Volume against me full of ingenious Lies and Railing; for he had no better way to defend Grotius or himfelf. In that Book he fcrapes up all the Words through all my Writings where I fpeak any thing of my felf, and puts them together, more impudently interpreting them, than could have been expected from a Man: Because I confes that the place I liv'd in was a Sequestration (whence an ignorant Reader had been put out before my coming to them) therefore he calls me Thieft, as if I liv'd on another's Bread; As if no Man muft ever have been the Teacher of the People, till that ignorant Wretch were restored to his Soul-murdering Condition: Because I had written to persuade some honest Scrupulous Persons, that they should not forfake the Churches Communion, though some were there that had been drunken or otherwife defcalous, and had spoken some Words to draw them to some charitable hopes of a Man that had been drunken, or adulterous, if he were not impudent; and all this to reconcile them to the Prelatical Party, whom they took to be the defcalous People of the Land; fo little Thanks doth he give me for this Exculping of his Party, that he calls me [worse than a Drunkard or Whoremonger] as if I had pleaded for these Sins, and yet in his former Book he had faid, that [if I came that way, and would communicate with him and his Church, no Man in the whole World would be more welcome] (dreaming that I had defioued Communion with the Prelatifs, which I never did for all their publick and perfonal Corruptions.) But his Venom against the Puritans is meerly Serpentine: He defcribeth them as the most bloody, traiterous, wicked Generation; unworthy to live; and blasphem the former Bishops that ufed them to gently, and provoketh the Governors to hang them in greater Numbers than heretofore; and especially against Carrwright he falsely but
but confidcntly wrieth, that he was confederate with Hacket, Copinger, and Arthurs, whom he egregiously to have been Presbyterian or Puritans, (who were dispersed Fanatics, one calling himself Chrift, and the other his two Witness.) But Mr. Cartwright himself long ago publish'd a Defence against the Accufations of Dr. Sutclfr on this very Matter.

§ 118. But to return from this Digreflion: A little before the Meeting about the King's Declaration, Colonel Birch came to me as from the Lord Chancellor, to persuade me to take the Bilhopprick of Hereford (for he had bought the Bishop's Houfe at Whifburn, and thought to make a better Bargain with me than with another, and therefore finding that the Lord Chancellor intended me the Offer of one, he defired it might be that): I thought it bleft to give them no positive Denyal, till I law the unmift of their Intent: And I perceived that Cofl. Birch came privately that a Bilhopprick might not be publicfly refused, and to try whether I would accept it that eafe it might not be offered me; for he told me that they would not bewar fuch a Repulfe. I told him that I was refolved never to be Bishop of Hereford, and that I did not think that I fould ever fee caufe to take any Bilhoppick, but I could give no positive Answer, till I law the King's Resolutions about the way of Church-Government: For if the old Diocefan Frame continued, he knew we could never accept or own it. After this (having not a ftalt denyal) he came again and again to Dr. Reignofts, Mr. Calamy, and my felf together, to imprefte us all to accept the Offer; (for the Bilhopprick of Norwich was offered Dr. Reigndfts, and Coventry and Lichfield to Mr. Calamy): But he had no positive Answer, but the fame from me as before. At laft, the Day that the King's Declaration came out, when I was with the Lord Chancellor (who did all) he asked me whether I would accept of a Bilhoppick: I told them that if he had asked me that Queftion the day before, I could easily have anwered him, that in Confidence he could not do it; for though I would live peaceably under whatever Government the King fhould set up, I could not have a hand in executing it. But having as I was coming to him feen the King's Declaration, and feeing that by it, the Government is fo far altered as it is, I take my felf, for the Churches fake, exceedingly behoind to his Lordhip for thofe Moderations; and my defire to promote the Happinefs of the Church, which that Moderation tendeth to, doth make me refolve to take that Courfe, which tendeth moft thereto: But whether to take a Bilhoppick, be the way, I was in Doubt, and defired fome farther time of Confideration. But if his Lordhip would procure us the fettlement of the matter of that Declaration, by putting it into a Law, I promised him to take that way in which I might moft fervve the Populck Peace.

§ 119. Dr. Reigndfts, Mr. Calamy, and my felf, had fome Speaches oft together about it; and we all thought that a Bilhoppick might be accepted according to the Declaration of the Declaration, without any Violation of the Covenant, or owning the ancient Prelacy; but all the Doubt was, whether this Declaration would be made a Law (as was then expected) or whether it were but a temporary means to draw us on till we came up to all the Diocefians defired; and Mr. Calamy defired that we might all go together, and all refufe, or all accept it.

§ 120. But by this time the rumour of it fled abroad, and the Voice of the City made a Difference; for though they withd that none of us fhould be Bifhops, yet they faid, Dr. Reigndfts and Mr. Baxter, being known to be for moderate Epifcopacy, their acceptance would be lefs scandalous: But if Mr. Calamy fhould accept it, who had preached, and written, and done fo much againft it (which were then at large recited) never Presbyterian would be trusted for his fake; fo that the Clamour was very loud againft his acceptance of it: And Mr. Matthew Newcomen, his Brother in Law wrote to me earnestly to diflude him, and many more.

§ 121. For my own part I resolved againft it at the firft, but not as a thing which I judged unlawful in it felf, as defcribed in the King's Declaration: But I knew that it would take me off my Writing. 2. I looked to have molt of the godly Minifters call cut, and what good could be done upon ignorant, vile, uncapable Men? 3. I feared that this Declaration was but for a preient use, and that shortly it would be revok'd or nullifi'd. 4. And if fo, I doubted not, but the Laws would prehife fhuch work for Bifhops, in silencing Minifters, and troubling ho- neft Chriftians for their Conftances, and ruling the vigorous with greater Lenity, &c. As that I had rather have the meaneft Employment amongst Men. 5. And my Judgment was fully refolved againft the Lawfulness of the old Diocefian Frame.
§ 122. But when Dr. Reigolds and Mr. Calamy ask my Thoughts, I told them, [that distinguishing between what is simply, and what is by Accident Evil, I thought that as Epiecapacy is described in the King's Declaration, it is lawful, when better cannot be had; but yet Scandal might make it unfit for some Men more than others: Therefore to Mr. Calamy I would give no Counsel, but for Dr. Reigolds I perfuaded him to accept it, to be it, he would publicly declare that he took it but on the Terms of the King's Declaration, and would lay it down when he could no longer exercise it on that words: only I left it to his Consideration whether it be better stay till we see what they will do with the Declaration; and for my self, I was confident I should fee caufe to refuse it.

§ 123: When I came next to the Lord Chancellor, (the next day five one) he asked me of my Resolution, and put me to it so suddenly, that I was forced to delay no longer, but told him that I could not accept it, for several Reasons; and it was not the least that I thought I could better serve the Church without it, if he would but prosecute the establishment of the Terms granted: And because I thought that it would be ill taken if I refused it on any but acceptable Reasons, and also that Writing would serve best against miiftreps hereafter, I the next Day put this Letter into the Lord Chancellor's Hand, which he took in good Part; In which I concealed the most of my Reasons, and gave the best, and used more Freedom in my farther Reqvests, than I expected should have any good Success.

My Lord,

YOURS great favour and Condescension encourages me to give you more of my Sense of the Business which your Lordship was pleased to propound. I was till I saw the Declaration, much defected, and refolved against a Bifhoprick as unlawful. But finding there more than on Octob. 22. his Majesty granted us (in the Father's Content, &c. the Rural Dean with the whole Minifttry enabled to exercise so much perftmce Pastoral Power as I could defire (who believe the Church hath no other kind of Power, unless communicated from the Magiftrate) Subscription abated in the Universities, &c.) And finding the happy Conceptions in the great point of Peculial Power and Discipline, and in the Liturgy and Ceremonies, &c. my Soul rejeced in thankfulness to God and his Inftuments, and my Confiience profefledly told me it was my Duty, to do my part with my felf and others as far as I had Interft and Opportunity, to suppress all fufpicious Difcontents; and having competent Matérials now put into my Hands, (without which I could have done nothing) to persuade all my Brethren to Thankfulness, and obedient Submission to the Government. And being railed to some joyful hopes of feeing the Beginnings of a happy Unión, I shall crave your Lordship's Pardon for prefuming to tell you what farther endeavours will be neceffary to accomplish it: 1. If your Lordship will endeavour to get this Declaration pafs into an Act. 2. If you will speedily procure a Commission to the Persons that are (equally) to be deputed to that work, to review the Common-Prayer-Book, according to the Declaration. 3. If you will further eftabli fh the Restoration of able, faithful Mifters (who have and will have great Interf in the fober part of the People) to a fettle Station of Service in the Church, who are lately removed. 4. If you will open fome way for the eftabli fhment of the efticient, fce ndalous and unafe. 5. If you will put as many of our Perfonages as you can into Bifhopricks (if it may be, more than three) 6. If you will defire the Bishops to place fome of them in inferior Places of trust, especially Rural Deaneries, which is a Station suitable to us, in that it hath no Salary or Maintenance, nor exercife Power, but that simple, pastoral perftmce Power which we defire: This much will set us all in joint.

And for my own part, I hope by Letters this very Week to disperfe the Seeds of Satisfaction into many Countries of England. But my Confiience commanding me to make this my very Worke and Business (unless the things granted should be reverse, which God forbid) I am profefst to your Lordship, that I am utterly againft accepting of a Bifhoprick (as becaufe I amconfident that it will over-much of my Juf sinon, and affir me of the remembrance of my Account for so great an Undertaking, &c. so) fpeciallly because it will very much difable me from an effential promissing of the Churches Peace. As Men will qffert all my Argomentations and Perfonages, when they fee me in the Dignity which I plead for, but will take me to speak my Confiience impartially, when I am but as one of them, & I am profct to your Lordship, that it will flop my own Mouth, fo that I cannot for Shame speak half so freely as now I can (and will if God enable me) for Obedience and Peace, while I know that the Hearers will be thinking I am pleading for my felf. Therefore I bumbly crave,

1. That
Part II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

1. That your Lordship will put some able Man of our persuasion into the place which you intend (Though I now think that Dr. Reigndols and Mr. Calamy may better accept of a Bishopprick than I, which I hope your Lordship will promote). I shall presume to offer some Choice to your Consideration; Dr. Francis Roberts of Würgerton in Somer- 

shire (known by his Works), Mr. Froyzal of Clun in Shropshire and Hereford Diocess (a Man of great worth and good interest), Mr. Daniel Cawdrey of Billing in Northamptonshire, Mr. Anthony Burges of SuttonColdfield in Warwickshire (all known by their printed Works); Mr. John Trap of Gloceflershire, Mr. Ford of Exeter, Mr. Hughes of Plymouth, Mr. Bampfield of Sherborne, Mr. Woodbridge of Newbury, Dr. Chambers, Dr. Bryan and Dr. Grew both of Coventry, Mr. Brinley of Yarmouth, Mr. Porter of Whitchurch in Shropshire, Mr. Gilpin of Cumber- 

land, Mr. Bowles of York, Dr. Temple of Brampton in Warwickshire: I need name no more.

2. That you will believe that I as thankfully acknowledge your Lordship's Favour, as if I were by it possessed of a Bishopprick: And if your Lordship continue in those Intentions, I shall thankfully accept it in any other State or relation that may further my Service to the Church and to his Majesty. But I desire for the forementioned Reasons that it may be no Ca- 

tedral Relation. And whereas the Vicar of the Parish where I have lived will not resign, but accept me only as his Curate, if your Lordship would procure him some Presbytery, or other place of Competent Profit (for I dare not motion him to any Pastoral Charge, or Place that requireth Preaching), that I might resign that Vicarage to me, without his Loss, according to the late Act, before December, for the sake of that Town (of Kiddermin- 

ster) I should take it as a very great favour. But if there be any great Inconvenience or 

difficulties in the way, I can well be content to be his Curate. I crave your Lordship's pardin 

of this trouble (which your own Condefension hath drawn upon you) and remain

Nov. 1, 1660.

Your Lordships,

much obliged Servant,


§ 124. Mr. Calamy blamed me for giving in my Denial alone, before we had resolved together what to do. But I told him the truth, that being upon other nece- 

sary Business with the Lord Chancellor, he put me to it on the sudden, so that I could not conveniently delay my Answer.

§ 125. And Dr. Regnolds almost as suddenly accepted it, saying, That some Friend had taken on the Conge D'eliers for him without his knowledge. But he read to me a 

Profession directed to the King, which he had written, wherein he professed that he took a Bishop and Presbyter to differ not ordine but gradus, and that a Bishop was but the Chief Presbyter, and that he was not to Ordain or Govern but with his Presbyter's Affliance and Consent, and that thus he accepted of the place, and as described in the King's Declaration, and not as it stood before in England, and that he would no longer hold or exercise it than he could do it on these terms: To this fence it was; and he told me that he would offer it the King when he accepted of the place; but whether he did or not I cannot tell. He dy'd in the Bishopprick of Norwich An. 1676.

§ 126. On Friday November 2, being AllSouls-day, the Queen came in; And there were that day on the Thames three Tydes in about Twelve hours, to the common admiration of the People.

§ 127. Mr. Calamy long suspende his Answer, so that that Bishopprick was long undisposed of; till he saw the issue of all our Treaty, which easily refolcet him. And Dr. Munton was offered the Deanery of Rochefor, and Dr. Bates the Deanery
of Coventry and Lichfield, which they both (after some time) refused: And, as I heard, Mr. Edward Bowles was offered the Deanery of York (at least) which he refused, (and not long after died of the stone).

§ 128. When the King’s Declaration was past, we had a Meeting with the Ministers of London called Presbyterian (that is, all that were neither Prelatical, nor of any other Sect,) to consult with them about their returning Thanks to the King for his gracious Declaration; that so it might appear that those that were not with us were thankful for it, as well as we. At the first Meeting the City Ministers first voted their Thanks to be given to us for our Labours in procuring it, Namine contradicente: But old Mr. Arthur Jackson (a very worthy Man) and Mr. Crofion, spake against returning Thanks to the King: Not that they were not truly thankful; but because their Thanks, would signify an approbation of Bishops and Archbishops which they had covenanted against. This I undertook to confute, by proving, that the Bishops and Archbishops in the King’s Declaration are not ejusdem species with what they were before: And that there is the same Name, but not the same Thing; and withal by proving that the Covenant did not meddle against all Bishops and Archbishops, but only those of the English Diocesan Species: And that there was a Specific Difference, I proved, in that by the King’s Declaration the Essentials at least of Church-Government is restored to the Pastors, whereas before the Pastors had no Government; and this alters all the Frame, as much, as if you let the Foundation-Walls, and Roof of your House stand, and all that is visible without, but within you pull down the Partitions and turn it into a Church. For before every Bishop was the lowest and sole Governor (with his Court and Consistory) of many hundred Churches: and now every Pastor is the lowest Governor of his Flock, and the Bishop is but the Superior Governor of the lower Governors and the Flocks: and indeed are all Archbishops, though they have the Name of Bishops still. Most of the Ministers were satisfied, but to me remained unsatisfied to the end.

§ 129. But at the next Meeting, those that were satisfied resolved upon Thanksgiving to the King, and they drew up this following Writing.

To the King’s most Excellent Majesty:

The humble and grateful Acknowledgment of many Ministers of the Gospel in and about the City of London, to his Royal Majesty for his gracious Concessions in his Majesty’s late Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Most Dread Sovereign!

We your Majesty’s most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, Ministers of the Gospel in your City of London, having perused your Majesty’s late Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, and finding it to the joy of our hearts, so full of Indulgence and gracious Condescension, we cannot but judge our selves highly obliged, in the first place to render our unfeigned Thanks to our good God, who hath so mercifully inclined your Majesty’s Royal heart to this Moderation, and next our most humble and hearty Acknowledgments unto your Sacred Majesty, that we may testify to your Royal Self, and all the World, our just Renouncement of your Majesty’s great Goodness and Clemency therein expressed.

May it please your Majesty,

The Liberty of our Consciences and the free Exercise of our Ministry in the Work of our Great Lord and Master, for the Conversion of Souls, ought to be, and are more dear to us, than all the Profits and Preferments of this World; and therefore your Majesty’s Tenderness, manifested in these so high Concernments, doth wonderfully affect us, and raise up our Hearts to an high pitch of Gratitude.

We
We cannot but adore Divine Goodness for your Majesty's steadfast adherence to the Protestant Religion, notwithstanding all Temptations and Provocations to the contrary, and your professed Zeal for the Advancement and Propagation thereof, declaring, that nothing can be proposed to maintain your Zeal and Afection for it, to which you will not readily consent.

Your Majesty has graciously declared, That your Resolution is, and shall be, to promote the Power of Godliness, to encourage the Exercises of Religion, both publick and private, to take care that the Lord's day be applied to holy Exercises, without unnecessary Divertiments; and that insufficient, negligent and scandalous Ministers be not permitted in the Church. Your Majesty hath granted that no Bishop shall Ordain, or Exercise any part of Jurisdiction which appertains to the Churches of the Church, without the advice and assent of the Presbyters, and neither do, nor impose any thing, but what is according to the known Laws of the Land. Excluded Chancellors, Commisaries, and Officials from Acts of Jurisdiction: so happily restored the Power of the Pastors in their several Congregations; and granted a Liberty to all the Ministers to assemble Monthly for the Exercise of the Pastoral permissive Power, to the promoting of Knowledge and Godliness in their Flocks. Your Majesty hath graciously promised a Review, and effectual Reformation of the Liturgy, with additional Forms to be used at Choice: And in the mean time, that none be punished, or troubled for not using it. Your Majesty hath graciously freed us from Subscription required by the Canon, and the Oath of Canonical Obedience; and granted us to receive Ordination, Institution and Induction, and to exercise our Function, and enjoy the profit of our Livings, without the same. Your Majesty hath granted the Confidences of many, who are griev'd with the use of some Ceremonies, by indulging to, and dispensing with their omitting those Ceremonies, viz. Kneeling at the Sacrament, the Cross in Baptism, bowing at the Name of Jesus, and wearing of the Surplice.

All this your Majesty's Indulgence and tender Compassion (which with delight we have taken the boldness thus largely to Comemorate) we receive with all humility and thankfulness, and, as the best Expression thereof, shall never cease to pray for your Majesty's long and prosperous Reign; and study how in our several Stations we may be most Instrumental in your Majesty's Service: And that we may not be defective in Ingenuity, we crave leave to profess, that though all things in this Frame of Government be not exactly suited to our Judgment, yet your Majesty's moderation hath so great an influence upon us, that we shall to our utmost endeavour the healing of the Breaches, and promoting the Peace and Union of the Church.

There are some other things that have been propounded by our Reverend Brethren, which, upon our knees, with all humble Importunity, we could beg of your Majesty, especially that Re-ordination, and the Surplice in Colleges may not be imposed; and we cannot lay aside our Hopes, but that that God, who hath thus far drawn out your Majesty's Bowels and Mercy, will further incline your Majesty's Heart to gratifie us in these our humble Desires also.

That we be not further burthened, we humbly beg leave to thank your Majesty for the Liberty and Respect vouchsafed to our Reverend Brethren in this weighty Affair of Accommodation. The God of Heaven blest your Majesty, and all the Royal Family.

Your Majesty's most Loyal Subjects,


This Address was Presented to his Majesty at Whitehall, Nov. 16. by some of these Ministers, to whom he was pleased to return a very gracious Answer.

London, Printed by his Majesty's Approbation for Jo. Bathuell, at the Sign of the Fountain in Cheapside, in Goldsmiths Row, 1660.

§ 130.
§ 130. Whether this came to the King's Ears, or what else it was that cau’d it, I know not, but presently after the Earl of Lauderdale came to tell me, that I must come the next day to the King; who was pleased to tell me, that he sent for me only to signifie his Fav’rous to me: I told him, I feared my plain Speeches Orlix. 2.2, which I thought that Caule in hand commanded me, might have been displeasing to him: But he told me that he was not offended at the plainness or freedom of our Words, but only when he thought I was not in the right; and that for my free Speech he took me to be the honeft Man.

I suppose this Favour came from the Bishops, who having notice of what last paft, did think that now I might serve their Interests.

§ 131. The Question now is, What we got by procuring this Declaration of the King’s, and how it was accepted by the People?

1. I thought it no small gain, though none of it should be fulfilled, that we had got so much from the hand of a King, to take off prejudice among the People, and abate the violence of cruel Men, and to stand on record to Posterity that once so much was granted us by the King! for if ever there be any inclinations to Peace and Charity hereafter, that which once hath been granted will be easier granted again, than that which was never granted before. This Testimony is more worth than all our labour for it.

2. The Ministers and People of the Land that were concerned in it, had a Twelve months time by it, in their Ministerial Liberty, and Maintenance: for this suspend-ed the Execution of the old Laws which were in force against them, till the new ones were made.

3. We got (which was a valuable benefit) the Liberty in our Treaty to speak for our Cause under the protection of the King’s Commission, and justly to state our Differences; which else would have been falsely state to our prejudice, and none might have contradicted them.

§ 132. But for the fulfilling of it, there was nothing at all done which the Declaration mentioneth, save only this years Suspension of the Law against us: And some Men were so violent at a distance in the Country, that they indicted Ministers at the Aitizes and Sessions notwithstanding the Declaration, taking it for no Suspension of the Law: which put us on many ungrateful Address’s to the King and the Lord Chancellor for their Deliverance: For the Brethren complained to us from all Parts, and thought it our Duty, who had procured the Declaration, to procure the Execution of it: And when we petitioned for them they were commonly deliv’red from that Suffering.

But as to the Matter of Church-Government mentioned in the Declaration, 1. The Power of Godliness hath been promoted, as the Act of Uniformity, and the Act against Conventicles, and the Ejecting of 1200 Ministers at once, and many Hundred before, with much more to the fame purpose, expres’d. 2. The publick and private Exercis’d of Religion, have been encouraged, just as those two formentioned Acts expres’d: Of which to English-men I need not give an Exposition. 3. Of the applying the Lord’s Day wholly to holy Exercise, without unnecessary Divertiments, I have leaft to say; because in these Times we expect only Liberty to do so ourselves, leaving all others to take their own way: And through God’s mercy we have liberty to meditate or pray in our Closets; and to pray in our Families, so there be not above four others present, and to hear Common Prayer and Sermon too in Publick in those Parishes that have a Minister that can and will preach: And if others think a Play, or publick Games or Drinking, or Ryoting to be necessary Divertiments; they cannot constring us to the like. 4. That Caule of not permitt-ing insufficient, negligent, scandalous Ministers (for the word [Non resistent] could not paft.) I believe is executed according to the Judgment of the Executors: for I suppose they take him that cannot discern the lawfulness of the Subscriptions, Declarations, and Practises of Conformity, about Oaths, Prelacy and Ceremonies, to be more insufficient for the Ministry (how learned and able otherwise forever) than an ignorant Reader is. And I suppose they take one that renounche not the Obligations of the Vow and Covenant, and Subscrib’d not to Prelacy and Ceremonies to be more scandalous than a Drunkard or a Whoremonger; and one that neglecteth any of these to be more negligent than he that neither preacheth to his flock, nor personally instructeth them.
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter. 287

§ 133. As to the Appointment of such a number of Suffragan Bishops in every Diocess Declar. as is necessary to the due performance of the Work, there was never a one appointed in any one Diocess in the Land, that ever I heard of; but yet this may be thus far excused, that the Parliament having done so much of the Work of Church-Discipline themselves, as to call out 1800 of us at once, there was the less need of Suffragans afterwards; and the Bishops themselves were sufficient to call out, or keep out the ref, if ever any such more as we should seek to get into the Miniftry.

§ 134. That no Bishop shall ordain or exorcise any part of Jurifdiction, &c. without the Advice and Affiftance of the Presbyters, may be performed, for ought I know; for perhaps the Bishop (or Chancellor) hath the Advice of his Chaplain in private to do it himself, and I believe many of his Presbyters affift him by their Information, telling him, they be that feruple Ceremonies, and who meet in private to Worship God, and what nonconformable Minifters presume to preach the Gospel.

§ 135. That no Lay Chancellor, Cofliffaries, or Officers as such shall excommunicate any, cate, absolute, &c. may for ought I know be fulfilled: For though they do it Familiarly, as they did before, and few Countries have not some that are excommunicated by them, for not receiving the Sacrament against their Confiences, or some such Matter: Yet whether they do it [as such] or in any other unknown Capacity, is more than a Stander-by can tell, and they fay, that when it comes to the Sentence of Excommunication, some of them use a Brief pro Forma.

§ 136. Nor did I ever yet hear of an Archdeacon who exercised his Jurifdiction by the Advice and Affiftance of five Minifters chosen as is there mentioned (p. 11.)

§ 137. Nor did I ever hear that an equal Number (to the Canons and Prebends) were annually, (or ever once) chosen in any one Diocess by the Vote of the Presby. fters to be always affifting the Bishop in all Church-contents, &c. But indeed the Suffragans did never exercise their Jurifdiction without them; because such Suffragans never were.

§ 138. Nor did I ever hear that the Minifters Confent was defired for the Confirming of any in his Parifh; nor of any other than the old way of Confirmation, that is, for any that will run into the Church, though never fo unknown, to kneel down and have the few Words mentioned in the Liturgy laid with the Bishop's Hand on his Head.

§ 139. Nor did I ever hear of any one, who before he was admitted to the Sacrament, was called to any other [creditable Profession of Faith] and Promise of Obedience, than to stand up at the Creed, or to be present at the Common-Prayer: Nor of refufing Scandalous Offenders till they have openly declared themselves to have truly repented and amended their former naughty Lives. But I have oft heard them threatened for not receiving.

§ 140. Much les did I ever hear of any such thing as a Rural Dean with his Neighbour Minifter meeting monthly, or ever once, for any of those excellent Works there mentioned: Nor of any Attempt of such a thing.

§ 141. As for the Bishop's not using Arbitary Power, but according to the known Law of the Land, I suppose they take the Canons to be the Law of the Land, or according to it, which other Men never dream'd of, that defired that Provision.

§ 142. And whether ever the Alterations mentioned were made of the Liturgy, and the additional Forms in Scripture Phrase suited to the Nature of the several Parts of Worship, you may know by perufing it, and by that which here followeth.

§ 143. Yet I think that thofe Men are reprovable who fay that nothing but Deceit and Juggling was from the beginning intended: For who knoweth other Mens Intents but God? Charity requireth us to think that they speak nearer to the Truth, who fay, that while the Diocesan Doctors were at Breda, they little dreamt that their way to their highest Grandeur was fo fair, and therefore that then they would have been glad of the Terms of the Declaration of Breda; and that when they came in, it was neceffary that they should proceed fafely, and feel whether the Ground were folid under them, before they proceeded to their Structure: The Land had been but lately engaged against them: The Covenant had been taken even by the Lords and Gentlemen of their own Party at their Composition: There was the Army that brought them in (who were Presbyterianas to the moft of the ruling part) to be disbanded; and how knew they what the Parliament would do? Or that there would be none to conteft againft them in the Convocation? How could they know these things beforehand? Therefore it was neceffary that moderate things should be proposed and promifed; and no way was fo fit as by a Declaration, which being no Law, is a temporary thing, giving place to Laws: And
The LIFE of the


I. Introduction.

II. Mr. W. Gward's Life, a short Account of his Birth, Education, and Early Character.

III. His Ministry, and the Progress of his Work.

IV. HisDeath, and Posthumous Works.

V. His Character, and Influence.

VI. His Last Sermon.

VII. The Conclusion.

Mr. W. Gward, whose Life is now to be related, was born in the Parish of Westcheap, in the year 1601. His Parents were of good Quality, and of a religious Disposition. He was sent to a good School, and continued his Education at Oxford, where he took the degree of a Bachelor of Arts, and afterwards proceeded to the degree of a Master of Arts. He was licensed to preach in the year 1627, and entered into the Ministry at the Church of St. John, in the Tower of London. He was a man of great learning, piety, and eloquence, and was much esteemed by the Queen and her Court. He was also a man of great zeal for the Gospel, and was not afraid to speak boldly against the corruptions of the times. He was a member of the Church of England, and was a strong advocate for the established forms of religion.

Mr. W. Gward's Life was short, but he left behind him a valuable body of works, which have been highly esteemed by posterity. He was a man of great piety, and was much beloved by his parishioners. He was a man of great learning, and was a strong advocate for the established forms of religion.

Mr. W. Gward's works are highly esteemed by posterity. He was a man of great piety, and was much beloved by his parishioners. He was a man of great learning, and was a strong advocate for the established forms of religion.
fuch unquestionable Witness, some Brethren would by all means tell the King of it, as by the by, to move him to reform fuch things: When we were next with him, Dr. Mantou told him of it, and there being one Baker elected by the King to an Irish Bifhoprick, and the common Fame and fome of the Hearers faying, that it was the fame Man; I feconded Dr. Mantou, and told the King, That we could not fay upon our knowledge that it was true, but when the Fame of fuch things was common as to affect his Subjects, he it true or falle, we thought it better for his Majesty to hear what the People faid, than never to hear it: and alfo that it was faid, That this Baker was one that he had elected to be a Bifhop. This greatly troubled the King, and he called for the Book that had the Catalogue of the Bifhops; which Secretary Nicholau brought, and faid there was no fuch Name; But the King prefently fplied the Name; and faid, There it was, and charged that he fhould be enquired after. The next day we learned that it was another Baker of the fame Name with the Bifhop: And though we alfo learned that the Bifhop himfelf was a Good-fellow, yet because it was not the fame Man, I went the next day to Mr. Secretary Morrie, and intreated him to conforme the King, that it was another Baker, that fo the Bifhop might receive no wrong by it: which he promifed to do. Yet it was given out that we were Lyres and Slanderers, that maliciously came to defame the Clergy: And shortly after the Bifhop put it into the News-Book, That fome Presbyterians had maliciously defamed him, and that it was not he, but another of his Name. So that though the Fact was never quiefioned or denied, yet was it a heinous matter in us to fay that it was reported to be an evil Bifhop, when it was as ancient a Priest of the fame name, than for the Man to preach and pray in his Drunkennes. I never heard that he was rebuked for it; but we heard enough of it.

§ 147. Upon this Fact, when we met and dined one day at the Lord Chamberlains, among other talk of this Bufeiness, I faid, That if I wifhed their hurt as one of their Enemies, I fhould wish they were more fuch, that their fame might caft them down. Mr. Horton (a young Man that was Chaplain to the Lord Chamberlain, and then intended to conform) anfwered, That we muft not wish evil, that good may come of it. To which I replied, There is no doubt of it: but is it from me to fay that I wish it? but if I were their Enemy, I could fearce wish them greater hurt and injury to their Caufe, than to fet up fuch Men; and that those are their Enemies, whoever they be, that perfwade them to caft out learned, godly Minifters, and fit up fuch in their room as thefe. Yet did this Mr. Horton, in his complying weaknesses to pleafe that Party, call Dr. Bolton, That I wifhed that they were all fuch: And Dr. Bolton told it from Table to Table, and published it in the Pulpit: And when he was questioned for it, allledged Mr. Horton as his Author. When I went to Mr. Horton, he excufed it, and faid, That he thought I had faid fo; and when I told him of the additional words, by which then I defclaimed fuch a fence, he could not remember them; and that was all the remedy I had; though none of the Brethren prefent remembered any fuch words as he reported. But when the Lord Chamberlain knew of it, he was fo much offended, that I was fain to intercede for Mr. Horton, that it might not prove any hurt to him. And by this following Letter he express his diftind—

For my esteemed Friend Mr. Baxter, These.

SIR,

I have just Caufe to intreat you Excufe for fo abrupt a breaking from you: I confefs I was under very great trouble, for the fally of my Chaplain, and could not forbear to express it to him. I am concerned with a very true reftament for fo imprudent a Carriage. Let me intreat you that it may not reflect upon me, but that you will believe that I have a very great a value of you, and am fo tender of your Credit; as I cannot easily pass by my Chaplain's indiscretion: Yet I will endeavour to clear you from any untrue Affertions, and shall approve my self.

Your affured Friend,

Ed. Mancbefter.

pp § 148.
§ 148. I shall next insert some account of the Business which I had so often with the Lord Chancellor at this time: Because it was most done in the inter-space between the passing of the King's Declaration, and the Debates about the Liturgy.

In the time of Cromwell's Government, Mr. John Elliot, with some Affiant in New-England, having learnt the Natives Language, and Converted many Souls among them (not to be baptized and forget their Names as well as Creed, as it is among the Spaniards' Converts at Mexico, Peru, &c. but to serious Godliness); it was found that the great hindrance of the progress of that Work was the Poverty and Barbarousness of the People, which made many to live disperled like wild Beasts in Wildernesses, so that having neither Towns, nor Food, nor Entertainment fit for English Bodies, few of them could be got together to be spoken to, nor could the English go far, or stay long among them. Wherefore to build them Houfes, and draw them together, and maintain the Preachers that went among them, and pay School-matters to teach their Children, and keep their Children at School, &c. Cromwell caused a Collection to be made in England in every Parish; and People did contribute very largely: And with the Money (before some left in flock) was bought 7 or 800 l. per Annun of Lands, and a Corporation chosen to dispose of the Rents for the furthering of the Works among the Indians. This Land was almost all bought for the worth of it of one Colonel Beddigfield, a Papit, an Officer in the King's Army: When the King came in, Beddigfield feizeth on the Lands again; and keepeth them, and refuseth either to surrender them, or to repay the Money; because all that was done in Cromwell's time being now judged void, as being without Law, that Corporation was now null, and fo could have no right to Money or Lands: And he pretended that he sold it under the worth, in expectation of the recovery of it, upon the King's return. The President of the Corporation was the Lord Steele, a Judge (a worthy Man): The Treasurer was Mr. Henry Alburn, and the Members were such sober Godly Men, as were best affected to New England Work: Mr. Alburn (being the most exemplary Person for eminent Sobriety, Self-denial, Piety, and Charity, that London could glory of, as far as publick Observation, and Fame, and his most intimate Friends Reports could testify) did make this (and all other Publick Good which he could do) his Business: He called the Old Corporation together, and defired me to meet them: where we all agreed, that such as had incurred the King's Displeasure, by being Members of any Courts of Justice, in Cromwell's days, should quietly recede, and we should try if we could get the Corporation restored, and the rift continued, and more fit Men added, that the Land might be recovered: And because of our other Business, I had ready access to the Lord Chancellor, they defired me to solicit him about it: So Mr. Alburn and I did follow the Business. The Lord Chancellor at the very first was ready to further us, approving of the Work, as that which could not be for any Faction, or Evil end, but honourable to the King and Land. And he told me, That Beddingfield could have no right to that which he had fold, and that the right was in the King, who would readily grant it to the good use intended: and that we should have his best affiance to recover it. And indeed I found him real to us in this Business from first to last: yet did Beddigfield by the friendship of the Attorney General, and some others, to delay the Business, as bringing it to a Suit in Chancery, he kept Mr. Alburn in a Twelve-months trouble before he could recover the Land: but when it came to Judgment, the Lord Chancellor spake very much against him, and granted a Decree for the New Corporation. For I had procured of him before, the King's Grant of a New Corporation; and Mr. Alburn and my self had the naming of the Members: And we defired Mr. Robert Boyle (a worthy Person of Learning and a Publick Spirit, and Brother to the Earl of Cork) to be President (now called Governor) and I got Mr. Alburn to be Treasurer again, and none of the old Members, and many other godly, able Citizens made up the rest: Only we left the Nomination of some Lords to his Majesty, as not presuming to nominate such. (And the Lord Chancellor, Lord Chamberlain, and six or seven more were added). But it was Mr. Boyle and Mr. Alburn, with the Citizens, that did the Work: But especially the care and trouble of all was on Mr. Alburn. And thus that Business was happily restored.

§ 149. And as a fruit of this his Majesty's Favour, Mr. Ellis lent the King, first the New Testament and then the whole Bible, translated and printed in the Indian Language: Such a Work and Fruit of a Plantation, as was never before presented to a King. And he lent word, that next he would print my Call to the Unconverted, and then The Practice of Piety: But Mr. Boyle leant him word it would be bet
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

ter taken here, if the Practice of Piety were printed before any thing of mine. At the present the Revenues of the Land goeth most to the maintaining of the Prie. Upon the occasion of this Work, I had these Letters of Thanks from the Court and Governour in New-England, and from Mr. Norton and Mr. Ell.ter

Reverend and much honoured Sir!

That we who are personally unknown to you, do in this manner apply our selves, is rendred not only excusable, but unless we will be ingrateful, necessary, by Obligations from your self; with whom the interest of poor Strangers in a remote Wilderness hath been so regarded as to shew them Kindness, and that (we believe) upon the best account, (i.e.) for the Lord's sake. We have understood from those that were employed by us, with what loving and cordial readiness you did upon request put forth your self to further our Concernments in our late Applications to his Majesty; for which act of favour and love we cannot but return our unadjudged thankful Acknowledgments; and the rather because we know no Argument that could move your Thoughts in it, but that of the poor Prophets Widow, 

That your Charity did look upon your Servants as Fears of the Lord, Love unto whom, we persuade our selves was the Root that bare this Fruit of Love and Kindness to us, and at such a time as this. We trust the faithful God will not forget your Work and Labour of Love which you have shewed towards his Name, in miniting to the help of some part of his unworthy People who are Exiles in this Wilderness we hope for his Names sake.

Sir, You shall further oblige this poor People, and do that that will not be unpleasing to him who is our Lord and yours, by the continuance of your Love and Improvement of your Interests and Opportunities in our behalf. 

What advantage God hath put into your hands, and reserved your weak Body unto, by accidents unto Persons of Honour and Trust, or otherways, we hope it will be no grief of heart unto you another day, if you shall improve part thereof this way: All that we desire is Liberty to serve God according to the Scriptures: Liberty unto Error and Sin, or to far up another Rule besides the Scriptures, we neither will to be allowed to our selves nor would we willingly allow it unto others. 

If in any thing we should mistake the meaning of the Scriptures, as we hope it is not in any Fundamental Matter that we do so; (having therein the Concurrence of all the godly Orthodox of the Reformed Protestant Religion,) so on the other hand, in Matters of an inferior and more difficult Nature (wherein godly Christians may differ, and should bear difference without disturbance) we are willing and desirous to live and learn by any orderly means that God hath appointed for our Learning and Instruction; and glad shall we be of the opportunity to learn in peace. The Liberty aforefaid, we have by the favour of God, now for many years enjoyed, and the same advantaged and encouraged by the Constitution of our Civil Government, according to Concessions and Priviledges granted and established to us by the gracious Letters Patent of King Charles the First, the continuance of which Priviledges (concerning which his Majesty's late gracious Letter to us hath given us very great encouragement) is our earnest and just desire; for nothing that is unjust, or not honest, both in the sight of the Lord, and also of Men, do we seek, or would allow our selves in. We hope we shall continue as faithful Subjects to his Majesty (according to our Duty) and be every way as beneficial to the Interest of our Nation, under an Elective Government as under an Imposed: But sundry particular Persons, for private respect, are, as we hear, earnestly soliciting to bring Changes upon us, and do put in many high Complaints against us; in special, that the Generation of the Quakers, are our bitter and reliefull Enemies, complaining of Persecution, but are themselves most troublesome and implacable Persecutors of us, who desire but to keep our own Vineyard in peace. Our hope is in God who hath hitherto helped us, and who is able to keep open for us a great and effectual Door of Liberty to serve him, and opportunity to advance his Name in this Wilderness; although there be many Adversaries, among which he can raise up for us some Friends; as he hath done your self: And as a Friend loveth at all times, and a Brother is born for Adver-
Reverend and dear Sir!

Though you are unknown to me by Face, yet not only your Labours, but also the special Affiliation in a time of need unto the promoting the welfare of this poor Country, certified unto us by Captain Leverett (upon which account our General Court thought good to return unto you their Thanks in a Letter which I hope before this is received) have made your Name both known and precious to us in these Parts. The Occasion of these, is in the behalf of one Mr. William Leverett, Governour of New-Haven Jurisdiction, whose Case is this. He being conscious of invidication and some neglect (not to say how it came about) in relation to the expediting the Execution of the Warrant according to his Duty, sent from this Majesty for the apprehending of the two Colonels, is not without fear of some displeasure that may follow thereupon, and indeed hath almost ever since been a Man depressed in his Spirit for the neglect wherewith he chargeth himself therein.

His endeavours also since have been accordingly, and that in full degree, as besides his own Testimony, his Neighbours attest, they fee not what he could have done more. Sir, If any report prejudicial to this Gentleman in this respect, come unto your Ear by your prudent Enquiry upon this Intimation, or otherwise his wife: so far as the signification of the Premises unto his Majesty, or other eminent Person may plead for him, or avert trouble towards him, I assure my self, you may report it as a real Truth; and that according to your Willom, you would be helpful to him so far therein is both his and my desire. The Gentleman hath pursued both others and myself with Letters to this effect, and yet not satisfied therewith, came to Boston to disburden his heart to me formerly unacquainted with him, only some few times in Company where he was; upon ifile of which Conference, no better Expedition under God, presented it fell to us than this. So far as you shall fee caufe, as the matter requireth, to let the Premises be understood, is finally left with your self under God.

Sir, The Author of these Lines, it shall be your favour and a pledge of Love undeferved, to conceal, farther than the necessity of the End desired shall call for.

And if hereby you shall take occasion (being in place of discovery) to intelligence the Writer touching your observances with relation to the concerns of this People, your Advertisements may not only be of much use unto this whole Country, but further your account, and minifier unto many much content of Thanksgiving on your behalf. And I shall be bold upon such encouragement (if God permits) to give you a more distinct account how it fareth with us; I mean of the steps of Divine Providence, as to the Publick, both in our Civils and Ecclesiastics, which at some future time, may haply be looked at as a matter of content from me to you. I crave no pardon for being thus bold with you, and will not presume any farther to detain you. The Lord Jesus be with your Spirit, and let him also be remembered by you in your Prayers, whois in chief,

SIR,

Boston, Sept. 23.
1661.

John Norton.

For the Reverend and his much Honoured Friend Mr. Baxter, Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty.
Reverend and much esteemed in the Lord!

However black the Clouds, and big the Storm, yet by all this the Work and Design of Jesus Christ goeth on, and prospereth, and in these Clouds Christ is coming to set up his Kingdom. Yea, is he not come, in Power and great Glory? When had the Truth a greater, or so great and glorious a Cloud of Witness? Is not this Christ, in Power and great Glory? and if Christ hath so much Glory in the slaughter of his Witnesses, what will his Glory be in their Resurrection!

Your Constancy, who are in the heat of the Storm, and Numbers, ministers, matter of humbling and quickening to us, who are at a distance, and ready to totter and comply at the noise of a probable approach of our Temptation. We are not without our Snares, but hitherunto the Lords own Arm hath brought Salvation. Our Tents are at Ebenezer. However the trials and troubles be, we must take care of the present Work, and not cease and tarry for a calm time to work in. And this Principle doth give me occasion to take the boldness to trouble you with these Lines at present.

My Work about the Indian Bible being (by the good hand of the Lord, though not without difficulties) finished, I am meditating what to do next for these Sons of this our Morning: they having no Books for their private use, of ministerial composing. For their help, though the Word of God be the belt of Books, yet Humane Infirmitie is, you know, not a little helped by reading the holy Labours of the Ministers of Jesus Christ. I have therefore proposed in my heart (seeing the Lord is yet pleased to prolong my life) to translate for them a little Book of yours, intituled, "A Call to the Unconverted": The keenness of the Edge, and liveliness of the Spirit of that Book, through the blessing of God, may be of great use unto them. But seeing you are yet in the Land of the Living, (and the good Lord prolong your days) I would not premise to do such a thing, without making mention thereof unto your tell, that so I might have the help and blessing of your Counsel and Prayers. I believe it will not be unacceptable to you, that the Call of Christ by your holy Labours, shall be made to speak in their Ears, in their own Language, that you may preach unto our poor Indians. I have begun the Work already, and find a great difference in the Work from my former Translations: I am forced sometime to alter the Phrase, for the facilitating and fitting it to our Language, in which I am not so strict as I was in the Scripture. Some things which are fitted for English People, are not fit for them, and in such cases, I make bold to fit it for them. But I do little that way, knowing how much beneath Wisdom it is, to shew a Man's self witty, in mending another Man's Work. When this Work is done, if the Lord shall please to prolong my Life, I am meditating of Translating some other Book, which may preferable to them the way and manner of a Christian Life and Conversation, in their daily Course; and how to worship God on the Sabbath, fasting, feasting Days, and in all Acts of Worship, publick, private, and secret: and for this purpose I have Thoughts of translating for them, the Practice of Piety; or some other such Book: In which Case I request your Advice to me; for if the Lord give opportunity, I may hear from you (if you see caufe to far to take Notice here) before I shall be ready to begin a new work; especially because the Psalms of David in Metre in their Language, are going now to the Press, which will be some Diversion of me, from a present Attention upon these other proposed Works. 

Sir, I am very well satisfied with your Explications of the Point of Free-will in fallen Man, which I have read in a small Treatise of yours, which I once had the happiness to see. I doubt not but you will give me leave to talk a little according to my weakness, Gen. 1. 26. God made Man after his own Image, Likeness. 

I have oft perplexed my mind to fee the difference of these two Divine Stamps upon Man. That God's Image consisteth in Knowledge, Holiness, and Righteousness, is clear and agreed, expressed in Scripture. But what our likeness to God is, is the Question: Why may it not admit this Explication that one chief thing is, to act like God, according to our light freely; by choice without compulsion, to be Author of our own act, to determine our own choice: this is spontaneity. The Nature of the Will lyeth in this.

Between God's Image in Man, and the Likeness of God in Man, are these two Differences:

1. God's Image was lost and changed, and in the room of it, Original Sin...
Sin was infused, inflicted upon the Soul; and in this Change the Will suffer-
ed.

But the Spontaniety was not lost; nor changed. But the Will doth freely act
according to these new ill Qualities, and freely chooseth to Sin, as afore this
Change is freely acted according to the good Qualities which it was endowed with-
all.

So likewise at Conversion, and in Sanctification, the Will suffereth the Power-
ful Work of the Spirit to change these Qualities, to kill the old Habits of Sin,
and to create the new Habits of Grace; that it may freely act according to Grace,
as afore it freely acted in Sin.

A Difference is, that God's Image are separable Qualities of the Will, and the
moral Ground which maketh our Actions good, legal, regular, and virtuous: As
original Sin is the ground that maketh our Actions illegal and sinful. But Sponta-
niety is the Form and Nature of the Will, which if it ceale, we should cease to
be Men, and to act by Choice; and so not capable to sin, or to act virtuously.

Sir, I pray pardon my Boldness and Weakness thus to talk; but it is for my
Information in this Point. I observe also in yours, a thing which I have not fo
much observed in other Mens Writings; viz. That you often inveigh against the
Sin of Gluttony, as well as Drunkenness. It appeareth to be a very great point of
Christian Prudence, Temperance and Mortification, to rule the Appetite of eating
as well as drinking, and were that Point more inculcated by Divines, it would
much tend to the Sanctification of God's People, as well as to a better Pervasion
of Health, and lengthening of the Life of Man on Earth.

I lately met with an excellent Book of learned Dr. Charleston's, about the Im-
mortality of the human Soul, composed in a gallant Dialogue, where speaking of
the admirable Advancement of Learning in these late Days, he, among other
excellent matters, speaketh of that long talk'd of and desired Design of a univer-
sal Character and Language, and what Advance hath been made towards it; by
some of the learned of these Times, and that by the way of Symbols. Of this
he speaketh, p. 45, 46. I doubt not, but that it is a divine Work of God, to
put it into the Heart of any of his Servants, to promote this Design, which so
great and eminent a Tendency, to advance the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, which
shall be extended over all the Kingdoms and Nations of the Earth, Rev. 11. 15.
Not by the personal Presence of Christ, but by putting Power and Rule into the
Hands of the Godly, Learned in all Nations: Among whom, a universal Cha-
acter and Language, will be both necessary, and a singular Promisement of that
great Design of Christ: Now, whereas the Proposal of it is by way of Symbols,
I would make bold to propose a way, which seemeth to be of more Hopes of
Success, and that is by the Hebrew Language, which above all other Languages,
is most capable to be the Instrument of so great a Design. If you please to look
into a Book called. Jervis Hebrew radices, composed by Decades into Heroick Ver-
fos; the Hebrew Radices, with the Signification in Latin, helping to smooth it in-
to a Verle; a worthy Work, wherein bene meruit de Lingua Hebrewca. This Au-
thor in his Preface, speaketh most honourably of the Hebrew Tongue; and
sheweth that by the trigeminal Foundation, and divine Artifice of that Lan-
guage, it is capable of a regular Expationation into Millions of Words, no Lan-
guage like it. And it had need be so, for being the Language which shall be spoken
in Heaven, where knowledge will be so enlarged, there will need a spaci-
ous Language; and what Language fitter than this of God's own making and
composing? And why may we not make ready for Heaven in this Point, by
making and setting that Language, according to the Rules of the divine Artifice
of it, to express all imaginable Conceptions and Notions of the Mind of Man,
in all Arts and Sciences? Were this done, (which is so capable of being done,
and it seemeth God hath fitted Instruments to fall to the Work) all Arts and Sci-
cences in the whole Encyclopaedia would soon be translated into it; and all Pagan-
ish and prophane Trash would be left out: It would be (as now it is) the purest
Language in the World: And it seemeth to me, that Zeph. 3. 9. with other Texts,
do prophetic of such a universal and pure Language. Were this done, all Schools
would teach this Language, and all the World, especially the Commonwealth of
Learning, would be of one, and that a divine and heavenly Lip.

Moreover, This learned Doctor speaketh very honourably of that renowned
Society, the Colledge of Physicinans in London, and no whit above their Deferats,
as appeareth by the admirable Effects by the blessing of God, upon their Studies
and Labours, which they have found out and produced for the benefit of the Life
of Man. In which Art, by the Blessing of God upon them, they seem to me to
design such a Regiment of Health, and such an exact Inspection into all Diseases,
and Knowledge of all Medicament, and Prudence of Application of the same, that
the Book of divine Providence seemeth to provide for the lengthening of the Life
of Man again, in this latter End of the World, which would be no small Advan-
tage unto all kinds of good Learning and Government. And doth not such a
thing seem to be Prophecied, Esay. 65. 20. If the Child shall die one hundred Years:
old, of what Age shall the old Man be? But I would not be too bold with the
Holy Scriptures.

If unto all this, it may please the Lord to direct his People into a Divine Form
of Civil Government, of such a Constitution, as that the Godly, Learned in all
Places, may be in all Places of Power and Rule, this would do much the more
advance all Learning, and Religion, and good Government; so that all the World
would become a Divine College. And Lastly, when Antichrist is overthrown,
and a divine Form of Church-Government is put in practice in all Places; then
all the World would become Divine: or at least, all the World would be-
come very Divine or very Prophane, Rev. 22. 11, 15. And so the World should
end as it began, Gen. 4. 26. some calling on the Name of the Lord, and some
prophesying it; eminently distinguished from each other. I rejoice to see and
taste the wonderful gracious Savour of God's Spirit among his Saints, in their
humble Retirements. Oh! how sweet is the trodden Camomile! How pre-
cious and Powerful is the Ministry of the Cross! It is a dryer time with us, who
are making after Compliances with the Stream. Sir, I beseech you, let us have
a share in your holy Prayers, in your holy Retirements, in your blest Cham-
bers, when the Lord shuts the Door, and yet is among you himself, and makest
your Hearts to burn by the Power of his Presence. Thus commending you and
all your holy Labours to the Lord, and to the Word of his Grace, I reft

Roxbury, this 6th of the 5th.

1663.

Your unworthy Fellow-Labourer

In the Lord's Vineyard,

John Eliot.

To his Reverend Friend and Brother, Mr. Baxter.

The Answer.

Nov. 30. from Afton, near London.

Reverend and much honoured Brother,

Though our Sins have separated us from the People of our Love and Care, and
deprieved us of all publick Liberty of preaching the Gospel of our Lord, I
greatly rejoice in the Liberty, Help and Success which Christ hath so long
vouchfeted you in his Work. There is no Man on Earth, whose Work I think
more Honourable and Comfortable than yours: To propagate the Gospel and
Kingdom of Christ, unto those dark Parts of the World, is a better Work than
our hating and devouring one another. There are many here that would be
ambitious of being your Fellow-Labourers, but that they are informed, you have
access to no greater a Number of the Indians, than you your self, and your pre-
cent Assistants are able to instruct. An honourable Gentleman (Mr. Rob. Boyle,
the Governor of the Corporation for your Work, a Man of great Learning and
Worth, and of a very publick universal Mind) did Motion to me a publick Col-
lection, in all our Churches, for the maintaining of such Ministers, as are willing
to go hence to you, partly while they are learning the Indian Language,
and partly while they after labour in the Work, as also to transport them: But I
find those backward to it, that I have spoke to about it, partly supposing it a De-
sign of those that would be rid of them; (but if it would promote the Work of
God, this Objection were too carnal to be regarded by good Men) partly fearing
that when the Money is gathered, the Work may be frustrated by the alienation of
of it (but this I think they need not fear, so far as to hinder any); partly because they think there will be nothing considerable gathered; because the People that are unwillingly divorced from their Teachers, will give nothing to find them further from them, and those that are willingly separated from them, will give nothing to those that they no more respect: But specially because they think (on the aforesaid Grounds) that there is no work for them to do if they were with you. There are many here I conjecture, that would be glad to go any whither (to Persians, Tartars, Indians, or any unbelieving Nation) to propagate the Gospel, if they thought they could be serviceable, but the Deceit of their Languages is their great Discouragement: For the universal Character that you speak of, many have talked of it, and one hath printed his Essay, and his way is only by numeral Figures, making such and such Figures to stand for the Words of the same signification in all Tongues; but no body regards it. I shall communicate your Motion here about the Hebrew, but we are not of such large and publick Minds as you imagine; every one looks to his own Concernment, and some to the things of Christ that are near them, at their own Doors. But if there be one Timothy that naturally careth for the State of the Churches, we have no Man of a Multitude more likeminded, but all seek their own things; we had one Duty here, that had above thirty Years laboured the reconciling of the Churches, but few regarded him, and now he is glad to escape from us into other Countries. Good Men that are wholly devoted to God, and by long Experience are acquainted with the Interest of Christ, are ready to think all others should be like them, but there is no hope of bringing any more, than here, and there an experienced, holy, self-denying Perfon, to get so far above their personal Concernments, and narrowness of Mind, and to wholly to devote themselves to God. The Industry of the Jesuits and Frays, and their Succesfes in Congo, Japan, China, &c. blame us all, Love you: But yet for their personal Labours in the Work of the Gospel, here are many that would be willing to lay out, where they have Liberty and a Call, though scarce any that will do more in furthering great and publick Works. I should be glad to learn from you, how far your Indian Tongue extendeth; how large or populous the Country is that useth it (if it be known); and whether it reach only to a few scattered Neighbours, who cannot themselves convey their Knowledge far, because of other Languages. We very much rejoice in your happy Work (the Translation of the Bible) and blefs God that hath strengthened you to finish it. If any thing of mine may be honoured to contribute in the least meanest to your blessed Work, I shall have great caufe to be thankful to God, and wholly submit the Alteration and use of it to your Wisdom. Menthinks the Assemblies Catechism should be next the holy Scriptures, most worthy of your Labours. The Lord prolong your Days, and prosper you.

As to your Cate about God's Image and Likeness, I. The Controversy de Nomine is of great Moment: I know the Schoolmen make the two Words signify two things: I think it's a groundless Conceit. But dera (call them what you will, Image or Likeness) it consists of three parts, or a Trinity in Unity. 1. The natural Substantial Part. 2. The qualitative moral part. 3. The relative honorary part. (I rather call them three Parts of God's Image, than three Images, though here also the Controversy de Nomine is small.) 1. Man's high superanimal or rational Life in Unity, hath his Trinity of noble Faculties; an Intelle&lpressuor of knowing God, a free or self-determining Will, capable of adhering to him, and an executive Power capable of serving him: That the Intellectual Essential Powers, are the Natural Part of God's Image, appears, Gen. 9. 6. where Man, as Man is supposed to have it; else the Murder of none but Saints is there forbidden: This no Man lofeth. 2. Holiness, or the Spirit in Unity contemneth, 1. The Wisdom of the Mind, which is the Knowledge of God. 2. The Rediitude of the Will, which is the Love of God. And 3. The Promissiveness, Obedience and Fidelity of the Executive Power, in and for the Service of God; and this is the moral Part of God's Image, 2. God, having the only Aptitude by his three great Properties, Infinite Power, WISDOM, and GOODNESS, and the only Right 'jure Creations [and since Redemption & Regeneration] immediately flood related to Man, in the three great Relations contained expressively in the Name God; 1. Our absolute proprietary Owner or Lord. 2. Our Supreme Rector. 3. Our bountiful Benefactor, or Father, and End, all flowing from his Relation, of our most potent, wise, good CREATOR. Man is related to him, 1. As his own, to be wholly at his dispofe. 2. As his Subject, to be wholly at his Government. 3. As his Beneficiary, or Child to love him with all the Heart. Now
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter. 297

God hath given Man to bear his Image in these Relations, which is in Unity called the God's Image over the brute Creatures. And in Trinity containeth, 1. That we are their Owners and they own us. 2. We are their Governors (according to their Capacities). 3. We are their Benefactors, and they have (and had more) dependence on us, and were made for us as their Ends, as we were immediately for God as our End. This part of God's Image is partly, not totally lost. The moral part is that which the Spirit reflores: The Wisdom of the Mind, the Righteousness or Rectitude of the Will, and the Holiness and Obedience of the Life. If we had a right Scheme of Theology (which I never yet saw) Unity in Trinity would go through the whole Method: It's easy to follow it a little way, and to see how God's three grand Relations of Owner, Ruler, and Father or End and chief God, and the Correspondent Relations in Man, and the mutual Expressions go far in the great parts of Theology: But when we run it up to the Numerous and small Branches, our narrow Minds are lost in the search. But the Day is coming when all God's Works of Creation and Providence, and all his Truths shall be seen to us uno intuis, as a most entire, perfect Frame. Pardon my too many words to you on this.

As for the divine Government by the Saints which you mention, I dare not expect such great Matters upon Earth, lest I encroach upon the Privilege of Heaven, and tempt my own Affections downwards, and forget that our Kingdom is not of this World. Certainly if Christianity be the same thing now that it was at first, it is much unuitable to a reigning State on Earth: Bearing the Cross, Persecution, Self-denial, &c., found something of another Nature. The Rich will rule in the World, and few rich Men will be Saints. He that surveyeth the present State of the Earth, and considereth that scarcely a sixth Part is Christian, and how small a Part of them are reformed, and how small a part of them have much of the Power of Godliness, will be ready to think that Christ hath called almost all his Chosen, and is ready to forfake the Earth, rather than that he intendeth us such blest Days below as we desire. We shall have what we would, but not in this World. As hard as we think God dealeth with us, our King's Dominions are yet for the Power of Godliness, the Glory and Paradise of the Earth. Success tempted some here into reigning Expectations, and thence into sinful Actions and Attempts, and hardened them in all; but God hath done much already to confute them. Through Faith and Patience we must inherit the Promise. May I know Christ crucified on Earth, and Christ glorified in Heaven, I shall be happy. Dear Sir, the Lord be your Support and Strength: I rest

Your Weak Fellow-Servant,

Richard Baxter.

§ 403: That you may the better understand these Letters, and many other such Passages, you must know that the great Reason why my self, and some of my Brethren were made the King's Chaplains (in Title) was, that the People might think that such Men as we were favoured and advanced, and consequently that all that were like us should be favoured, and so might think their Condition happy. And though we our selves made no doubt but that this was the use that was to be made of us, and that afterward we should be silenced with the rest in time, yet we thought that it was not meet to deny their Offer. The People at London, who were near, judged as we did, and were not much deceived: But those in the Country that were further off, understood not how things went above. But especially those in France and in New-England who were yet more remote, were far more deceived by the appearances, and the more ready to blest us in our present State, and almost with it were their own: Infomuch that there grew on a sudden in New-England a great Inclination to Episcopal Government: For many of them saw the Inconveniences of Separations, and how much their way did tend to Divisions, and they read my Books, and what I said against both the Souldiers and Schifmaricks in England; and they thought that the Church-Government here would have been such as we were pleased with; So that these and many other Motives made them begin to think of a Conformity: Till at last Mr. Norton, with one Mr. Broadstreet, a Magistrate, came over and saw how things went, and those in New-England heard at last how we were all silenced and call out: And then they began to remember again, that there is something besides Schism to be feared, and that there lyeth as perilous an Extreme on
on the other side. But they have in their Synod past some such moderating Conclusions about Baptism and constant Synods, as have ended most of the Differences between them and the moderate Presbyterians.

§ 151. I am next to induct some Business of my own, which fell in at this same time. When I had refused a Bishoprick, I did it on such Reasons as offended not the Lord Chancellor; and therefore instead of it, I presumed to crave his Favour to restore me to preace with my People at Kidderminster again; from whence I had been cast out (when many hundreds of others were ejected) upon the Restoration of all them that had been fequestr’d. It was but a Vicaridge, and the Vicar was a poor unlearned, ignorant, silly Reader, that little understood what Christianity and the Articles of his Creed did signify; but once a Quarter he said something, which he called a Sermon, which made him the Pity or Laughter of the People. This Man being unable to preace himself, kept always a Curate under him to preace: Before the Wars I had Preached there only as a Lecturer, and he was bound in a Bond of 500 l. to pay me 60 l. per An. and afterward he was fequestr’d, as is before sufficiently declared; my People were so dear to me, and I to them, that I would have been with them upon the lowest lawful Terms: Some laughed at me for refusing a Bishoprick, and passing to be a reading Vicar’s Curate. But I had little Hopes of so good a Condition, at least for any considerable time.

§ 152. The Ruler of the Vicar, and all the Business there was, Sir Ralph Clare, an old Man, and an old Courtier, who carried it towards me all the time I was there with great Civility and Respect, and sent me a Purse of Money when I went away (but I refused it). But his Zeal against all that scurped Ceremonies, or that would not preace for Prelacy, and Conformity, &c. was so much greater than his Respects to me, that he was the principal Cause of my Removal (though he has not owned it to this Day): I suppose he thought that when I was far enough off, he could so far rule the Town as to reduce the People to his way. But he little knew (nor others of that Temper) how firm confciencious Men are to the Matters of their everlasting Interest, and how little Mens Authority can do against the Authority of God, with those that are unfeign’dly subject to him. Openly he seem’d to be for my Return (at first) that he might not offend the People; and the Lord Chancellor seem’d very forward in it; and all the Difficulty was, how to provide some other Place for the old Vicar (Mr. Dance) that he might be no less by the Change: And it was so contrived, that all must seem forward in it, except the Vicar; the King himself must be engaged in it; the Lord Chancellor earnestly pressed it; Sir Ralph Clare is willing, and very desirous of it; and the Vicar is willing, if he may but be recompenced with as good a Place (from which I received but 90 l. per Annum heretofore); Either all desire it, or none define it. But the Hindrance was, that among all the Livings and Prebendaries of England, there was none fit for the poor Vicar: A Prebend he must not have, because he was insufficient; and yet he is still thought sufficient to be the Pastor of near 4000 Souls. The Lord Chancellor to make the Business certain, will engage himself for a valuable Stipend to the Vicar, and his own Steward must be commanded to pay it him: What could be desired more? But the poor Vicar was to answer him, that this was no security to him; his Lordship might withhold that Stipend at his Pleasure, and then where was his Maintenance? give him but a legal Title of any thing of equal value, and he would resign (and the Patron was my friend and intimate Friend). But no such thing was to be had; and so Mr. Dance must keep his Place.

§ 153. Though I requested not any Preferment of them, but this, yet even for this, I resolved I would never be importunate: I only nominated it as the Favour which I desired, when there Offers in general invited me to ask more: and then I told them that if it were any way inconvenient to them, I would not request it of them. And at the very first I desired, that if they thought it best for the Vicar to keep his Place, I was willing to take the Lecture, which by his Bond was secure to me, and was full my Right; or if that were denied me, I would be his Curate while the King’s Declaration stood in force. But none of these could be accepted, with Men that were so exceeding willing. In the end it appeared, that two Knights of the Country, Sir Ralph Clare, and Sir John Packington, who were very great with Dr. Morley, newly made Bishop of Worcester, had made him believe, that my Interest was so great, and I could do so much with Ministers and People in that Country, that unless I would bind my self to promote their Cause and Party, I was not fit to be there: And this Bishop (being greatest of any Man with the Lord Chancellor) must obstruct my Return to my ancient Flock. At last Sir Ralph Clare
Part II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Clare did freely tell me, that if I would conform to the Orders and Ceremonies of the Church, and preach Conformity to the People, and labour to set them right, there was no Man in England to fit to be there; for no Man could more effectually do it: but if I would not, there was no Man so unfit for the place; for no Man could more hinder it.

§ 154. I desired it as the greatest favour of them, that if they intended not my being there, they would plainly tell me so, that I might trouble them and myself no more about it: But that was a favour too great to be expected: I had continual encouragement by Promises, till I was almost tired in waiting on them. At last, meeting Sir Ralph Clare in the Bishop's Chamber, I desired him before the Bishop to tell me to my face, if he had any thing against me, which might cause all this ado. He told me that I would give the Sacrament to none kneeling, and that of Eighteen hundred Communicants, there was not past Six hundred that were for me, and the rest were rather for the Vicar. I answered, That I was very glad that these words fell out to be spoken in the Bishop's hearing. To the first Accusation, I told him, That he himself knew that I invited him to the Sacrament, and offered it him kneeling, and under my hand in that writing; and openly in his hearing in the Pulpit, I had promised and told both him and all the rest, that I never had nor never would put any Man from the Sacrament on the account of kneeling, but leave every one to the Posture which they should choose: And that the reason why I never gave it to any kneeling, was, because all that came would sit or stand, and those that were for kneeling only followed him, who would not come, unless I would administer it to him and his Party on a day by themselves, when the rest were not present: and I had no mind to be the Author of such a Scandal, and make as it were two Churches of one: But especially the confessions of notorious Scandal, which they knew they must be accountable for, did make many kneelers stay away. And all this he could not deny. And as to the second Charge, there was a Witness ready to say as he: for the truth is, among good and bad, I knew but one Man in the Town against me; which was a Stranger newly come, one Ganderton an Attorney, Steward to the Lord of Abbergem (a Papist) who was Lord of the Mannor; and this one Man was the Prosector, and witnessed how many were against my Return. I craved of the Bishop that I might fend by the next Post to know their Minds, and if that were so, I would take it for a favour to be kept from thence. When the People heard this at Kidderminster, in a days time they gathered the hands of Sixteen hundred of the Eighteen hundred Communicants, and the rest were such as were from home: And within four or five days I happened to find Sir Ralph Clare with the Bishop again, and showed him the hands of Sixteen hundred Communicants, with an offer of more, if they might have time, all very earnest for my Return. Sir Ralph was silenced as to that point: but he and the Bishop appeared so much the more against my Return.

§ 155. The Letter which the Lord Chancellor (upon his own offer) wrote for me to Sir Ralph Clare, he gave at my request, unsealed: and so I took a Copy of it before I left it away, as thinking the chief use would be to keep it, and compare it with their Dealings; and it was as followeth.

To my noble Friend Sir Ralph Clare, These.

S I R,

I am a little out of Countenance, that after the discovery of such a design in his Majesty, that Mr. Baxter should be setted at Kidderminster, as he was hitherto, and my promise to you by the King's Direction, that Mr. Dance should very punctually receive a Recompence by way of a Rent, upon his or your Bills charged here upon my Steward; Mr. Baxter hath yet no fruit of the said Majesty's good intention towards him: so that he hath too much reason to believe that he is not so frankly dealt with in this particular as he deserves to be. I do again tell you, that it will be very acceptable to the King, if you can persuade Mr. Dance to surrender that Charge to Mr. Baxter: and in the mean time, and till he is preferred to as profitable an Employment, whatever Agreement you shall make with him for an Annual Rent, it shall be paid Quarterly upon a Bill from you charged upon my Steward Mr. Clutterbucke: and for the exact performance of this, you may securely pawn your full Credit. I do most earnestly intreat you, that you will with all speed inform me what we may depend upon in this particular, that we may not keep Mr. Baxter in suspense, who

Q q 2

both
§ 156. Can any thing be more serious and cordial and obliging than all this: For a Lord Chancellour that hath the Duties of the Kingdom upon his hand, and Lords attending him, to take up his time so much and often about so low a Person, and to small a thing? And should not a Man be content without a Vicaridge or a Curathip when it is not in the power of the King and the Lord Chancellour to procure it for him, when they loveneantly desire it? But, O thought I, how much better a Life do poor Men live, who speak as they think, and do as they profess, and are never put upon such Shifts as these for their present Conveniences! Wonderful! thought I, that Men who do so much over-value worldly Honour and Esteem, can possibly so much forget futurity, and think only of the present day, as if they regarded not how their Actions be judged of by Posterity. For all this extraordinary favour, since the Day that the King came in, I never received as his Chaplain, or as a Preacher, or upon any account, the value of one farthing of any Publick Maintenance: so that I and many a hundred more had not had a piece of bread, but for the voluntary Contribution (whilfe we preached) of another fort of People. Yea, while I had all this excess of favour, I would have taken it indeed for an excess, as being far beyond my expectations, if they would but have given me liberty to preach the Gospel, without any Maintenance, and leave me to beg my Bread.

§ 157. And this bringeth to my remembrance the Motion which I oft made to my Brethren when they were oft admitted to the King, and thought themselves in so great favour, and had Bishopricks andDeaneries offered them, and the Ministers of the Land had such high Expectations: I motioned to them that now while the World would blufh at the denial, we might Petition for a bare Liberty to preach for nothing, in the Publick Churches, at thefe hours of the Lord's Day, and thofe days of the week, when the Ministers that are put into our Places are vacant, and are not there. But the Brethren thought this was to come down our felves before they took us down. But the time quickly came when we would have been glad of this much.

§ 158. A little after this, Sir Ralph Clare, and others, caufed the Houses of the People of the Town of Kidderminster to be searcht for Arms, and if any had a Sword, it was taken from them! And meeting him after with the Bishop, I defired him to tell us why his Neighbours were so used, as if he would have made the World believe that they were Seditious, or Rebels, or dangerous Perfons that should be used as Enemies to the King. He anfwered me, That it was because they would not bring out their Arms when they were commanded, but laid they had none, whereas they had Arms upon every occasion to appear with on the behalf of Cromwell. This great difingenuity of fo ancient a Gentleman, towards his Neighbours whom he pretended kindnefs to, made me brake forth into some more than ordinary freedom of reproof; and I anfwered him, That we have thought our Condition hard in that by Strangers that know us not, we should be ordinarily traduced and misrepresented; but this was most sad and marvellous, that a Gentleman to Civil, fhould before the Bishop speak fuch words againft a Corporation, which he knew I was able to confute, and are fo contrary to truth! I asked him whether he did not know that I publickly and privately fpake againft the Ulterpers, and declared them to be Rebels: and whether he took not the People to be of my mind: and whether I and they had not hazarded our Liberty by refusing the Engagement againft the King and Houfe of Lords, when he and others of his Mind had taken it? He confifted that I had been againft Cromwell, but they had always on every occasion appeared in Arms for him. I told him that he fluck me with admiration, that it should be possible for him to live in the Town, and yet believe what he f aid, to be true, or yet to fpake it in our hearing, if he knew it to be untrue. And I profefted, that having lived there Sixteen years since the Wars, I never
ver knew that they once appeared in Arms for Cromwell or any Ulirpers; and challenged him upon his word to name one time. I could not get him to name any time till I had urged him to the utmost; and then he intimated in the time when the Scots Army fled from Worcester. I challenged him to name one Man of that kind, was at Worcester Fight, or bare Arms there, or at any time for the Ulirpers: And when he could name none, I told him that all that was done to my knowledge in Sixteen years of that kind, was but this, that when the Scots fled from Worcester, as all the Country fought in cavetousness to catch some of them, for their Horfes, fo two idle Rogues of Redderminfter, that never communicated with any more than he did, had drawn two or three of their Neighbours with them in the Night at the Scots fled to catch their Horfes: And I never heard of three that they catche: And I appealed to the Bishop and his Conience, whether he that being urged could name no more but this, did ingenuously Accuse the Corporation, Magistrates and People to have appeared on all occasion in Arms for Cromwell. And when they had no more to say, I told them, by this we faw what meafures to expect from Strangers of his mind, when he that is our Neighbour, and noted for eminent Civility, never fickers to fpake fuch things even of a People among whom he hath flill lived.

§ 169. About the fame time, about Twenty or Two and twenty furious Fanatics, called Fifth Monarchy-men (one Venner a Wine-Coooper and his Church that he preached unto) were transported with Enthusiaftick Price, did rife up in Arms, and fought in the Streets like Mad-men against all that ftood in their way, till they were fome killed and the refl taken, judged and executed. I wrote a Letter at this time to my Mother-in-law, containing nothing but our ufual matters; even Encouage-ments to her in her Age and Weaknes, fetched from the nearnes of her Reft, together with the Report of this News; and fome hardp and vehement words against the Rebels. By the means of Sir John Packington, or his Soldiers, the Poft was searched, and my Letter intercepted, opened, and revived, and by Sir John lent up to London to the Bishop and the Lord Chancellour: fo that it was a wonder that having read it, they were not afhamed to fend it up: But joyful would they have been, could they but have found a word in it, which could possibly have been dif- for fored to an evil fence, that Malice might have had its Prey. I went to the Lord Chancellour and complained of this ufage, and that I had not the common liberty of a Subject, to confverfe by Letters with my own Family. He difowned it, and blamed Men rafhnes, but excufed it from the Diffemper of the Times; and he and the Bishops confessed they had feen the Letter, and there was nothing in it but what was good and pious. And two days after came the Lord Windfor Lord Lieu- tenant of the Country, and Governor of Jamaica, with Sir Charles Littleton the King's Cup bearer, to bring me my Letter again to my Lodgings; and the Lord Windfor told me, The Lord Chancellour appointed him to do it: After fome ex- preffion of my fene of the Abuse, I thanked him for his great Civility and Favour. But I faw how far that fort of Men were to be trufted.

§ 160. And here I will interpofe a short Account of my Publck Miniftry in London: Being removed from my ancient Flock in Worcesterfuir, and yet being un- certainty whether I might return to them or not, I refused to take any other Charge, but preached up and down London (for nothing) according as I was invited. When I had done thus above a year, I thought a fixed place was better, and fo I joyned with Dr. Bates at St. Dunfan's in the Weft in Fleetfreet, and preached once a week, for the People allowed me fome Maintenance. Before this time I fcarce ever preached a Sermon in the City, but I had News from Weftminfter that I had preached feditiously, or againft the Government, when I had neither a thought nor a word of any fuch tendency. Sometimes I preached purpoferly againft Faction, Schifm, Sedition and Rebellion, and thofe Sermons alfo were reported to be Facious and Sedigious. Some Sermons at Covent Garden were fo much accused, that I was fain to print them, (the Book is called The Formal Hypoctr deted, &c.) But when the Sermons were printed, I had not a word more againft them. The Accufations were all general (of Sedition and Faction, and againft the Church) but not one Syllable charged in particular.

§ 161. The Congregations beingcrowded was that which provoked Envy to ac- ceafe me: And one day the Crowd did drive me from my place. I tell out that at Dunfan's Church in the midft of Sermmon, a little Lime and Duf (and perhaps a piece of a Brick or two) fell down in the Steeple or Belfray near the Boys, which put the whole Congregation into fudden Melancholy, fo that they thought that the Steeple and Church were falling; which put them all into to confusion a haffe
to get away, that indeed the Noise of the Feet in the Galleries sounded like the falling of the Stones; so that the People crowded out of Doors; the Women left some of them a Skirt, and some a Shoe behind them, and some in the Galleries cast themselves down upon those below, because they could not get down the Stairs. I faiU still down in the Pulpit, seeing and pitying their vain Dis temper, and affoon as I could be heard, I intreated their Silence, and went on. The People were no sooner quieted, and got in again, and the Auditory compos'd, but some that stood upon a Wainscot-Bench near the Communion Table, brake the Bench with their weight, so that the Noise renewed the Fear again, and they were worse disordered than before; so that one old Woman was heard at the Church Door asking forgiveness of God, for not taking the first warning, and promising if God would deliver her this once, she would take heed of coming thither again. When they were again quieted, I went on. But the Church having before an ill name (as very old, and rotten, and dangerous) this put the Parish upon a Resolution to pull down all the Roof and build it better, which they have done with so great Reparation of the Walls and Steeple, that it is now like a new Church, and much more commodious for the Hearsers.

§ 162. While I was here also the daily Clamours of Accusers even wearied me: No one ever question'd me; nor inflamed in any culpable words, but in general all was against the Church and Government: Upon which (and the requite of the Counsels of Balsacters, one of my Hearsers, a Peron of exemplary worth) I was fain to publish many of my Sermons varbatim, on 2 Cor. 13. 5. in a Book called [The Mischiefs of Self-ignorance, and Benefits of Self-acquaintance]: And when the Book was printed (without alteration) then I heard no more of any Fault.

§ 163. Upon this Reparation of Dunfan's Church, I preached out my Quarter at Brides Church in the other end of Fleetstreet; where the Common Prayer being used by the Curate before Sermon, I occasioned abundance to be at Common Prayer which before avoided it: And yet my Accusations still continued.

§ 164. On the Week days, Mr. A{n}wes with about Twenty more Citizens, desired me to preach a Lecture in Milkstreet; for which they allowed me 40 l. per Annum, which I continued near a year, till we were all Silenced. And at the same time I preached once every Lord's Day at Blackfryars (where Mr. Gibbons a judicious Man was Minifter.) In Milkstreet I took Money because it came not from the Parifiioners, but Strangers, and for was no wrong to the Minifter (Mr. Vincent, a very holy, blameless Man); But at Blackfryars I never took a Penny, because it was the Parifiioners who called me, who would else be left able and ready to help their worthy Pastor (who went to God by a Consumpition a little after he was silenced and put out). At these two Churches I ended the Course of my Publick Ministry (unless God cause an undeferred Reformation).

§ 165. Here also my Accusations followed me as maliciously and fallly as before; and I was fain to clear my fell by printing some of my Sermons; in a little Book called Now or Never, and in part of another called a Saint or a Bruit.

§ 166. Before this I resolved to go to the Archbifhof of Canterbury (then Bifhop of London,) to ask him for his Licence to preach in his Diocefs: Some Brethren blamed me for it, as being an owning of Prelatical Usurpation. I told them that the King had given him a power to Juffer or hinder me; and if he had no power at all, I might lawfully defire any Man not to hinder me in my Duty; much more having power as the Church-Magiftrate or Officer of the King: And though I was under no necceflity, I would not refuse a lawful thing, when Authority required it. The Archbifhof received me with very great expreffion of Respect; and offered me his Licence, and would let his Secretary take no Money of me: But he offered me the Book to Subcribe in: I told him that he knew that the King's Declaration exempted us from Subscription: He bid me write what I would: I told him that what I resolved to do, and I thought met for him to expect, I would do of choice, though I might forbear: And fo (in Latin) I subscribed my promise not to preach against the Doctrine of the Church, or the Ceremonies eflabihed by Law, in his Diocefs, while I used his Licence. And I told him how grievous it was to me to be daily haunted with such general Accusations behind my back, and asked him why I was never accused of any Particulars; And he confessed to me, That if they had got any Particulars that would have deceived it, I should have heard particular from him, I hearce think that I ever preached a Sermon without a Spy to give them his report of it.
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

§ 167. But my last Sermon that ever I preached in Publick being at Blackfriars, was delated with this particular Acclamation, That I told them that the Gospel was now departing from them: Infomuch as the Lady Bolcastes told me, That even the old Queen of Bohemia told her, she wondered that I was so impudent, as to say, the Gospel was going away, because that I, and such as I were silenced, while others were put into our places. But all this was the breath of Mif-reporters, without any colour of ground from any thing that I had said, as may be seen in the printed Sermons.

§ 168. For when the Ministers were all silenced, some covenent Book-keepers got Copies of the last Sermons of many of them, from the Scribes that took them from their Mouths. Some of them were taken word by word (which I heard my self): but some of us were much abused by it; and especially my self: for they filled it As far as was Sermon, and mangled to both Matter and Style, that I could not own it; besides the printing it to the offense of Governors. So that afterwards I wrote out the Sermon more at large my self (on Col. 2. 6, 7,) with another Difcourse, and offered them to the Pref, but could not get them Licensed: for Reasons afterwards to me mentioned.

§ 169. On April 23, was his Majesty's Coronation Day; the Day being very serene and fair, till suddenly in the Afternoon, as they were returning from Westminster Hall, there was very terrible Thunders, when none expected it. Which made me remember his Father's Coronation, on which, being a Boy at School, and having leave to play for the Solemnity, an Earthquake (about two a Clock in the Afternoon) did affright the Boys, and all the Neighbourhood. I intend no Commentaty on thefe, but only to relate the Matter of Fact.

§ 170. To return at laft to our Treaty with the Bishops: If you observe the King's Declaration, you will find, that though Matters of Government seemed to be determined, yet the Liturgy was to be reviewed, and reformed, and new Forms drawn up in Scripture phrases, suited to the several parts of Worship, that Men might use which of them they pleased (as already there were some fuch variety of Forms in some Offices of that Book). This was yet to be done, and till this were done, we were uncertain of the Issue of all our Treaty: but if that were done, and all settled by Law, our Divisions were at an end. Therefore being often with the Lord Chancellor on the aforementioned occasions, I humbly intreated him to hasten the finishing of that Work, that we might rejoice in our desired Concord. At laft Dr. Reigndols and Mr. Calamy were authorized to name the Persons on that Side, to manage the Treaty; and a Commission was granted under the Broad Seal to the Persons nominated on both Sides. I intreated Mr. Calamy and Dr. Reigndols to leave me out: for though I much defired the Expedition of the Work, I found that the laft Debates had made me unacceptable with my Superiors; and this would much more incerce it, and other Men might be fitter, who were less diftasted. But I could not prevail with them (unless I would have peremptorily refused it,) to exclude me. So they named, as Commissioners, Dr. Tuckney, Dr. Cawley, Dr. Sparrow, Dr. Manton, Dr. Wallis, Mr. Calamy and my self, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Cafe', Mr. Clark, and Mr. Newcomen, besides Dr. Reigndols then Bishop of Norwich: And for Affiliants (being the other Party had Affiliants) Dr. Horton, Dr. Jacob, Dr. Bates, Mr. Rawlinson, Mr. Cooper, Dr. Lightfoot, Dr. Collins, Mr. Woodbridge, and Dr. Drake. According to the King's Commission we were to meet and manage our Conference, in order to the Ends therein expressed. The Commission is as followeth:

C H A R L E S the Second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our trulty and well-beloved the most Reverend Father in God accepted Archbishop of York, the Right Reverend Father in God Gilbert Bishop of London, John Bishop of Durham, John Bishop of Rochester, Henry Bishop of Winchester, Humphry Bishop of Sarum, George Bishop of Worcester, Robert Bishop of Lincoln, Benjamin Bishop of Peterburgh, Bryan Bishop of Chester, Richard Bishop of Carlisle, John Bishop of Exeter, Edward Bishop of Norwich, and to our trulty and well-beloved the Reverend Anthony Tuckney Dr. in Divinity, John Cawley Dr. in Divinity, William Sparrow Dr. in Divinity, John Wals Dr. in Divinity, Thomas Manton Dr. in Divinity, Edmund Calamy Batchelor in Divinity, Richard Baxter Clerk, Arthur Jackson Clerk, Thomas Cafe, Samuel Clark, Matthew Newcomen Clerks, and to our trulty and well-beloved Dr. Edwards Dean of Westminster, Peter Heylin Dr. in Divinity, John Hacket Dr. in Divinity, John Barwick Dr. in Divinity, Peter Gunning Dr. in Divinity, John Piers
The LIFE of the L I B. I.

Piercy Dr. in Divinity, Thomas Pierce Dr. in Divinity, Anthony Sparrow Dr. in Divinity, Herbert Thornthwaite Batchelour in Divinity, Thomas Burton Dr. in Divinity, Thomas Jacob Dr. in Divinity, William Bates, John Rawlinson Clerk, William Cooper Clerk, Dr. John Lightfoot, Dr. John Collins, Dr. Benjamin Woodbridge, and William Drake Clerk, Greeting. Whereas by our Declaration of the Five and twentieth of October last concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, we did amongst other things express an effect of the Liturgy of the Church of England, contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and yet since we find some Exceptions made against several things therein, we did by our said Declaration declare we would appoint an equal number of Learned Divines of both Perswations, to review the same, and to make such Alterations therein as shall be thought most necessary; and some additional Forms in the Scripture phrase, as near as might be, suited to the nature of the several Parts of Worship, we therefore in accomplishment of our said Will and Intent, and of our continued and constant Care and Study for the Peace and Unity of the Churches within our Dominions, and for the removal of all Exceptions and Differences, and Occasions of Differences, and Exceptions from amongst our good Subjects for or concerning the said Book of Common Prayer, or any thing therein contained, do by these our Letters Patents require, authorize, constitute and appoint you the said accepted Archbishops of York, Gilbert Bishop of London, John Bishop of Durham, John Bishop of Rochester, Henry Bishop of Chester, Humphrey Bishop of Sarum, George Bishop of Worester, Robert Bishop of Lincoln, Benjamin Bishop of Peterburgh, Bryan Bishop of Chester, Richard Bishop of Carlisle, John Bishop of Exeter, Edward Bishop of Norwich, Anthony Tuckney, John Convant, William Sporles, John Wallis, Thomas Mantan, Edmund Calamy, Richard Baxter, Arthur Jackson, Thomas Cafe, Samuel Clark and Matthew Newcomen, to advise upon and review the said Book of Common Prayer, comparing the same with the most ancient Liturgies which have been used in the Church, in the primitive and purest Times: And to that end to assemble and meet together, from time to time, and at such times, within the space of four Kalender Months now next ensuing, in the Master Lodgings in the Savoy in the Strand in the County of Middlesex, or in such other place or places as to you shall be thought fit and convenient, to take into your serious and grave Considerations, the several Directions, Rules and Forms of Prayer, and Things in the said Book of Common Prayer contained, and to advise and consult upon and about the same, and the several Objections and Exceptions which shall now be raised against the same. And if occasion be, to make such reasonable and necessary Alterations, Corrections and Amendments therein, as by and between you and the said Archbishops, Bishops, Doctors, and Persons hereby required and authorized to meet and advise as aforesaid, shall be agreed upon to be needful or expedient for the giving satisfaction unto tender Considerations, and the reforming and continuance of Peace and Unity, in the Churches under our Protection and Government. But avoiding, as much as may be, all unnecessary Alterations of the Forms and Liturgy: where- with the People are already acquainted, and have so long received in the Church of England. And our will and pleasure is, that when you the said Archbishops, Bishops, Doctors and Persons authorized and appointed by these our Letters Patents, to meet, advise and consult upon about the Premises aforesaid, shall have drawn your Confutations to any Refutation and Determination which you shall agree upon as needful or expedient to be done for the altering, diminishing or enlarging the said Book of Common Prayer, or any part thereof, that then you forthwith certify and present unto us in Writing, under your several Hands, the Matters and Things whereupon you shall so determine, for our Approbation. And to the end the same, or so much thereof as shall be approved by us, may be established. And forasmuch as the said Archbishops and Bishops, having several great Charges to attend, which we would not dispense with, or that the same should be neglected upon any great occasion whatsoever, and some of them being of great Age and Infirmities, may not be able constantly to attend the Execution of the Service and Authority hereby given and required by us in the Meetings and Confutations aforesaid, We Will therefore, and do hereby require and authorize you the said Dr. Earle, Peter Heylin, John Hacket, John Barwick, Peter Gunning, John Pearson, Thomas Pierce, and Anthony Sparrow, and Herbert Thornthwaite, to supply the place or places of such of the said Archbishops and Bishops (other than the said Edward Bishop of Norwich) as shall by Age, Sickness, Infirmity, or other occasion be hindered from attending the said Meeting or Confutations. (That is to say) that one of you the said Dr. Earle, Peter Heylin, John Hacket, John Barwick, Peter
Peter Gunning, John Pearson, Thomas Pearce, Anthony Sparrow, and Herbert Thorn-thistle shall from time to time supply the Place of each one of them, the said Arch-bishop and Bishops, other than the said Edward, Bishop of Norwich, which shall happen to be hindered, or to be absent from the said Meeting or Consultations, and shall and may advise, and consult, and determine, and also certify and execute, all, and singular the Power and Authority before mentioned, in and about the Premises as fully and absolutely, as such Archbishop or Bishops, which shall so happen to be absent, should or might do by Virtue of these our Letters Patents, or any thing therein contained, in case he or they were personally present.

And whereas in regard of the Distance of some, the Infirmities of others, the multitude of constant Impleyments, and other incidental Impediments; some of you the said Edward Bishops of Norwich, Anthony Tuckney, John Conon, William Sparrow, John Wallis, Thomas Manton, Edmund Calamy, Rich. Baxter, Arthur Jackson, Thomas Cafe, Samuel Clarke, and Matthew Newcomen may be hindered from the constant Attendance in the Execution of the Service aforesaid, We therefore will, and do hereby require and authorize you the said Tho. Horton, Thomas Jacomb, William Bates, John Rawlinson, William Cooper, John Lightfoot, John Collins, Benjamin Woodbridge, and William Drake to supply the Place or Places of such the Commissioners aforesaid, as shall by the means aforesaid, or any other Occasion be hindered from the said Meeting and Consultations (that is to say) that one of you the said Thomas Horton, Thomas Jacomb, William Bates, John Rawlinson, William Cooper, Dr. Lightfoot, Dr. Collins, Mr. Woodbridge, and Mr. Drake shall from time to time supply the Place of each one of the said Commissioners aforesaid, which shall happen to be hindered, or be absent from the Meetings and Consultations, and shall and may advise, consult and determine, and also certify and execute all and singular the Powers and Authorities before mentioned, in and about the Premises, as fully and absolutely as such of the said aforesaid Commissioners which shall so happen to be absent, should or might do by virtue of these our Letters Patents, or any thing therein contained, in case he or they were personally present.

In Witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents. Witness Our selves at Westminster, the five and twentieth Day of March, in the Thirteenth Year of Our Reign.

Per ipsum Regem Boocier.

Note that Dr. Roger Drake's Name being misspelled William Drake, he therefore went not publickly with us.

§ 171. A Meeting was appointed, and the Savoy (the Bishop of London's Lodgings) named by them for the Place. There met us Dr. Freewen, Archibishop of York; Dr. Sheldon, Bishop of London; Dr. Morley, Bishop of Worcester; Dr. Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln; Dr. Cofin, Bishop of Durham; Dr. Hulchman, Bishop of Salisbury; Dr. Walfen, Bishop of Chester; Dr. Lany, Bishop of Peterborough; Dr. King, Bishop of Rochester; Dr. Sterne, Bishop of Carlisle (but the constantest Man after was, Dr. Guden, Bishop of Exeter). On the other side there met, Dr. Reynalds, Bishop of Norwich, Mr. Clerk, Dr. SpaDeath, Dr. Lightfoot, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Manton, Dr. Bates, Dr. Jacomb, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Rawlinson, Mr. Cafe and myself. The Communion being read, the Archibishop of York (a peaceable Man) spake first, and told us, that he knew nothing of the Busines, but perhaps the Bishop of London knew more of the King's Mind in it, and therefore was fitter to speak in it than he. The Bishop of London told us, that it was not they, but we that had been the Seekers of this Conference, and that desired Alterations in the Liturgy; and therefore they had nothing to lay or do, till we brought in all that we had to lay against it in Writing, and all the additional Forms and Alterations which we desired. Our Brethren were very much against this Motion, and urged the King's Communion, which requireth us to [meet together, advise and consult]: They told him that by Conference we might perceive as we went what each would yield to, and might more speedily dispatch, and probably attain our End; whereas Writing would be a tedious, endless Busines, and we should not have that Familiarity and Acquaintance.
Acquaintance with each others Minds, which might facilitate our Concord. But the Bishop of London resolutely infifted on it, not to do any thing, till we brought in all our Exceptions, Alterations and Additions at once. In this I confefs, above all things else, I was wholly of his Mind, and prevailed with my Brethren to content; but I conjecture, upon contrary Reasons. For I fuppofe he thought that we fhould either be altogether by the Ears, and be of several Minds among ourelves, at leaft in our new Forms; or that when our Proposals and Forms came to be examined by them, they should find as much Matter of Exception againft ours, as we did againft theirs; or that the People of our Perfaution would be diffatisfied or divided about it: And indeed our Brethren themselves thought either all, or much of this would come to pass, and our Difadvantage would be exceeding great. But I told them the Reasons of my Opinion: 1. That we should quickly agree on our Exceptions, or offer none but what we were agreed on. 2. That we were engaged to offer them new Forms (which was the Expedient which from the Beginning I had aimed at and brought in, as the only way of Accommodation, confidering that they should be in Scripture Words, and that Ministers fhould choose which Forms they would) 3. That verbal Disputes would be managed with much more Contention. 4. But above all, that else our Caufe would never be well understood by our People, or Foreigners, or Paffity; but our Conference and Caufe would be misrepresented and publifhed as the Conference at Hampton-Court was to our Prejudice, and none durft contradict it. And that what we laid for our Caufe, would this way come fully and truly to the Knowledge of England and of other Nations; and that if we refufed this Opportunity of leaving upon Record our Testimony against Corruptions, for a juft and moderate Reformation, we were never like to have the like in haft again. And upon these Reasons I told the Bifhops that we accepted of the Task which they imposed on us; yet fo as to bring all our Exceptions at one time, and all our Additions at another time, which they granted.

§ 172. When we were withdrawn, it pleased our Brethren prefently to divide the undertaken Work: The drawing up of Exceptions againft the Common-Prayer, they undertook themfelves, and were to meet from day to day for that end: The drawing up of the Additions or new Forms they imposed upon me alone, becaufe I had been guilty of that Delign from the beginning, and of engaging them in that piece of Service (and fome of them thought it would produce ovides to the Independents, and others who are againft a Liturgy as fuch): Hereupon, I departed from them, and came among them no more till I had finifhed my Task (which was a Fortnight's time). My leifure was too fhort for the doing of it with that Accuracy, (which a Business of that Nature doth require ) or for the confulting with Men or Authors: I could not have time to make use of any Book, fave the Bible and my Concordance (comparing all with the Assemblies Directory, and the Book of Common-Prayer, and Hammond L'Estrange) And at the Fortnight's end I brought it to the other Commissioners.

§ 173. And here for the better understanding of this Work, I muft give the Reader these few Advertisements.

1. That one of my chief Reasons for the doing of this Work was, that if really the Declaration were in force and executed, our Brethren that erupled the use of the Common Prayer, might have the Liberty of using fuch Forms taken out of the Word of God, which they need not Scruple.

2. And another was, That the Nation might fee that in our Desires of reforming the Liturgy we were not for none, or for a worfe.

3. That it might be a standing Witness to Polftery, both againft the Sectarians, who would have all Reformers run into Extremes, and againft our Slanderrers who would make the World believe that we do run into Extremes, and are againft all Liturgies, and a Record that once such a thing was propofed which we could our felves agree in.

4. I made it an inferior Liturgy, but might not call it fo, because our Commission required us to call it Additions to, or Alterations of the Book of Common-Prayer.

5. I put in the Direflive Part called Rubricks, that the reft muft not be unintelligible, and the whole defective.

6. I put in the Forms and Order of Discipline, partly becaufe else we fhould never have had Opportunity therein to express our Minds; and partly because indeed it belongeth to the Integrity of the Work, and to fhew the difference between their kind of Discipline in Chancellors Courts, and ours by Rallors in Chriftian Congregations.

7. Note
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

7. Note that the method of the Litany and general Prayers, is according to the Directions of the Lord's Prayer, of which and the Ten Commandments it is a Commentary. The first Commandment falleth in with the Preface, and the three first Petitions of the Lord's Prayer: All the other Commandments, with the Evangelical Precepts, come in under the third Petition, They Will be done; and then I proceeded to the other three Petitions and the Conclusion. Doubtless the Lord's Prayer is the most perfect method for universal Prayer or holy Devises, that can be possibly invented.

§ 174. When I brought my Draught to the Brethren, I found them but entering on their Work of Exceptions against the Common-Prayer, and so I was fain to lay by mine above a Fortnight longer, till their work was done: In which divers of them took their Parts. The chief Actors in that part were, Dr. Reigold, Dr. Wallis, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Newsome, Dr. Bates, Mr. Clarke, Dr. Jaconby, &c. Dr. Horton never came among us at all, nor Dr. Tuckney (alleging his backwardness to speak, though he had been the Doctor of the Chair in Cambridge) nor Dr. Lightfoot but once or twice; nor Mr. Woodbridge but twice or thrice (dwelling far off): Mr. Clarke brought in that large Enumeration of Corruptions in the Liturgy recited in the Abridgment of the Lincolnshire Ministers; but it was refuted, because we would be as little querulous as possible, left it should offend, and hinder our desired Accommodation: and what Passages forever seemed to make the Common-Prayer-Book odious, or favour of Spleen and Passion, they did reject whoever offered them. My principal Business was to keep out such Accusations as would not bear weight, and to repref the Opinions of one of the Brethren (who came from far, and so came not till late among us) who was absolutely against all parts of the Common-Prayer, because they had been used by Papifts to Idolatry. And I drew up such Faults as in perusing the Common-Prayer-Book it left, did occur to me; and which were they which I most disliked in the Forms; being not so much offended with some other things, as some others were: But the Brethren reduced it to a few brief Exceptions in general, and would not by fo particular an Enumeration of Faults provoke thofe that we had to do with (which I disliked not). But from the beginning I told them that I was not of their Mind who charged the Common-Prayer with false Doctrine, or Idolatry, or fale Worship in the Matter or Subftance, nor that it to be a Worship which a Christian might not lawfully join in, when he had not Liberty and Ability for better: And that I always took the Faults of the Common Prayer to be chiefly Disorder and Defections; and so that it was a true Worship, though imperfect; and Imperfection was the Charge that we had against it (considered as diftinct from the Ceremonies and Discipline). I looked at it as at the Prayers of many a weak Christian that I have heard, who prayed with Disorder and Repetitions and unftit Expressions: I would not prefer such a weak Christian in Prayer before a better; but yet if I separated from fuch an one, or thought it unlawful to join with him, I should be finfally Curious and Uncharitable. And I think this was the Mind of all our Brethren, fave one, as well as mine: And old Mr. Alb hath often told us, that this was the Mind of the old Nonconformists, and that his hath often heard fome weak Ministers fo disorderly in Prayer, especially in Baptism and the Lord's Supper, that he could have with'd that they would rather use the Common-Prayer. Yet when we defired the Reformation of it, especially at a time when the Peoples Hearts were fo much set againft it, I thought it belt to open the true Difforders that they might be reformed. The Paper which I offered, and we laid by, left it should offend them, was this following.
The Exceptions against the Common-Prayer which I offered the Brethren when they were drawing up theirs.

The Common-Prayer-Book is guilty of great Defectiveness, Disorder and vain Repetitions; and therefore unfit to be the common imposed Frame of Worship to the God of Order, without Amendment, when we may do it:

ORDER requireth that we begin with Reverent Prayer to God, for his Affiliation and Acceptance, which is not done.

2. That the Creed and Decalogue, containing the Faith, in which we profess to assemble for God's Worship, and the Law which we have broken by our Sins, should go before the Confession and Abdication; or at least before the Praises of the Church; which they do not.

3. The Confession omitteth not only Original Sin, but all actual Sin as specified by the particular Commandments violated; and almost all the Aggravations of those Sins; and instead thereof, it containeth only the repeated Confession, that we have erred and strayed from God's ways: That we have followed the Devils and Defiles of our Hearts: That we have offended against his Laws: That we have left undone those things that we ought to have done, &c.; which is but to say, [We have sinned by Omission and Commission:] Whereas Confession being the Expression of Repentance, should be more particular, as Repentance it self should be.

4. When we have craved help for God's Prayers, before we come to them, we abruptly put in the Petition for speedy Deliverance [O God make speed to save us: O Lord make haste to help us.] without any Intimation of the Danger that we desire deliverance from; and without any other Petition conjoined.

5. It is disorderly in the Manner, to sing the Scripture in a plain Tune after the manner of reading.

6. [The Lord be with you. And with thy Spirit] being Petitions for Divine Affiliation, come in abruptly, in the midst or near the end of Morning Prayer: And [Let us Pray.] is adjoined when we were before in Prayer.

7. Lord have Mercy upon us: Christ have Mercy upon us: Lord have Mercy upon us] seemeth an affected Tautology, without any special Caufe, or Order here; And the Lord's Prayer is annexed that was before recited: And yet the next Words are again but a Repetition of the forehead of repeated General [O Lord shew thy Mercy upon us].

8. The Prayer for the King [O Lord save the King] is without any Order put between the forehead Petition, and another General Request only for Audience [And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.]

9. The second Collect is intituled [for Peace] and hath not a Word in it of Petition for Peace, but only for [Defence in Assails of Enemies, and that we may not fear their Power.] And the Prefaces [In knowledge of whom standeth our eternal Life, and whose Service is perfect Freedom.] have no more evident respect to a Petition for [Peace] than to any other. And the Prayer itself comes in disorderly, while many Prayers or Petitions are omitted, which according both to the method of the Lord's Prayer, and the Nature of the things, should go before.

10. The third Collect intituled [for Grace] is disorderly, in that it followeth that for Peace; which belongs to the left Petition of the Lord's Prayer; and in that in the Conclusion of Morning Prayer, we begin to beg the Mercies for the Day. And it is defective, in that it is but a General Request for defence from Sin and Danger. And thus the main parts of Prayer, according to the Rule of the Lord's Prayer, and our common Necessities are omitted, as may be seen by comparing our Forms with the.

11. Most of our Necessities are passed over in the like defective Generals also in the Evening Prayer.

12. The Litany, which should contain all the ordinary Petitions of the Church, omiteth very many particulars, as may appear in our offered Forms compared with
Part II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

with it: It were tedious to number the half of its omissions. And it is exceeding disorderly, following no just Rules of method: Having begged pardon of our sins, and deprecated vengeance, it proceedeth to Evil in general, and some few Sins in particular, and thence to a more particular enumeration of Judgments; and thence to the recitation of the parts of that Work of our Redemption, and thence to the depreciation of Judgments again, and thence to Prayers for the King and Magistrates, and then for all Nations, and then for Love and Obedience, and then for several states of men, and then for all men, and for Enemies, and then for the Fruits of the Earth, and then for Repentance, Forgiveness and Grace again, and then turneth to Repetitions of the same Petitions for Pardon and Mercy, and after the Lord's Prayer, returneth to the same request again. Next this, in the midst of Prayer, it repeateth [Let us pray]. Next is a Prayer against Adversity and Persecutions, which was done before: and both here and through the rest of the Prayers, the depreciation of bodily suffering hath very much too large a proportion, while spirituals are too generally and briefly touched; which is unbecoming the Church of Christ, which mindest not the things of the flesh, but of the Spirit, Rom. 8:5, 6, 7.

Next followeth a reduplicate Petition that God would [arise and help us and deliver us] with an interpolated Argument from his Ancient Works: which comes in without any reason or order, and is the same that was before petitioned; and seems to be fitted to some special distress or danger of the Church, and yet mentioneth not that distress or danger; and is to be tiled equally in the prosperity of the Church. Next this followeth the Doxology, as if we were concluding, and then we go on to the same Requests as oft before repeated, for deliverance from afflictions and forrow, though perhaps it be not a time of Affliction with us, but of Joy: and so it proceeds to ask forgiveness, as often asked, and then four time repeateth the Petition for Audience, when we draw near an end, and twice repeateth the general Petition for Mercy. Next this, while we are praying, we again lay, Let us pray. And then again pray against feared Evils, and for Holiness in general, all out of any order, and oft repeated, while abundance of most weighty Particulars are never mentioned. Next this the Prayer for the King and the Royal Family is again repeated, which went before: If that were the due place, why should not our Petitions have been there put in together for them? but the minds of the Church are thus tossed up and down like the Waves of the Sea, from one thing to another, and then to the first again, without any regard to order, in the presence of the God of Order.

Next this, the Bishops and Curates are prayed for without the Parish Incumbent, Presbyters, or else it's intimated that they are but the Bishops Curates, or else they are called Bishops themselves; and no Man can tell certainly which of these is the fence: And the Preface would intimate to the People, that it is some special great marvel for Bishops and Curates to have Grace: And after all this, there are no particular petitions for them, according to the nature and necessity of their Work, or of their Congregation, but only this one General Request, that they may have God's Grace and Blessing to please him. Lastly (before the Blessing) is Christ's Prayer, merely for the granting of our Requests, with two Petitions, one for Knowledge, the other for Life Eternal. The following Prayers and Thanksgivings on particular extraordinary Occasions, are (with the Confession, the Prayers for the King, and the Church Militant) the best composed of all the daily Common Prayers: But that these Prayers and Thanksgivings are all placed after the Benediction, is disorderly. And though it's most probable that yet it was intended they should go before it in use, there is no such thing expressed in the Book. And thus we see how unlike the Litany is to the Lord's Prayer, and how far from all just Order, which is a deformity that such Holy Works should not be guilty of.

13. The like defectiveness and disorder is in the Communion Collects for the Day. That for the first Sunday in Advent, hath no Petition for any thing in this Life, but the Generals [To cast away the Works of Darkness, and put on the Armour of Light.

That for the second Sunday in Advent is a very good Prayer, (viz. to learn and obey the Scripture): but there is no more reason why it should be appropriate to that day than another, or rather be a common Petition for all days.

The fame is true of that for the third Sunday in Advent, which begs no more but [bearing our prayers and lightening our darkness].

As little reason is there for the appropriating that for the fourth Sunday in Advent to that day: which is a General Request, that God would come among us and succor us,
as, and speedily deliver us, who through our sin and wickedness are sore let and hindered] without acquainting us what the wickedness of the left is which is meant.

The Prayer on Christmas-day determineth that Christ was born as on that day, when the world of learned Men are not agreed of the Month or Year, much less the Day: And the fame Prayer is appointed for divers days after: so that if by [day] is meant any other space of time than a Natural Day, then it is no fitter for Christmas day than another. If it mean a Natural Day, then it is an untruth on the following days, in the fence of the Imposters.

The Collect on St. Stephen’s day hath but one Petition. That on St. John’s day hath nothing in it proper to him in the reason of it. That the Jews Children are called innocents, that were two years old; and that they are said to confess Christ by dying, and so must have a Holy-day, when they confessed him but objectively as Sacrifices did; that hence we take occasion to pray for the killing of Vices in us, that our Lives may express our Faith, is partly uncertainty (at the left) and partly incoherence.

The Collect for the Epiphany hath no Petition, but one, for [the fruition of the glorious Godhead after this Life].

The Collect for the first Sunday after the Epiphany is no more pertinent to that day than to another; and is only for the Generals [the hearing of our Prayers, the knowing our duty and doing it].

That for the second Sunday after Epiphany is no more pertinent, and is only for audience and peace.

That on the third Sunday after the Epiphany is no more pertinent; and hath nothing but in General, that God will look upon our Infirmities, and help us in all dangers and necessities.

The fame is to be said of that for the fourth Sunday after Epiphany, which is only for [health of body and soul to pay and overcome Sufferings].

The Collect for the keeping of the Church in the true Religion, is no more pertinent to the fifth Sunday after the Epiphany, than to another day.

The Collect on Secondfasima Sunday is, [that we that are justly punished for our offences, may be mercifully delivered]; when perhaps the Church is under no special Punishment: nor is there any reason for the order of this Prayer.

That on the Sunday called Sexagesima hath no reason of its location or order there; and hath no Petition but that so oft repeated one, to be [defended against all adversity].

The Petition for Charity on Quinquagesima Sunday, hath no reason for disorder; nor for appropriation to that day, but should be part of every days Requests.

The same is to be said of the Collect on the first day of Lent; which also unhandfomely faith, that [God bateth nothing that he hath made], which is true only in a formal fence, quod talis; For be bateth all the works of mignity, Psl. 5. 5.

The General Petitions on the second Sunday in Lent, [to keep our bodies from adversity, and our souls from evil thoughts] have no reason for their order.

The same is true of that on the third Sunday in Lent, which hath no Petition, but that God will look upon our desires, and stretch forth his right hand to be our defence against Enemies.

There is no more reason for that order of that on the fourth Sunday in Lent, which is only a Petition [for relief to us that are worably punished], when perhaps we are under no special Punishment, but in Prosperity.

The Same Ataxie is in that on the fifth Sunday in Lent, which asketh nothing but to be [governed and preferred evermore].

That on the Sunday before Easter, and divers days after, giveth no reason of Christ’s Incarnation and Death, but that [all mankind should follow the example of his humility], and yet must be used rather then that on the second Sunday after Easter, which in fewer words conjoineth [both a Sacrifice for Sin, and also an Example of Godly Life].

The first Collect on Good-friday hath no Petition, but that God will [graciously behold this his Family] (inconveniently also expressed: the Pronoun [this] seeming plainly to mean, that particular Congregation; which is not to be called God’s Family, but part of it).

The following Collects for the day are good, but have no order as to their location.
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Even the Collect on Easter-day is disorderly, and dry, having no Request annexed to the mention of Christ's Resurrection, but that [by God's help we may bring the good desire be hath given us to good effect], which also is repeated the next day, and also on the first Sunday after Easter.

That on the second Sunday after Easter is fitter for Good-friday, but indeed must be a daily Petition.

That on the third Sunday after Easter hath no reason of its order or placing there.

The fame is true of that for the fourth Sunday after Easter: and that on the fifth Sunday: which are but Generals (to think and do good).

That on Whit-Sunday and divers days after, useth the words [as upon this day] of which before: and petitioneth for no gift of the Spirit, but [a right judgment and rejoicing].

That on Trinity Sunday asketh nothing at all, but [through the steadfastness of our Faith to be defended evermore from all adversity]. A Petition so frequently repeated, even alone, as if we would periwade the Enemies of the Church, that we are a worldly carnal People; and principally seek the things that perish: when indeed it is a sin to pray to be [evermore defended from all adversity]; when God hath told us, that through many tribulations we must enter into his kingdom, and that be that will live godly in Christ [if so shall suffer persecution] and that God shall theneth every son whom he receiveth, and that be that will be Christ's Disciple must deny himself, and forsake all and take up his Cross and follow him, accounting the afflictions of this present time unworthy to be compared with the glory to be revealed.

That on the first Sunday after Trinity is as the reit; having no special respect to the day, or order of Requests: and containeth only the General Request, so oft repeated, of Grace to keep God's Commandments and please him.

No more reason is there for the order of the Petition for [fear and love] on the second Sunday after Trinity.

Nor of that on the third Sunday, which only asketh audience, and that God [by his mighty aid will defend us] without any influencing from what.

No more reason is there for the order of the Requests on the fourth Sunday after Trinity, the fifth, the sixth, the seventh, the eighth (which only prays God, whose Providence is never deceived, to put away from us all hurtful things, and give us those things that be profitable: all meer Generals; in which no particular repentance or desires are expressed). So also on the ninth Sunday (that hath the like Generals) and on the tenth Sunday, which asketh nothing but that we may obtain our petitions, and ask that which pleaseth God: and that on the eleventh Sunday (that we running to the Promises may be partakers of the heavenly Treasure): and that on the twelfth (which asketh for that which we dare not presume to ask): and that on the thirteenth (that we may so run to the promises as to attain them) which is all the Petition: and that on the fourteenth; and that on the fifteenth (keep us ever by thy help, and lead us to all things profitable to our salvation); and that on the sixteenth, the seventeenth, the eighteenth (where the infections of the Devil] is an inconvenient phrase); the nineteenth, the twentieth, the one and twentieth, the two and twentieth (which again prays that the Church may be free from all adversities): the three and twentieth (which is nothing but in general, that what we ask may be granted); the four and twentieth (for forgiveness): the five and twentieth (for Works); all which are without any special reason both appropriated to the several days, and placed where they stand in the order of our Requests.

The Petition on St. Thomas's day, for so perfect a Faith as shall never be reproved in the sight of God, is of doubtful conveniency, because contrary to the Scripture prediction of the event.

In the Collect on St. John Baptist's day, the preaching of Penance, is a word of a more misleading tendency, as now used, than the preaching of Repentance.

14. The Lord's Prayer is a third time to be recited before the Communion: when yet as it is a Rule of Prayer as to order, it is forsaken through the Book.

The next Prayer for loving and magnifying God's Name is most necessary, but there out of order.

The Commandments come in also out of order, without any special reason of connection to what goeth before and followeth.

So do the following Prayers for the King, which yet in themselves are very good. And the Epistle, and Gospels, and Creed.

The Churchwardens are not directed to an orderly collection for the Poor.
In the Sentences exciting to remember the Poor, the Scriptures and Apocryphal Passages of Tobit are confounded, without any note of sufficient distinction, as if we would have the People believe that Tobit is Canonical Scripture.

The Prayer for the Church Militant (one of the best) is very defective, having no Petition for the Church, but those for [Truth, Unity, Love and Concord].

The Exhortation biddeth all (and intreateth them for the Lord Jesus sake) even the worst and most unprepared that be present, to come to the Lord's Table, as invited thereto by God himself: which is a great wrong to him and them. And if it misinterpreteth the Parable, Matt. 22, (to which it feemeth plainly to allude) which speaketh not of our coming to the Sacrament, but of our coming to Christ, and into his Church: Though indeed the Exhortation is very good, if it were made at a sufficient distance before the Sacrament, that they might have time of Preparation.

The next Admonition against unworthy Receiving is very good; but impertinent and unmeaning, while it perfwadeth them to come to the Minifler for Advice, in order to the Sacrament which is perfectly to be administered.

It is a disorder, for one of the Communicants to be invited to be the Mouth of the rest in Confifion of Prayer. If the People may pro tempore make a Minifter, why not for continuance; and so the Common Prayer Book is for the Principles of Popular Separatifs.

The proper Prefaces for Christmas-day and Whitsunday, repeat the word [at this day] which is either a selfhood or impertinent; and non-intelligible to the mould.

It is a disorder in the next words to begin in a Prayer and end in a Narrative.

It is disorderly for the Minifter to receive the Sacrament in both kinds himself before the other Minifters, or People do receive it in either.

There is no sufficient Explication of the Nature and Use of the Sacrament premifed: which is the greater defect where the Sacrament is allowed to be administered without a Sermon; and where so many of the People never learned the Catechism, or understand what a Sacrament is.

The Exhortation is too defective for the exciting the Faith and other Graces of the Communicants; which yet we can bear with, if the Minifter may be allowed himself to speak such other quickening Words of Exhortation as he findeth suitable to the temper of the Communicants.

The Confiffion of Sin before the Communion is too general and defective.

The Confecration, Commemoration, and Delivery, and Participation are not distinctly enough performed.

Sometime the Minifter is to kneel at Prayer, and sometime to stand up, without any special reason given for it.

It were more orderly to make the Delivery distinct in Scripture words; and not to confound Prayer and the Delivery together.

It is more suitable to Christ's Example, that the Words of Delivery be (ordinarily in the Plural Number, and to the Church, or to many at once, [Take ye, Eat ye, Drink ye,] than in the Singular Number recited to each one.

It is disorderly for the People to repeat every Petition of the following Prayers, after the Minifter.

That the Hymn be sung in Profe feemeth disorderly.

The Collects appointed to be said after the Offertory, have no reason of order or connexion with what went before, or followeth after.

The half of them begs [Assurance in these our Supplications and Prayers]; which should rather be towards the beginning than when we are concluding. And it beggs but the oft repeated benefit of Defence against the Changes and (as it is inconveniently called) the Changes of this Life. And another of them again asks these things which we dare not ask.

But it is the greatest disorder of all, that every Parishioner shall Communicate at least thrice in the year, whether he be fit or unfit, and be forced to it.

In Baptism it is the greatest disorder, that Minifters must be forced, though against their Confiences, to baptize all Children without Exception; the Children of Atheists, Infidels, Hereticks, unbaptized Perflons, Excommunicate Perflons, or Impertinent Fornicators, or such like.
It is disorderedly that the Parents are neither of them required (ordinarily) to be present, and present their Child to Baptism, but it is left to Godfathers and Godmothers, that have no power to confer for them, or enter them into the Covenant, unless it be in the Parents name, or they be Pro-parents, taking the Child as their own.

And it istruelrately due Enquiry and Affirmance, when the Parents may choose whether they will come before to the Minister to be instructed about the Nature and Use of Baptism; and may choose whether they will let him of it till the Night or Morning before.

The Exhortation before Baptism is very defective, omitting many weighty Points.

So are the two Prayers before it: where also it is inconveniently said, That God by Christ’s Baptism did sanctify the Flood Jordan, and all other Waters, to the mystical washing away of Sin.

The ascribing of the Gift of the Holy Ghost to Infants by their Baptism, as its ordinary Effect and necessary to their Regeneration, is to bring an undetermined uncertain Opinion into our Liturgy.

The Arguments for Infant-Baptism are so defectively express’d, as have tempted many into Anabaptism.

The third Prayer faith very little, but what was said in one of those foregoing.

Sureties that have not the Parents power, are unjustly required to promise in the Infant’s Name, or the Infant by them: And so it is a doubt whether many Infants have ever indeed been entered into the Covenant of God, when they cannot be said to Promine or Covenant by Persons, whom neither Nature or Scripture, or any sufficient Authority hath enabled to that Office.

The Sureties are unjustly and irregularly required, to promise present Actual Faith in the Infant’s name, when it is a thing not required of the Infant; but only that he be the Child of a Believer, and by the Parent dedicated to God in Baptism, and there engaged in his Covenant, to Believe and Obey when he is capable.

Of the Cross in Baptism we have said more in due place; but here only add that it is a very great disorder (besides the other faults) to express the Terms of the Covenant as signified by the Cross, more fully than as signified by baptizing; viz. [We sign him with the sign of the Cross, in token that hereafter he shall not be assumed to confess the Faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under his Banner, against Sin, the World and the Devil, and to continue Christ’s faithful Soldier and Servant unto his lives end: Amen].

The Conclusion that [the Child is Regenerate] and the Thanksgiving for [Regenerating it by the Spirit] are doubly faulty: First, in concluding that all Children baptized are Regenerate, when we admit those (before mentioned) whole Interests in the Covenant, which Baptism fealeth, cannot be proved: that is, such whole Parents can lay no just claim to the Grace of the Covenant: At least, here is a private Opinion thrust into our Liturgy. Secondly in concluding all Infants regenerate by the Holy Ghost, when so many Learned Divines think that it is but a Relative Regeneration, that is ascertained them; and the Controversie is yet undecided.

The Exhortation to the Godfathers and Godmothers impel then them the Duty of the Parents, to see to the holy Education, which ordinarily they cannot do, nor are to be required to do; nor is it ordinarily done, and yet we go on in the abuse.

The concluding Rubrick hafteneth Children too soon to Confirmation, contrary to some Clauses in the Rubrick for Confirmation.

Divers Defects besides these expressed, will appear, by comparing this part of the Common Prayer, with the Forms which we offer.

In the Private Baptism it is disorderly to make the Godfathers and Godmothers renew solemnly the Covenant-Engagement of the Child, when before we are to [certify them that all is well done, and according to due order]; and the solemnizing of the Covenant is the principal use of Baptism; so that its doubtful whether the repeating of so great a part of Baptism, be not a great part of Anabaptism.

And it is not orderly that twice we must say to the Godfathers and Godmothers [Doth thou in the Name of His Child] as if we spoke but to one of them: and the third time we lay [Do you in his Name].
Also the Prayer of [giving the Spirit to the Infant, that he being born again] seems to import the Effects of Baptism on Christ's part, as underflood by the Common Prayer Book to be not given by the Private Baptism.

In the Rubrick for Confirmation, the Order that Children shall be Confirmed when they can say the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, and answer the Questions of the Catechism, seems contrary to the first and third Reasons, which require that Solemn Renewal or ensuring of their Covenant, which ordinarily they are not ripe for, of many years after they can say the Catechism.

And though we suppose, the meaning was only to exclude the Necessity of any other Sacrament to baptized Infants, yet these Words are dangerous, as to mislead the Vulgar, [He shall know for a Truth, that it is certain by God's Word, that Children being baptized have all things necessary for their Salvation, and be undoubtedly saved]. The meaning is ex parte Ecclesiae but it hath mislead many to think it is absolute, and comprehended all things necessary in every respect.

In a Catechism where so many necessary Points are passed over, it's disorderly to put two such frivolous Questions in the beginning, as [What is your Name? and Who gave you this Name?]

In the Catechism there is omitted some of the Essential Attributes of God, without which he cannot be rightly known. There is also omitted the Doctrine of the Law made to Adam, and of Man's Fall, and the Doctrine of our Misery is insufficiently touched: The Person, Office, and Properties of the Redeemer, are so insufficiently opened, as that we should think the Essentials of Christianness are omitted, were it not that they are (generally at least) expressed in the Creed itself, which is more full than the Explanation of it. There is no mention of the Holy Scriptures in it: and the Doctrine of the Covenant of Grace is very defectively expressed; and so is the Doctrine of Sanification, and other parts of the Work of the Holy Ghost: and the whole Doctrine of God's Judgment and Execution: and that of Man's Duty, and even the Nature and Use of the Sacraments, in which it is fullest: as will appear by a true comparing it with what we offer.

The Prayers and Administration of Confirmation suppose all the Children brought to be Confirmed, to have the Spirit of Christ and the forgiveness of all their Sins; whereas a great number of Children at that Age (that we say not the far greater part) do live a carnal, careless Life, and shew no Love to God above all, no prevalent Self-denial, Mortification, nor Faith in Christ, and Heaven-mindedness, nor serious Repentance for the Life of Sin which they continue in after Baptism: There fore to these Children Confirmation is not to be Administered, till besides the saying of the Catechism, they make a credible Profession of Faith, and Repentance and Obedience: And to them that do not thus, Confirmation is a grofs and perilous Abuse.

In the concluding Rubrick there is no care taken for the multitude that being past Childhood, understand not what it is to be a Chriftian: who also have need of Catechizing.

In Matrimony these Words [For be ye well assured that so many as be coupled together otherwise than God's Word doth allow, are not joined together by God, neither is their Matrimony Lawful] do dangerously speak that of Irregularities in General, which is true only of some greater Faults that are contrary to the Essentials of Matrimony: For in many Cases qui veli non debet, faelum sedet.

The Ring should not be forced on those that scruple it.

The obdurate Phrases [With my Body I thee Worship, &c.] should be changed.

The Prayers at the Table are disorderly Repetitions, not delivering that in many Words, which may be express in few.

It is unfit to keep all Persons unmarried that are unmeet for the Communion, being Infidels and unbaptized and profane Persons may marry: and it is unmeet to force such to receive the Communion the same Day that they Marry.

If it were requisite to put the private Work of visiting the Sick, into the publick Liturgy of the Church, yet the Variety of the Cases of the Sick is such, that these Forms are not suitable to all.

In
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

In the Communion of the Sick, the ancient Custom of the Church was, where time and place allowed it, to send the Deacon to the Sick, at the time of the Celebration, with a Porcion of the Confecrated Bread and Wine, which is here omitted.

The Minifter is caufefully tied to meet the Corps jufi at the Church Style, and to ufe the oft-repeated [Lord have Mercy upon us, Christ have Mercy upon us, Lord have Mercy upon us]: And it is a Conbufion perilous to the living, that we are to perfume that all we bury be of one fort vix. Ecles and Saved: when contrarily we fee multitudes die without any fuch Signs of Repentance, as rational Charity can judge sincere.

It is a diforder that Women be not at all required beforehand to defire any pub-lick Prayers for their life Deliverance; and yet when they are delivered, that a Thanksgiving on the Lord's Days, fuch as is for other great Deliverances will not ferve the turn, without a special Office; which if performed on the Lord's Day, will be an Impediment or Disturbance to the publick Worship: And while an inconvenient Pfalms, and Repetitions, and Repfonds be ufed, the Prayer is defective, as will appear by comparing it with what we offer.

It is a perifrous Diſorder, that Penance (as it is called) be ufed by notorious Sinners at a flated time, the beginning of Lent, which fhoud be ufed (rightly) to reftore the Perfons whenever he is fallen: And this is not to be wifhed (in this Diſorder) to be reftored again; no more than that Physick be given only at Lent in acute Diſeafes, which muft be medicated out of Hand.

In the repeating of the Curfes, the People fhould be better taught to know the difference of the Law and Golpe, and then that excellent dehoration may be well ufed: But this pertained to the ordinary preaching of the Word.

Of the Repfonds, and the doubtful Phrase [thou hateft nothing that thou haft made] we have fpoke before.

Other Omifions and Diſorders appear by comparing it with what we offer.

We only add upon the whole, thefe further general Remarks.

1. It is a great Diſorder that we have fo many Prayers, instead of many Petitions in one Prayer: The Gravity and Seriousnefs requisite in our Prayers to God, and the Examples left on Record in Scripture, do perſuade us, when we have many Petitions at once to put up to God, which all have a Connexion in Nature and Necessity, that there fhould be fuch a Connexion of our Defires and Requefts, and many of them fhould confitute one Prayer, whereas the Common-Prayer-Book, in its numerous Collects, doth make oft times as many Prayers as Petitions; and we undecently begin with a folemn Preface, and as Solemnly conclude, and then begin again; as if before every Petition of the Lord's Prayer, we fhould repeat [Our Father which art in Heaven] and after every Petition [For thine is the Kingdom, the Power and the Glory]. Yet we deny not that when we have but fome one Particular Requeft to put up, without Connexion with others, we may then make a Prayer of that alone.

2. Hence it comes to pafs that the holy and reverend Name of God is made the matter of unnecessary Tautologies, while half the Prayer is made up of his Attributes and Addressis to him, and with Conclusions containing the Mention of his Name and Kingdom, and the Merits of his Son; even in holy Worship we fhould fear using God's Name unreverently and in vain.

3. And it is a great Diſorder, that fo much of the publick Prayers fhould be uttered by the People, as in the Repfonds, and that they only fhould put up the petitioning part, while the Minifter doth but fugget to them, or recite the Mat-ter of the Petitions, as in the Litany: feeling the Minifter is by Office to be the Mouth of the People and God, and Scripture intimate, that ordinarily their Part was but to fay, [Amen]; and it feemeth to many sober People, who are much of- tended at it, to be a very confufed and uneafily Murmur, that is confufed in moft Congregations by the Peoples speaking. Efppecially when in reading the Pfalms the People fay every second Verfe, which cannot be heard and underftood by fuch as cannot read, or have no Books; and then the other Verfe which the Minifter
faith, is not understood, because we hear not the annexed Verse, which containeth part of the Senfe. And fo the whole reading Psalms, are almost as in Latin to them that cannot read themselves.

And that all this is really Disorder and contrary to Edification, appeareth both in the Reason of the thing, and in that the Prayers mentioned in Scripture are of another Order; and in that they are not according to the Method of the Lord's Prayer, which is the perfect Rule of Prayer in all universal Prayers, which consists not of occasional Particulars; and in that the most sensible experienced praying Christians find it by Experience to hinder their Edification (and their Testimony should be preferred before that of ignorant, unexperienced, partial, or ungodly Men; or at least a Course taken which is agreeable to both sorts, and hindereth the Edification of neither): And lastly those very Men that will not reform any of this Disorder in the Liturgy, do nauseate and condemn the Prayers of a weak Minister, or private Christian, if they have but the fourth part of the very like Disorders, Repetitions, Tautologies, or Defects as the Liturgy hath.

For these Reasons a proportionable Reformation is desired.

Besides all forementioned, there is in two months space no less than one hundred and nine Chapters of the Apocrypha appointed to be read as Lessons, just in the time, manner, and Title as the Chapter of the holy Scriptures be; even the Stories of Tobit, and Judith being part; and also of Bel and the Dragon, and Susanna, which Protestants hold to be but Fables. But those Exceptions which we actually offered to the Bishops were as follows.

The Exceptions against the Book of Common-Prayer.

Acknowledging with all humility and thankfulness, his Majesty's most Princely Condescension and Indulgence, to very many of his Loyal Subjects, as well in his Majesty's most gracious Declaration, as particularly in this present Commission, issued forth in pursuance thereof; we doubt not but the right Reverend Bishops; and all the rest of his Majesty's Commissioners intrusted in this Work, will, in imitation of his Majesty's most prudent and Christian Moderation and Clemency, judge it their Duty (what we find to be the Apostles own Practice) in a special manner to be tender of the Churches Peace, to bear with the Infirmities of the weak, and not to please themselves, nor to measure the Consciences of other Men by the Light and Latitude of their own, but seriously and readily to consider and advise of such Expedients, as may most conduco to the healing of our Breaches, and uniting those that dispart.

And albeit we have an high and honourable esteem of those godly and learned Bishops, and others, who were the first Compilers of the publick Liturgy, and do look upon it as an excellent and worthy Work, for that time, when the Church of England made her first step out of such a Mist of Pophil Ignorance and Superstition wherein it formerly was involved; Yet considering that all human Works do gradually arrive at their Maturity and Perfection; and this in particular being a Work of that Nature, hath already admitted several Emendations since the first compiling thereof.

It cannot be thought any Disparagement or Derogation either to the Work itself, or to the Compilers of it, or to those who have hitherto used it, if after more than an hundred Years, since its first compoiture, such further Emendations be now made therein, as may be judged necessary for satisfying the Scruples of a multitude of sober Persons, who cannot at all (or very hardly) comply with the use of it, as now it is, and may befit use with the present times after so long an Enjoyment of the glorious light of the Gospel, and so happy a Reformation. Especially considering that many Godly and learned Men, have from the beginning all along earnestly desired the Alteration of many things therein, and very many of his Majesty's pious, peaceable, and loyal Subjects, after so long a discontinuance of it, are more averse from it than heretofore. The satisfying of whom (as far as may be) will very much conduco to that Peace and Unity which is so much desired by all good Men, and so much endeavoured by his most excellent Majesty.

And
And therefore in pursuance of this his Majesty's most gracious Commission, for the fitisfaction of tender Consciences, and the pursuing of Peace and Unity amongst our selves, we judge meet to propose,

First, That all the Prayers, and other Materials of the Liturgy may consist of nothing doubtful or questioned amongst pious, learned, and orthodox Persons, insomuch as the professed end of composing them is for the declaring of the Unity and Confent of all who join in the publick Worship; it being too evident that the limiting of Church-Communion to things of doubtful Differtation, hath been in all Ages the ground of Schism and Separation according to the saying of a learned Person. 

"To load our publick Forms, with the private Fancies upon which we differ, is the most forsworn way to perpetuate Schism to the World's End. Prayer, Confession, Thanksgiving, reading of the Scriptures, and administration of the Sacraments in the plainest, and simplest manner, were matter enough to furnish out a sufficient Liturgy, though nothing either of private Opinion, or of Church-popup, of Garments, or prescribed Gestures, of Imagery, of Musick, of matter concerning the Dead, of many Superfluities which creep into the Church under the Name of Order, and Decency, did interpole it itself. To charge Churches and Liturgies with things unnecessary, was the first beginning of all Superstition, and when Scruple of Conscience began to be made or pretended, then Schism began to break in. If the special Guides and Fathers of the Church would be a little sparing of incumbering Churches with Superfluities, or not over-rigid, either in revising obsolete Customs, or imposing new, there would be far less Cause of Schism, or Superstition; and all the Inconvenience were likely to enufe, would be but this, they should not do yielding a little to the imbecillity of their Inferiors; a thing which St. Paul would never have refused to do: Mean while, whereofsoever falsely or suspected Opinions are made a piece of Church-Liturgy; he that separates is not the Schismatick; for it is alike unlawful to make profession of known, or suspected Falshood, as to put in practice unlawful or suspected Action.

2. Further, we humbly desire that it may be seriously considered, that as our first Reformers out of their great Wildom, did at that time to compose the Liturgy, as to win upon the Papists, and to draw them into their Church-Communion, by varying as little as they well could, from the Romish Forms before in use; so whether in the present Constitution, and State of Things amongst us, we should not according to the same Rule of Prudence and Charity, have our Liturgy so composed, as to gain upon the Judgments and Affection of all those who in the Substantials of the Protestant Religion are of the same Persuasions with our selves: Inasmuch as a more firm Union and Confent of all such, as well in Worship, as in Doctrine, would greatly strengthen the Protestant Interest against all those Dangers and Temptations which our interline Divisions and Animosities do expose us unto, from the common Adversary.

3. That the Repetitions, and Reponsals of the Clerk and People, and the alternatereading of the Palms and Hymns which cause a confused Murmar in the Congregation, whereby what is read is less intelligible, and therefore unedifying, may be omitted: The Minister being appointed for the People in all publick Services appertaining unto God and the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, intimating the Peoples Part in publick Prayer to be only with Silence and Reverence to attend thereunto, and to declare their Confent in the Cloze, by saying Amen.

4. That in regard the Litany (though otherwise containing in it many holy Petitions) is so framed, that the Petitions for a great part are uttered only by the People, which we think not to be consonant to Scripture, which makes the Minister the Mouth of the People to God in Prayer, the Particulars thereof may be composd into one solemn Prayer to be offered by the Minister unto God for the People.

5. That there be nothing in the Liturgy which may seem to countenancethe Observation of Lent, as a Religious Fast; the Example of Christ's falling Forty Days and Nights, being no more imitable, nor intended for the Imitation of a Chriftian, than any other of his Miraculous Works were, or than Moses his forty Days Fast was for the Jews: And the Act of Parliament, 5 Eliz. forbidding abstinence from Flesh to be observed upon any other than a Politick Consideration, and punishing all those who by Preaching, Teaching, Writing, or open Speeches, shall notifie that the forbearing of flesh, is of any necessity for the saving of the Soul, or that it is the Service of God, otherwise than as other politick Laws are.

6. That
6. That the religious observation of Saints-days appointed to be kept as Holy-days, and the Vigils thereof without any Foundation (as we conceive) in Scripture, may be omitted. That if any be retained, they may be called Feasts, and not Holy-days, nor made equal with the Lord's-days, nor have any peculiar service appointed for them, nor the People be upon such Days forced wholly to abatim from Work, and that the Names of all others now inferred in the Calendar which are not in the first and second Books of Edward the fifthth, may be left out.

7. That the Gift of Prayer, being one special Qualification for the Work of the Ministry bestowed by Christ in order to the Edification of his Church, and to be exercised for the profit and benefit thereof, according to its various and emergent necessity; It is desired that there may be no such imposition of the Liturgy, as that the exercise of that gift be thereby totally excluded in any part of Publick Worship. And further, considering the great Age of some Ministers, and Infirmities of others, and the variety of several Services oft-times concurring upon the same Day, whereby it may be inexpedient to require every Minister, at all times to read the whole; It may be left to the discretion of the Minister, to omit part of it, as occasion shall require: which liberty we find to be allowed even in the first Common Prayer Book of Edward 6.

8. That in regard of the many Defects which have been observed in that Version of the Scriptures, which is used throughout the Liturgy ( manifold Instances whereof may be produced), as in the Epistle for the first Sunday after Epiphany, taken out of Romans 12. 1. Be ye changed in your heart: And the Epistle for the Sunday next before Easter, taken out of Philippians 2. 5. Found in his apparel as a man; as also the Epistle for the fourth Sunday in Lent, taken out of the fourth of the Galatians, Mount Sinai is Agar in Arabia, and bordereth upon the City which is now called Jerusalem. The Epistle for St. Matthew's Day taken out of the second Epistle of Corinth and the 4th. We go not out of Kind. The Gospel for the second Sunday after Epiphany, taken out of the second of John, When Men be drunk. The Gospel for the third Sunday in Lent, taken out of the 11th of Luke, One Hour doth fall upon another. The Gospel for the Annunciation, taken out of the first of Luke, This is the sixth Month which was called barren] and many other places) we therefore desire instead thereof the New Translation allowed by Authority may alone be used.

9. That inasmuch as the holy Scriptures are able to make us wise unto Salvation, to furnish us thoroughly unto all good Works, and contain in them all things necessary, either in Doctrine to be believed, or in Duty to be practised; whereas divers Chapters of the Apocryphal Books appointed to be read, are Charged to be in both respects, of dubious and uncertain Credit: It is therefore desired, that nothing be read in the Church for Lessons, but the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

10. That the Minister be not required to rehearse any part of the Liturgy at the Communion-Table, save only those parts which properly belong to the Lord's Supper; and that at such times only when the said holy Supper is administered.

11. That as the Word (Minister) and not Priest, or Curate, is used in the Absolution, and in divers other places; it may throughout the whole Book be so used instead of those two Words; and that instead of the Word Sunday, the Word Lord's-day, may be every where used.

12. Because singing of Psalms is a considerable part of publick Worship, we desire that the Version yet forth and allowed to be sung in Churches, may be amended, or that we may have leave to make use of a purer Version.

13. That all obsolete Words in the Common-Prayer, and such whole use is changed from their first significance (as Aread) used in the Gospel for the Monday and Wednesday before Easter [Then opened be their Wars] used in the Gospel for Easter Tuesday, &c. may be altered unto other Words generally received, and better understood.

14. That no Portions of the Old Testament, or of the Acts of the Apostles, be called Epistles, and read as such.

15. That whereas throughout the several Offices, the Phrasing is such as prefigures all Perolls (within the Communion of the Church) to be regenerated, converted, and in an actual state of Grace (which, had Ecclesiastical Discipline been truly and vigorously administered, in the Exclusion of scandalous and obstinate Sinners, might be better supposed: But there having been, and still being a confessed want of that (as in the Liturgy is acknowledged) it cannot be rationally admitted in the utmost Latitude of Charity.) We desire that this may be reformed.

16. That
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

16. That whereas orderly Connection of Prayers, and of particular Petitions and Expressions, together with a competent length of the Forms used, are tending much to Edification, and to gain the reverence of People to them. There appears to us too great a neglect of both, of this Order, and of other just Laws, of Method.

particularly.

1. The Collects are generally short, many of them consisting but of one, or at most two Sentences of Petition; and these generally uttered in with a repeated mention of the Name and Attributes of God, and presently concluding with the Name and Merits of Christ; whence are caused many unnecessary Interjections and Abruptions, which when many Petitions are to be offered at the same time, are neither agreeable to Scriptural Examples, nor suited to the Gravity and Seriousness of that Holy Duty.

2. The Prefaces of many Collects have not any clear and special Respect to the following Petitions; and particular Petitions are put together, which have not any due Order, nor evident Connection one with another, nor suited either with the Occasions upon which they are used, but seem to have fallen in rather casually, than from an orderly Contrivance.

It is desired, that instead of these various Collects, there may be one methodical and intire form of Prayer composed out of many of them.

17. That whereas the publick Liturgy of a Church should in reason comprehend the Summ of all such Sins as are ordinarily to be confessed in Prayer by the Church, and of such Petitions and Thanksgivings as are ordinarily by the Church to be put up to God, and the publick Catechims or Syllables of Doctrine, should summarily comprehend all such Doctrines as are necessary to be believed, and these explicitly set down: The present Liturgy as to all these seems very defective.

particularly.

1. There is no preparatory Prayer in our Address to God for Assistance or Acceptance; yet many Collects in the midst of the Worship have little or nothing else.

2. The Confession is very defective, not clearly expressing original Sin, nor sufficiently enumerating actual Sins, with their Aggravations; but consisting only of Generals: Whereas confession being the Exercise of Repentance, ought to be more particular.

3. There is also a great Defect as to such Forms of publick Prayer and Thanksgiving, as are suitable to Gospel-worship.

4. The whole Body of the Common-Prayer also consistseth very much of such Generals: as, (To have our Prayers heard) to be kept from all Evil, and from all Enemies, and all Adversity, that we might do God's Will; without any mention of the Particulars in which these Generals exist.

5. The Catechism is defective as to many necessary Doctrines of our Religion; some even of the Essentials of Christianity not mentioned except in the Creed, and there not so explicit as ought to be in a Catechism.

18. Because this Liturgy containeth the Imposition of divers Ceremonies which from the first Reformation have by learned and pious Men been judged unwarrantable, as

1. That Publick Worship may not be celebrated by any Minister that dare not wear a Surplice.

2. That none may baptize, nor be baptized, without the transient Image of the Cross, which hath at least the Simbance of a Sacrament of human Ininitiation, being used as an ingaging Sign in our first and solemn Covenanting with Christ, and the Duties whereunto we are really obliged by Baptism, being more expressly fixed to that airy Sign than to this holy Sacrament.

3. That none may receive the Lord's Supper that dare not kneel in the act of receiving; but the Minister must exclude all such from the Communion: although such kneeling not only differs from the practice of Christ and of his Apostles, but (at least on the Lord's Day) is contrary to the practice of the Catholic Church for many hundred Years after, and forbidden by the most venerable Councils that ever
ever were in the Christian World. All which Impositions, are made yet more grievous, by that Subscription to their Lawfulness, which the Canon exacts, and by the heavy Punishment upon the Non-ob servance of them which the All of Uniformity inflicts.

And it being doubtful whether God hath given power unto Men, to institute in his Worship such Mystical Teaching Signs, which not being necessary in genre, fall not under the Rule of doing all things decently, orderly, and to edification, and which once granted will upon the same reason, open a door to the Arbitrary Imposition of numerous Ceremonies of which St. Augufine complained in his days; and the things in Controversie being in the Judgment of the Imposers confessedly indifferent, who do not so much as pretend any real Goodness in them of themselves, otherwise than what is derived from their being imposed, and consequently the Imposition ceasing, that will cease also, and the Worship of God not become indifferent without them.

Whereas in the other hand on the Judgment of the Opposers, they are by some held sinful, and unlawful in themselves; by others very inconvenient and unfitable to the Simplicity of Gospel Worship, and by all of them very grievous and burthenome, and therefore not at all fit to be put in balance with the Peace of the Church, which is more likely to be promoted by their removal, than continuance: Considering also how tender our Lord and Saviour himself is of weak Brethren, declaring it much better for a Man to have Milstone hang’d about his neck, and be cast into the depth of the Sea, than to offend one of his little Ones: And how the Apostle Paul ( who had as great a Legislative Power in the Church, as any under Christ ) held himself obliged by that Common Rule of Charity, not to lay a stumbling block, or an occasion of offence before a weak Brother, abusing rather not to eat flesh which the world demands ( though in it self a thing lawful ) than offend his Brother for whom Christ died. We cannot but desire that these Ceremonies may not be imposed on them, who judge such Impositions a Violation of the Royalty of Christ, and an Impeachment of his Laws as insufficient, and are under the holy awe of that which is written, Deut. 12. 22. ( What thing forever I command you, observe to do it ) Thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it ) but that there may be either a total Abolition of them, or at least such a liberty, that those who are unsatisfied concerning their lawfulness or expediency, may not be compelled to the Practice of them, or Subscription to them. But may be permitted to enjoy their Ministerial Function, and Communion with the Church without them.

The rather because these Ceremonies have for above an hundred years been the Fountain of manifold Evils in this Church and Nation, occasioning sad Divisions between Ministers and Ministers, as also between Ministers and People, exposing many Orthodox, Pious, and Peaceable Ministers, to the displeasure of their Rulers, calling them on the edge of the Penal Statutes, to the loss not only of their Livings and Libraries, but also of their Opportunities for the Service of Christ, and his Church ; and forcing People, either to Worship God in such a manner as their own Conferences condemn, or doubt of, or else to forsake our Assemblies, as thousands have done. And no better Fruits than these can be looked for from the retaining and imposing of these Ceremonies, unless we could presume, that all his Majesty’s Subjects should have the same Subtility of Judgment to discern even to a Ceremony, how far the Power of Man extends in the Things of God, which is not to be expected, or should yield Obedience to all the Impositions of Men concerning them, without inquiring into the Will of God, which is not to be desired.

We do therefore most earnestly entreat the Right Reverend Fathers and Brethren, to whom these Papers are delivered, as they tender the Glory of God, the Honour of Religion, the Peace of the Church, the Service of his Majesty in the Accomplishment of that happy Union, which his Majesty hath so abundantly ratified his Desires of, to join with us in importuning his most Excellent Majesty, that his most gracious Indulgence, as to these Ceremonies, granted in his Royal Declaration, may be confirmed and continued to us and our Posterity, and extend to such as do not yet enjoy the Benefit thereof.

19. As to that Passage in his Majesty’s Commission, where we are authorized, and required to compare the present Liturgy, with the most ancient Liturgies which have been used in the Church, in the most purest and primitive Times: We have in Obedience to his Majesty’s Commission, made Enquiry; but cannot find any Records of known Credit, concerning any entire Forms of Liturgy, within the first Three hundred years, which are confessed to be as the most primitive,
Concerning Morning and Evening Prayer.

Rubric.

That Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in the accustomed place of the Church, Chancel, or Chappel; except it be otherwise determined by the Ordinary of the place, and the Chancel shall remain as in times past.

Rubric.

And here is to be noted, that the Minister, at the time of the Communion, and at other times, in his Ministration, shall use such Ornaments in the Church, as were in use by Authority of Parliament, in the Second year of the Reign of Edward the Sixth, according to the Act of Parliament.

Exception.

We desire that the words of the first Rubrick may be expressed as in the Book established by Authority of Parliament 5 & 6 Edw. 6. Thus [the Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in such place of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel, and the Minister shall so turn him, as the People may best hear, and if there be any Controversie therein, the matter shall be referred to the Ordinary.

Exception.

Forasmuch as this Rubrick feemeth to bring back the Cope, Albe, &c. and other Vellments forbidden by the Common Prayer Book, 5 and 6 Edw. 6. and to our Reasons alleged against Ceremonies under our Eighteenth general Exception, we desire it may be wholly left out.

Rubrick.
Rubrick.
The Lords Prayer after the Absolution ends thus, Deliver us from Evil.

Rubrick.

And at the end of every Psalm throughout the year, and likewise in the end of Benedicibus, Benedicite, Magnificat, & Nunc Dimitis, shall be repeated, Glory to the Father, &c.

Rubrick.
In such places where they do sing, there shall the Lessons be sung, in a plain Tune, and likewise, the Epistle and Gospel.

Rubrick.
Of this Canticle, Benedicite omnia opera.

Rubrick.
From all Fornication, and all other deadly sin.

Rubrick.
From Battel, and Sudden, and Sudden Death.

Rubrick.
That it may please thee to preserve all that travel by land or by water, all women labouring with child, all sick persons, and young children, and to new thy pity upon all prisoners and captives.

Rubrick.

The Collect on Christmas Day.

A Lnighty God, which had given us the only begotten Son, to take our Nature upon him, and this day to be born of a pure Virgin, &c.

Exception.
We desire that these words, For thine is the Kingdom, the power and the glory for ever and ever, Amen. May be always added unto the Lords Prayer; and that this Prayer may not be enjoined to be so often used in Morning and Evening Service.

Exception.

By this Rubrick, and other places in the Common Prayer Books, the Gloria Patri, is appointed to be said six times ordinarily in every Morning and Evening Service, frequently eight times in a Morning; sometimes ten, which we think carries with it at least an appearance of that vain repetition which Christ forbids; for the avoiding of which appearance of evil, we desire it may be used but once in the Morning, and once in the Evening.

Exception.
The Lessons, and the Epistles, and Gospels being for the most part neither Psalms nor Hymns, we know no warrant why they should be sung in any place, and conceive that the distinct Reading of them with an audible voice, tends more to the Edification of the Church.

Exception.
We desire that some Psalm or Scripture Hymn may be appointed instead of that Apocryphal.

In the Litanies.

Exception.

I n regard that the wages of sin is death; we desire that this Clause may be thus altered, From Fornication, and all other beinones, or grievous sins.

Exception.

Because this Expression of sudden death hath been so often excepted against, we desire, if it be thought fit, it may be thus read, From battel and marther, and from dying suddenly, and unprepared.

Exception.
We desire the term (All) may be advised upon, as seeming liable to just Exceptions, and that it may be considered, whether it may not better be put indefinitely, those that travel, &c., rather than universally.

Exception.

We desire that in both Collects the word (This day) may be left out, it being according to vulgar acceptation a Contradiction.

Rubrick.
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Rubrick.

Then shall follow the Collect of the Nativity, which shall be said continually unto New-years-day.

The Collect for Whitsunday.

Rubrick.

God which upon this day, &c.

Rubrick.

The same Collect to be read on Monday and Tuesday in Whitsunweek.

Rubrick.

The two Collects for St. John's day, and Innocents, the Collects for the first day in Lent, for the fourth Sunday after Easter, for Trinity Sunday, for the fifth and twelfth Sunday after Trinity, for St. Luke's day, and Michaelmas day.

The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper.

Rubrick.

God as intend to be partakers of the holy Communion shall signify their Names to the Curate over-night, or else in the morning before the beginning of Pointing Prayer, or immediately after.

Rubrick.

And if any of these be a notorious evil doer, the Curate having knowledge thereof, shall call him, and advertise him that he be absent to the Lord's Table.

Rubrick.

Then shall the Priest rehearse distinctly all the ten Commandments, and the People kneeling, shall after every Commandment ask God’s mercy for transgressing the same.

Exception.

We desire that these Collects may be further considered and debated, as having in them, divers things that we judge fit to be altered.

Exception.

We desire that the times here assigned for notice to be given to the Minister, is not sufficient.

Exception.

We desire the Ministers power both to admit and keep from the Lord's Table, may be according to his Majesty's Declaration, 25 Octob. 1660. in these words, The Minister shall not admit none to the Lord's Supper, till they have made a credible Profession of their Faith, and promised Obedience to the Will of God, according as is expressed in the Confessions of the Rubrick, before the Catechism, and that all possible diligence be used for the Instruction and Reformation of Scandalous Offenders, whom the Minister shall not suffer to partake of the Lord's Table, until they have openly declared themselves to have truly repented and amended their former naughty lives, as is partly expressed in the Rubrick, and more fully in the Canons.

Exception.

We desire,

1. That the Preface, prefixed by God himself to the ten Commandments, may be restored.

2. That the fourth Commandment may be read, as in Exod. 20. Deut. 5. He blessed the Sabbath day.

3. That neither Minister nor People may be enjoined to kneel more at the reading of this than of other parts of Scripture.
Rubrick.

After the Creed, if there be no Sermon, shall follow one of the Homilies already set forth, or hereafter to be set forth by common Authority.

After such Sermon, Homily, or Exhortation, the Curate shall declare, &c. and earnestly exhort them to remember the Poor, laying one or more of these sentences following.

Then shall the Churchwardens, or some other by them appointed, gather the Devotion of the People.

Exhortation.

We be come together at this time to feed at the Lord's Supper, unto the which in God's behalf I bid you all that be here present, and beseech you for the Lord Jesus Christ take that ye will not refuse to come, &c.

The way and means thereto is first to examine your Lives and Conversations, and if ye shall perceive your offences to be such as be not only against God, but also against your Neighbours, then ye shall reconcile your selves unto them, and be ready to make Reconciliation and Satisfaction.

And because it is requisite that no man should come to the holy Communion, but with a full trust in God's mercy and with a quiet Conscience.

Before the Confession.

Then shall this general Confession be made in the name of all those that are minded to receive the holy Communion either by one of them, or else by one of the Ministers, or by the Priest himself.

Before the Confession.

Then shall the Priest or the Bishop (being present) stand up, and turning himself to the people say thus:

Before the Preface on Christmas day, and 7 days after.

Because thou didst give Jesus Christ thine only Son to be born as this Day for us, &c.

Exception.

We desire, that the Preaching of the Word may be strictly enjoined, and not left so indifferent at the Administration of the Sacraments, as also that Ministers may not be bound to those things which are as yet but future and not in being.

Two of the Sentences here cited are Apocryphal, and four of them more proper to draw out the Peoples Bounty to their Ministers, than their Charity to the Poor.

Collection for the Poor may be better made at or a little before the departing of the Communicants.

If it be intended that these Exhortations should be read at the Communion, they seem to us to be unreasonalbe.

We fear this may discourage many from coming to the Sacrament, who lye under a doubting and troubled Conscience.

We desire it may be made by the Minister only.

Exception.

The Minister turning himself to the People is most convenient throughout the whole Ministration.

Firft, We cannot peremptorily fix the Nativity of our Saviour to this or that day particularly: Secondly, it seems incongruous to affirm the Birth of Christ

Upon
Upon Whitsunday, and six days after.

According to those most true promises the Holy Ghost came down this day from Heaven.

Prayer before that which is at the Consecration.

Grant us that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his Body, and our Souls washed through his most precious Blood.

Prayer at the Consecration.

Dear and merciful Father, &c. who in the same night that he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave to his Disciples, saying, Take, eat, &c.

Rubrick.

Then shall the Minister first receive the Communion in both kinds, &c. and after deliver it to the people in their hands kneeling; and when he delivereth the bread, he shall say, The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting Life, and take and eat this in Remembrance, &c.

Rubrick.

And note, that every Parishioner shall Communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Easter to be one, and shall also receive the Sacraments and other Rites, according to the Orders in this Book appointed.

And we desire that the following Rubrick in the Common-Prayer-Book in 7 and 8 Edw. established by Law as much as any other part of the Common-Prayer-Book, may be restored for the vindicating of our Church in the matter of Kneeling at the Sacrament (although the Gelture be left indifferent) ["Although no order can be to perfectly deviled, but it may be of some, either for their Ignorance and Infirmary, or else of Malice and Obstinity, misconstrued, deprav'd, and interpreted in a wrong part; and yet, because brotherly Charity willeth that so much

and the descending of the Holy Ghost to be on this day for seven or eight days together.

We desire, that whereas these Words seem to give a greater efficacy to the Blood than to the Body of Christ, they may be altered thus, That our sinful souls and bodies may be cleansed through his precious Body and Blood.

We conceive that the manner of the confecrating of the Elements is not here explicit and distinct enough, and the Minister's breaking of the Bread is too much as mentioned.

We desire, that at the Distribution of the Bread and Wine to the Communicants, we may use the Words of our Saviour as near as may be, and that the Minister be not required to deliver the Bread and Wine into every particular Communicants hand, and to repeat the words to each one in the singular number, but that it may suffice to speak them to divers jointly, according to our Saviour's Example.

We also desire, that the Kneeling at the Sacrament (it being not that Gelture which the Apollines used, though Christ was personallly present amongst them, nor that which was used in the purest and primitive times of the Church) may be left free, as it was 1. and 2. E D IV. As touching Kneeling, &c. they may be used or left as every Mans Devotion serueth, without blame.

Exception.

Forasmuch as every Parishioner is not duly qualified for the Lord's Supper, and those habitually prepared are not at all times actually disposed, but many may be hindered by the Providence of God, and some by the Distemper of their own Spirits; we desire this Rubrick may be either wholly omitted, or thus altered: Every Minister shall be bound to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at least thrice a year, provided there be a due number of Communicants manifesting their Desires to receive.  

67
as conveniently may be, Offences should be taken away, therefore are we willing to do the same. Whereas it is ordained in the Book of Common Prayer, in the Administration of the Lord's Supper, that the Communicant kneeling should receive the holy Communion, which thing being well meant for a signification of the humble and grateful Acknowledging of the Benefits of Christ given unto the worthy Receivers, and to avoid the prophanation and disorder which about the holy Communion might else ensue, left yet the same Kneeling might be thought or taken otherwise, We do declare, that it is not meant thereby that any Adoration is done or ought to be done either unto the Sacramental Bread or Wine, there bodily received, or unto any real or effential Presence there being of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood: For as concerning the Sacramental Bread and Wine, they remain still in their very natural Substances, and therefore may not be adored; for that were Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Chriflians: and as concerning the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, they are in Heaven, and not here, for it is against the Truth of Christ's natural Body to be in more places than in one at one time.

Of Publick Baptism.

There being divers Learned, Pious, and Peaceable Ministers, who not only judge it unlawful to Baptize Children, whose Parents both of them are Atheifts, Infidels, Heretics, or Unbaptized, but also such whose Parents are Excommunicate Persons, Fornicators, or otherwise notorious and scandalous Sinners; We desire they may not be enforced to Baptize the Children of such, until they have made due Profession of their Repentance.

Before Baptism.

Rubric.
Parents shall give notice over night, or in the morning.

Rubric.
And the Godfathers, and the Godmothers, and the people with the Children, &c.

Rubric.
Ready at the Font.

In the first Prayer.

By the Baptism of the Wellbeloved Son, &c. didst sanctifie the Flood Jordan, and all other waters

Exception.

We desire that more timely notice may be given.

Exception.

Here is no mention of the Parents, in whose right the Child is baptized, and who are fittest both to dedicate it unto God, and to covenant for it: We do not know that any Persons, except the Parents, or some others appointed by them, have any Power to consent for the Children, or to enter them into Covenant. We desire it may be left free to Parents, whether they will have Sureties to undertake for their Children in Baptism or no.

Exception.

We desire it may be so placed as all the Congregation may bell see and hear the whole Administration.

It being doubtful whether either the Flood Jordan, or any other Waters were sanctified to a Sacramental Use, by
to the Mystical washing away of Sin, &c.

The third Exhortation.

Do promise by you that be their Sureties.

The Questions.

Doest thou forsake, &c.
Doest thou believe, &c.
Wilt thou be Baptized, &c.

The second Prayer before Baptism.

May receive remission of Sins by spiritual Regeneration.

In the Prayer after Baptism.

That it hath pleased thee to regenerate this Infant by thy holy Spirit.

After Baptism.

Then shall the Priest make a Cross, &c.

We know not by what right the Sureties do promise and answer in the Name of the Infant: it seemeth to us also to countenance the Anabaptistical Opinion of the necessity of an actual Profession of Faith and Repentance in Order to Baptism. That such a Profession may be required of Parents in their own Name, and now solemnly renewed when they present their Children to Baptism, we willingly grant: but the asking of one for another is a Practice whole warrant we doubt of; and therefore we desire that the two first Interrogatories may be put to the Parents to be answered in their own Names, and the last propounded to the Parents or Pro-parents thus, 

Will you have this Child Baptized into this Faith?

This expression seeming inconvenient, We desire it may be changed into this; 

May be regenerated and receive the Remission of Sins.

Concerning the Cross in Baptism, we refer to our 18th General.

Of Private Baptism.

We desire that Baptism may not be administered in a private place at any time, unless by a lawful Minister, and in the presence of a competent Number: That where it is evident that any Child hath been baptized, no part of the Administration may be repeated in publick, under any Limitations: And therefore we see no need of any Liturgy in that Case.
Of the Catechism.

14 Quest. How many Sacraments hath Christ ordained, &c.?

Ans. Two only, as generally necessary to Salvation.

19 Quest. What is required of Persons to be Baptized?

Ans. Repentance, whereby they forsake sin; and Faith, whereby they heartily believe the Promises of God, &c.

20 Quest. Why then are Infants baptized when by reason of their tender Age they cannot perform them?

Ans. Yes: they do perform by their Sureties, who promise and vow them both in their Names.

In the general we observe, That the Doctrine of the Sacraments which was added upon the Conference at Hampton-Court, is much more fully and particularly delivered than the other parts of the Catechism, in short, Answers fitted to the memories of Children, and thereupon we offer it to be considered:

First, Whether there should not be a more distinct and full Explication of the Creed, the Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer.

Secondly, Whether it were not convenient to add (what seems to be wanting) somewhat particularly concerning the Nature of Faith, of Repentance, the two Covenants, of Justification, Sanctification, Adoption, and Regeneration.

Of the Rehearsal of the Ten Commandments.

10 Ans. My Duty towards God is to believe in him, &c.

Exception.

We desire these three first Questions may be altered; considering that the far greater number of Persons Baptized within these Twenty years last past, had no Godfathers or Godmothers at their Baptism: The like to be done in the seventh Question.

We conceive it might be more lively expressed thus; Whereas I was visibly admitted into the number of the Members of Christ, the Children of God, and the Heirs (rather than Inheritors) of the Kingdom of Heaven.

We desire that the Commandments be inferred according to the New Translation of the Bible.

In this Answer there seems to be particular respect to the several Commandments of the first Table, as in the following Answer to those of the second. And therefore we desire it may be advised upon, whether to the last word of this Answer may not be added [particularly on the Lord's day] otherwise there being nothing in all this Answer that refers to the fourth Commandment.

That these words may be omitted, and Answer thus given; Two only, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

We desire that the entering Infants into God's Covenant may be more warily expressed, and that the words may not seem to found their Baptism upon a really actual Faith and Repentance of their own; and we desire that a promise may not be taken for a performance of such Faith and Repentance: and especially, that it be not affirmed, that they perform these by the promise of their Sureties, it being to the Seed of Believers that the Covenant of God is made; and not (that we can find) to all that have such believing Sureties, who are neither Parents nor Pro- parents of the Child.
Of Confirmation.

The last Rubrick before the Catechism.

A lthough we charitably suppose the meaning of these words was only to exclude the necessity of any other Sacraments to baptized infants; yet these words are dangerous as to the misleading of the Vulgar, and therefore we desire they may be expunged.

Rubrick after the Catechism.

We conceive that it is not a sufficient qualification for Confirmation, that Children be able memoriter to repeat the Articles of the Faith, commonly called, the Apostles Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and to answer such other Questions of this short Catechism, as then shall be brought to the Bishop, &c. and the Bishop shall Confirm them.

the third Reason of the first Rubrick before Confirmation, concerning the usage of the Church in times past, ordaining that Confirmation should be ministr'd unto them that were of perfect Age, that they being instructed in the Christian Religion, should openly profess their own Faith, and promise to be obedient to the Will of God. And therefore (3dly), we desire that none may be Confirmed but according to his Majesty's Declaration, viz. That Confirmation be rightly and solemnly performed by the Information, and with the Consent of the Minister of the place.

Rubrick after the Catechism.

This seems to bring in another sort of Godfathers and Godmothers, besides those made use of in Baptism; and we see no need either of the one, or the other.

The Prayer before the Imposition of Hands.

This supposeth that all the Children who are brought to be confirmed, have the Spirit of Christ, and the forgiveness of all their sins: Whereas a great number of Children at that Age, having committed many sins since their Baptism, do show no Evidence of serious Repentance, or of any Special Saving Grace: And therefore this Confirmation (if administered to such) would be a perillous and gross Abuse.

Rubrick before the Imposition of Hands.

This seems to put a higher value upon Confirmation, then upon Baptism or the Lord's Supper; for according to the Rubrick and Order in the Common-Prayer-Book, every Deacon may Baptize, and every Minister may consecrate and administer the Lord's Supper, but the Bishop only may Confirm.
The Prayer after Imposition of Hands.

We make our humble Supplications unto thee for these Children; upon whom, after the Example of the Holy Apostles, we have laid our Hands, to certify them by this Sign of thy Favour and gracious Goodness towards them.

We desire that Imposition of Hands may not be made as here it is, a Sign to certify Children of God's Grace and Favour towards them, because this seems to speak it a Sacrament, and is contrary to that fore-mentioned 25th Article, which faith, That Confirmation hath no visible Sign appointed by God.

The last Rubrick after Confirmation.
None shall be admitted to the holy Communion, until such time as he can say the Catechism, and be confirmed.

**Of the Form of Solemnization of Matrimony.**

The Ban shall give the Woman a Ring, &c.—shall surety perform and keep the N o w and Covenant betwixt them made, whereof this Ring given and received is a Token and Pledge, &c.

The Ban shall say, With my Body I thee worship.

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Till Death us depart.

Rubrick.

Then the Minister or Clerk going to the Lord's Table, shall say or sing this Psalm.

Next Rubrick.

The Psalm ended, and the Ban and the Woman kneeling before the Lord's Table, the Priest standing at the Table, and turning his face, &c.

We desire that the Practice of the Apostles may not be alleged as a ground of this Imposition of Hands for the Confirmation of Children, both because the Apostles did never use it in that Case, as also because the Articles of the Church of England declare it to be a corrupt imitation of the Apostles practice, Acts 25.

We desire that Confirmation may not be made so necessary to the Holy Communion, as that none should be admitted to it unless they be confirmed.

Seeing this Ceremony of the Ring in Marriage is made necessary to it, and a signifi cant Sign of the Vow and Covenant betwixt the Parties; and Romish Ritualists give such Reasons for the Use and Institution of the Ring, as are either frivolous or superstitious. It is desired that this Ceremony of the Ring in Marriage may be left indifferent, to be used or forborne.

This word [w o r s h i p] being much altered in the Use of it since this Form was first drawn up; We desire some other word may be used instead of it.

These words being only used in Baptism, and herein the Solemnization of Matrimony, and in the Abolition of the Sick; We desire it may be considered, whether they should not be here omitted, lest they should seem to favour those who count Matrimony a Sacrament.

This word [depart] is here improperly used.

Exception.

We conceive this Change of Place and Pouture mentioned in these two Rubricks is needless, and therefore desire it may be omitted.

Collect.
Of the Order for the Visitation of the Sick.

Rubrick before Absolution.
Here shall the sick Person make a special Confession, &c., after which Confession the Priest shall absolve him after this sort: Our Lord Jesus Christ, &c., and by his Authority committed to me, I absolve thee.

Exception.

Ofasmuch as the Conditions of sick Persons be very various and different, the Minister may not only in the Exhortation, but in the Prayer also be directed to apply himself to the particular Condition of the Person, as he shall find most suitable to the present occasion, and that the Absolution may only be recommended to the Minister to be used or omitted as he shall see occasion.

That the Form of Absolution be: Declarative and Conditional, as [I pronounce thee absolved] instead of [I absolve thee] if thou dost truly repent and believe.

Of the Communion of the Sick.

Rubrick.
But if the sick Person be not able to come to Church, yet is desirous to receive the Communion in his House; then he must give knowledge over-night, or else early in the Morning, to the Curate, and having a convenient place in the sick Man's House, he shall there administer the Holy Communion.

Exception.

Consider, that many sick persons either by their ignorance or vicious Life, without any evident manifestation of Repentance, or by the Nature of the Disease disturbing their Intellectuals, be unfit for receiving the Sacrament. It is propounded, that the Minister be not enjoined to administer the Sacrament to every sick Person that shall desire it, but only as he shall judge expedient.
Of the Order for the Burial of the Dead.

We desire it may be expressed in a Rubrick, that the Prayers and Exhortations here used are not for the benefit of the Dead, but only for the Instruction and Comfort of the Living.

First Rubrick.

The Priest meeting the Corps at the Church, shall say, or else the Priest and Clerk shall sing, &c.

We desire that Ministers may be left to use their Discretion in these Circumstances, and to perform the whole Service in the Church, if they think fit, for the preventing of these Inconveniences which many times both Ministers and People are exposed unto by standing in the open Air.

The second Rubrick.

When they come to the Grave the Priest shall say, &c.

Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, of his great mercy to take unto himself the Soul of our dear Brother here departed: We therefore commit his Body to the Ground in sure and certain hope of Resurrection to Eternal Life.

The first Prayer.

We give thee hearty thanks for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our Brother out of the miseries of this untimely world, &c.

That we with this our Brother, and all other departed in the true Faith of thy Holy Name, may have our perfect Confirmation and Bliss.

The last Prayer.

That when we depart this Life, we may rest in him, as our hope is this our Brother both.

These words may not in Truth be said of Persons living and dying in open and notorious sins.

These words cannot be used with respect to those Persons who have not by their actual Repentance given any ground for the hope of their Blessed Eternity.

Of the Thanksgiving of Women after Child-birth commonly called Churching of Women.

The Woman shall come unto the Church, and there shall kneel down in some convenient place near unto the place where the Table stands, and the Priest standing by her, shall say, &c.

In regard that the Women kneeling near the Table is in many Churches inconvenient, we desire that these words may be left out, and that the Minister may perform that service either in the Desk or Pulpit.

Rubrick.

Then the Priest shall say this Psalm 121.

This Psalm seems not to be so pertinent as some other, viz. as Psalm 113. and Psalm 128.

Delph
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

O Lord save this Woman thy Servant.
And Which putteth her trust in thee.

Left Rubrick.
The Woman that comes to give Thanks, must offer the accustomed Offerings.

The same Rubrick.
And if there be a Communion, it is convenient that the receive the Holy Communion.

It may fall out that a woman may come to give thanks for a Child born in Adultery or Fornication, and therefore we desire that something may be required of her by way of Profession of her Humiliation, as well as of her Thanksgiving.

This may seem too like a Jewish Purification, rather than a Christian Thanksgiving.

We desire this may be interpreted of the duly qualified; for a scandalous Sinner may come to make this Thanksgiving.

Thus have we in all humble pursuance of his Majesty's most gracious Endeavours for the publick weal of this Church, drawn up our Thoughts and Desires in this weighty Affair, which we humbly offer to his Majesty's Commissioners for their serious and grave Consideration, wherein we have not the least thought of depraving or reproaching the Book of Common Prayer, but a sincere desire to contribute our Endeavours towards the Healing the Disturbers, and (as soon as may be) reconciling the Minds of Brethren. And inasmuch as his Majesty hath in his gracious Declaration and Commisson mentioned new Forms to be made and fitted to the several Parts of Worship; We have made a considerable progress therein, and shall (by God's assistance) offer them to the Reverend Commissioners with all convenient speed. And if the Lord shall graciously pleasure to give a Blessing to these our Endeavours, we doubt not but the Peace of the Church will be thereby seated, the Hearts of Ministers and People comforted and compos'd, and the great Mercy of Unity and Stability (to the immortal Honour of our most dear Sovereign) bestowed upon us and our Posterity after us.

§ 175. When the Exceptions against the Liturgy were finished, the Brethren read over the Reformed Liturgy which I offered them. At first they would have had no Rubrick or Directory, but bare Prayers, because they thought our Commission allowed it not: That at last they yielded to the Reasons which I gave them, and resolved to take them in. But first to offer the Bishops their Exceptions.

§ 176. At this time was the Convocation chosen: for till now it was deferred. Had it been called when the King came in, the inferior Clergy would have been against the Diocesan and Imposing way: But afterwards many hundreds were turned out that all the old sequestred Ministers might come in. And the Opinion of Reordination being set afoot, all those Ministers, that for Twenty years together, while Bishops were laid aside, had been Ordained without Diocesan, were in many Counties denied any Voices in the Election of Clerks for the Convocation: By all which means, and by the Scruples of abundance of Ministers, who thought it unlawful to have any thing to do in the choosing of such a kind of Assembly, the Diocesan Party wholly carried it in the Choice.

§ 177. In London the Election was appointed to be in Chrift's Church, on the Second day of May (1661). The London Ministers that were not yet ejected, proved the major Vote against the Diocesan Party, and when I went to have joined with them, they sent to me not to come, as they did also to Mr. Calamy, and (without my knowledge) they chose Mr. Calamy and me for London. But they carried it against the other Party but by Three Voices: And the Bishop of London having the power of choosing Two out of Four (or Four out of Six) that are chosen by the Ministers in a certain Circuit, did give us the great use of being both left out, and so we were excused, and the City of London had no Clerk in the Convocation. How should I have been there bair'd, and what a vexatious place should I have had in such a Convocation!

§ 178.
§ 178. The fourth day of May, we had a meeting with the Bishops, where we gave in our Paper of Exceptions to them; which they received.

§ 179. The seventh day of May was a Meeting at Stow-Colledge of all the London Ministers, for the choice of a President and Affiliants for the next Year: where (some of the Presbyterians upon a pistill Scruple absenting themselves) the Dioce-
sine Party carried it, and so got the Possession and Rule of the Colledge.

§ 180. The eighth day of May the new Parliament and Convocation sat down, being confituted of Men fitted and devoted to the Diocesan Interest.

§ 181. On the two and twentieth day of May, by order of Parliament, the Na
tional Vow and Covenant was burnt in the Street, by the Hands of the common
Hangman.

§ 182. When the Brethren came to examine the reformed Liturgy, and had oft
read it over, they past it at last in the same Words that I had written it, fave
only that they put out a few Lines in the Administrifation of the Lord's Supper,
where the Word Offering was used; and they put out a Page of Reasons for Infant
Baptifm, which I had annexed to that Office, thinking it unnecessary; and they
put the larger Litany into an Appendix as thinking it too long; and Dr. Wallis was
defired to draw up the Prayer for the King, which is his Work (being after some-
what altered by us). And we agreed to put before it a short Address to the Bishops,
profefling our readiness in Debates to yield to the shortening of any thing which
should be too long, and the altering of any thing that should be found amis.

§ 183. And because I forefaw what was like to be the end of our Conference,
I defired the Brethren that we might draw up a plain and earnest Petition to the
Bishops, to yield to such Terms of Peace and Concord as they themselves did confefs
to be lawful to be yielded to: For though we are equals in the King's Commiflion,
yet we are commanded by the Holy Ghost, if it be possible, and as much as in us
lifh to live peaceably with all men, Rom. 12. 18. and to follow peace with all men,
Heb. 12. 14. and if we were denied, it would satisfy our Confciments, and justify us before
all the World, much more than if we only disputed for it: However we might
this way have that opportunity to produce our Reasons for Peace, which else we
were not like to have.

§ 184. This Motion was accepted, and I was defired to draw up the Petition,
which I did, and it was examined, and with a Word or two of Alteration confent-
et to.

§ 185. When we met with the Bishops to deliver in thefe Papers, I was required
to deliver them; and if it were poifible, to get Audience for the Petition before
all the Company. I told them, that though we were Equals in the present Work,
and our appointed busines was to treat, yet we were conscious of our Place and Du-
uty, and had drawn up a Petition to them, which, though somewhat long, I humbly
chafed their Confeft that I might read it to them. Some were againft it, and fo
they would have been generally if they had known what was in it; but at last they
yielded to it: But their Patience was never fo put to it by us, as in hearing fo long,
and ungrateful a Petition. When I had read it, Dr. Gimming beginneth a long and
vehement Speech againft it: To which when became to the end, I replied; But
I was interrupted in the midst of my Reply; and was fain to bear it, because they
had been patient (with much ado) fo long before.

§ 186. I delivered them the Petition when I had read it, and with it a fair Copy
of our reformed Liturgy, called [Addifional Forms and Alterations] of theirs. And
they received both; and fo we departed.

Our Laid Writings are too long to be here inserted.

§ 187. After all this, when the Bishops were to have fent us two Papers, one of
their Conceptions how much they would alter of the Liturgy as excepted againft,
and the other of their Acceptance of our offered Forms, or Reasons againft them,
instead of both thefe, a good while after, they fent us fuch a Paper as they did be-
fore, of their Reafonings againft all our Exceptions, without any Abatements or
Alterations at all, that are worth the Naming. Our Brethren seeing what they
were relieved to bring it too, and how unpeacefully they managed the Bufines, did
think best to write them a plain Answer to their Paper, and not to suppress it
as we had done by the Firft. This Task alfo they impofed on me, and I went
out of Town to Dr. Spurgeon's Houfe in Hackney for Retirement, where in eight
Days time I drew up a Reply to their Answer to our Exceptions; and the Bre-
then read it and confented to it; only wished that it had been longer in the lat-
ter end, where I had purposely been brief, because I had been too large in the be-
inning,
ginning, and because Particulars may be answered satisfactorily in a few Words, when the General Differences are fully cleared.

§ 188. By this time our Commission was almost expired, and therefore our Brethren were earnestly desirous of personal Debates with them, upon the Papers put in to try how much Alteration they would yield to: Therefore we sent to the Bishops to desire it of them; and at last they yielded to it, when we had but Ten Days more to treat.

§ 189. When we met them, I delivered them the Answer of their former Papers (the largeness of which I few displeased them) and they received it. And we earnestly preft them to spend the little time remaining in such pacifying Conference as tended to the ends which are mentioned in the King's Declaration and Commission, and told them, that such Dissipats which they had called us to by their manner of Writing, were not the thing which we desired or thought most conducing to those ends.

§ 190. I have reason to think that the Generality of the Bishops and Doctors present never knew what we offered them in the reformed Liturgy, nor in this Reply, nor in any of our Papers, fave thofe few which we read openly to them. For they were put up and carried away, and I conjecture scarce any but the Writers of their Confutations would be at the Labour of reading them over. And I remember in the midst of our last Difputation, when I drew out the short Preface to this laft Reply (which Mr. Calamy wrote, to enumerate in the beginning before their Eyes, many of the grofteft Corruptions which they flily defended and refufed to reform) the Company was more affhamed and silent, than at any thing else that I had faid; by which I perceived that they had never read or heard that very Preface, which was as an Epiffle to themselves: Yea, the chief of them confessed when they bid me read it, that they knew no fuch thing: So that it feems before they knew what was in them, they resolved to reject our Papers, right or Wrong, and to deliver them up to their Contradictors.

§ 191. When we came to our Debates, I first craved of them their Animadversions on our Additions, and Alterations of the Liturgy, which we had put in long before; and that they would tell us what they allowed, or disallowed in them, that we might have the use of them according to the Words in the King's Declaration and Commission. But they would not by any Importunity be intreated at all to debate that, nor to give any of their Opinions about thofe Papers. There were no Papers that ever we offered them that had the Fate of thofe. Though it was there that fome of them thought to have found recriminating matter of Exceptions; yet could we never prevail with them to lay any thing about them in Word or Writing; but once Bifhop Morley told us of their length, to which I answered that we had told them in our Preface, that we were ready to abbreviate any thing which on debate should appear too long; but that the Purity of the Prayers made the ordinary Lord's Day Prayers far shorter than theirs. And since we had given our Exceptions againft theirs, if they would neither by Word nor Writing except against ours, nor yet give their Confent to them, they would not honour their Caufe or Conference. But all could not extort either Debates on that Subject, or any Reprehentions of what we had offered them. Nor have they since this Day, in any of their Writings (which ever I could fee or hear of) laid a Word in way of Exception againft thofe Papers: Yea, when Roger L'Estrange himfelf wrote (according to his manner) a malicious Invective againft our feveral Papers, when they were afterwards printed, he could find little to lay againft our Liturgy, but that we left it to the Liberty of the Minifler in ferveral Cases, to pray [in thefe Words, or to this Senfe]. And is that all the fault (besides the Length forementioned) Did they not know that it belongeth to the Prelates, and not to fuch as we, to deprive Men of their Liberty in praying? If they had defired it, how eafily had it been for them to have defird out that one Clause [or to this Senfe]? and then it had been beyond their Exception. What meafure of Liberty Minifters shall have, it is not we, but they that muft determine.

§ 192. When they had call'd out that part of our defired Conference, our next business was to defire them by friendly Conference, to go over the Particulars which we excepted againft, and to tell us how much they could abate, and what Alterations they could yield to. This Bifhop Reigmonds oft preft them to, and fo did all the rest of us that fpake. But thoy refolutely infifted on it, that they had nothing to do till we had proved that there was any neceffity of Alteration, which we had not yet done; and that they were there ready to anfwer to our Proofs: We urged them again and again with the very Words of the King's Declara-
ration and Commisson, 1. That the ends expressed are [for the removal of all Exceptions and Occasions of Exceptions, and Differences from among our good Subjects,] and [for giving Satisfaction to tender Consciences, and the referring and continuance of Peace and Unity in the Churches.] 2. And the means is [to make such reasonable and necessary Alterations, Corrections, and Amendments therein, as shall be agreed upon to be needful and expedient, for the giving Satisfaction to tender Consciences, and referring and continuing Peace, &c.] We plainly shewed hence that the King apprehend that some Alterations must be made: But the Bishops insisted on two Words [necessary] Alterations, and [such as should be agreed on]. We answered them, That the Word [necessary] hath reference to the Ends expressed, viz. [the satisfying tender Consciences] and is joined with [expedient]: And it strange if when the King hath so long and publicly determined of the End, and called us to consult of the means, we should presume now at last to contradict him, and to determine that the End is self is unnecessary, and consequently no means necessary thereto: What then have we all this while been doing? 2. And when they are called to [agree] on such necessary means, if they will take the Advantage of that Word, to [agree on nothing] that so all Endeavours may be frustrated for want of their Agreement, God and the World would judge between us, who it is that frustrate the King's Commission, and the Hopes of a divided bleeding Church. Thus we continued a long time contending about this Point, [Whether some Alterations be supposed by the King's Declaration and Commission to be made by us? or whether we were anew to dispute that Point?] But the Bishops would have that to be our Task or none; to prove by Disputation that any Alteration was necessary to be made; while they confuted our Proofs. We told them, that the End being [to satisfy tender Consciences and procure Unity] those tender Consciences did themselves profess, that without some Alteration, and that considerable too, they could not be satisfied; and Experience told them, that Peace and Unity could not without it be attainted. But still they said, that none was necessary, and they would yield to all that we proved necessary. And here we were left in a very great Strait: If we should enter upon Dispute with them, we gave up the End and Hope of our endeavours: If we refrained it, we knew that they would boast that when it came to the letting to, we would not do much as attempt to prove any thing unlawful in the Liturgy, nor durst dispute it with them. Mr. Calamy with some others of our Brethren would have had us refuse the Motion of disputing, as not tending to fulfil the King's Commands: We told the Bishops over and over, that they could not choose but know that before we could end one Argument in a Dispute, our time would be expired; and that it could not possibly tend to any Accommodation: And that to keep off from personal Conference, still in a few Days of the Expiration of the Commision, and then to resolve to do nothing but wrangle out the time in a Dispute, as if we were between jeal and earnest in the Schools, was too visibly in the sight of all the World, to defeat the King's Commision, and the Expectations of many Thousands, who longed for our Unity and Peace. But we spoke to the Deaf; they had other Ends, and were other Men, and had the Art to suit the means unto their Ends. For my part, when we saw that they would do nothing else, I per¬fused our Brethren to yield to a Disputation with them, and let them understand that we were far from fearing it, seeing they would give us no hopes of Concord: but withal, first to protest to them, that the Guilt of disappointing his Majesty and the Kingdom, lay not upon us, who defiered to obey the King's Commision, but on them. And so we yielded to spend the little time remaining, in disputing with them, rather than go home and do nothing, and leave them to tell the Court that we durst not dispute with them when they so provoked us, nor were able to prove our Accusations of the Liturgy.

§ 193. When this was resolved on, we spent many Hours with them about the Order of our Disputation: I offered them to spend one half of the time in the Opponors part, it they would promise to do the like the other half of the time, when we had done, that our Disputation might be on equal Terms. They refused this, and answered, That it belonged to us only to argue who were the Accu¬fers, and not at all to them who were on the Defence. I told them it was we that are the Defendants against their Impositions: They command us to do such and such things, or else we shall be excommunicate, silenced, imprisoned, and undone: We defend our selves against this cruelty, by calling upon them to shew their Au¬thority from God for such Impositions: Therefore we still call upon them to prove that God hath authorised them to any such thing: And if they refuse this, they do give up their Caule. We offered first to prove the unlawful¬ness of their Impositions, if
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

if they would afterward prove the lawfulness of them, or their Power to impose them. On these Terms we stood with them about two Days, and they would not yield to prove any thing at all. At last I oft declared to them, that we would do our part, and prove their Impostions unlawful, whether they would do their part or no; but with an open Declaration that we took them for Defectors of their Cause. At last Dr. Pierfon alone undertook that he would dispute for their Part, when we had performed ours, and we accepted of his Undertaking.

§ 194. Upon this, seeing it was to be all done in Writing, the rest of the Commissioners on both Sides did choose three of a Party to manage the Dispute, that the other might withdraw themselves, because they had no more to do. The Bishops chose Dr. Pierfon, Dr. Gunning, and Dr. Sparrow*. The other Side chose Dr. Bates, Dr. Jacobs, and my Self: (for I never medled with the choice of any only I would fain have had Mr. William Miles, Mr. Gibbons, and Mr. Matthew Petr, into the Commission, that I might have had their help in Disputing, because they were very quick, ingenuous Men, and I could not prevail.) The rest of our Brethren presently withdrew, and not a Man of them came near us any more; as supposing it contrary to the Agreement: But the Bishops came (some of them) from day to day; indeed on the second Day they asked whether any more than the Disputants might be present. And I answered them, That we cared not how many of them were present: And after that, others that were not in the Commission asked, whether they might be present; and I told them the fame. So that there came Dr. Perry, Dr. Crowther, and almost the Room full of them (with two or three Scholars and Lay-men, that as Auditors came in with us (Mr. Miles, Mr. Tillotson, &c.)

§ 195. When I began our first Argument, to prove their Impostions sinful, Bishop Cofins was offended at the Word [sinful]; and told me that I condemned all the Churches of Christ, who all of them imposed some Gifture or other, as much as that came to; and what intolerable BOLDNESS was it in us to charge all the Churches of Christ with Sin! I answered him, 1. That many of the reformed Churches did not impose any such thing on their Terms; that is, to reject all from the Miniftiry and Communion that conformed not. 2. It was no Arrogance nor Uncharitableness, to charge all the Church and World with Sin: But he that faith he hath no Sin, is a Lyar: In many things we offend all: It is the Privilege of the Triumphant Church to be without Sin. This they stormed at, and yet could not tell how to deny it. Bishop Lany said, [That unjustified Persons have no Sin, and are no Sinners; because Justification takes it away]. But when I answered him by opening the Nature of Justification, and shewing that it took not away the Sin it self, but the Guilt, which is the Obligation to Punishment, he was confounded, and unfaid all again, and knew not what he faid: I told him that he might fee how near we came to him: I confessed that if the Controversy were but de Nomine, and he took Justification, as some do, for Sanction, or a Change of our Qualities and Actions, then I granted him that it took away Sin it self, but not perfe& 381; and therefore Sin still remained. Here he and some more faid, that no Man before me ever took Justification in any fuch Sence, and they laughed at me: I answered, that I was glad to hear him lay so; for my fear that he Symbolized with the Papifts was abated, now I perceived that he knew not what they held: And Dr. Gunning answered againft him, and faid that the Papifts do fufe the Word. I went on and told him, That I also granted that a Man for a certain Space might be without any Act of Sin; and as I was proceeding, here Bishop Morley interrupted me, according to his manner, with vehemency crying out, what can any Man be for any time without Sin! And he founded out his Aggravations of this Doctrine; and then cryed to Dr. Bates, what fay you Dr. Bates, is this your Opinion? Saith Dr. Bates, I believe that we are all Sinners; but I pray my Lord give him leave to fpeak: I began to go on to the ref of my Sentence, where I left, to shew the Senfe and Truth of my Words; and the Bishop (whether in Pafion or Deign I know not) interrupted me again, and mouthed out the odiousnes of my Doctrine again and again, I attempted to fpeak, and fll he interrupted me in the fame manner: Upon that I sat down and told him, that this was neither agreeable to our Commission, nor the common Laws of Disputation, nor the Civil Ufage of Men in common Converfe, and that if he prohibited me to fpeak, I defired him to do it plainly, and I would defiil, and not by that way of Interruption. He told me, I had fpeaking enough if that were good, for I fpeak more than any one in the Company: And thus he kept me fo long from uttering the ref of my Sentence, that I fat down and gave over, and told him I took it for his Pro-

X x

hibtion
hhibition. At last I let him talk, and spake to those nearer me, which would hear me, and told them, that this was it that I was going to say; 'Tis that I granted Bishop Long, that it was possible to be free from acting Sin for a certain time, that so he might have no matter of Objection against me; and that the Innuances of my Conscience were these: 1. In the time of absolute Infancy. 2. In the time of total Faulty or Madness, as natural Ideots that never had the use of Reason. 3. In the time of a Lethargy, Carus, or Apoplexy, or Epilepsie. 4. In the time of lawful sleep, when a Man doth not so much as dream amiss: And whether any other Innuances might be given, I determined not. But as I talked thus; Bishop Morly went on, talking louder than I, and would neither hear me, nor willingly have me to have been heard. Behind me at the lower end of the Table, spoke Dr. Crowther, and he would confute me, and I defended Dr. Long, in that 'Jeroboam made Israel to Sin: What gather you thence, quoth I, that they had no Sin but that, or never sinned before? He answered ye; and with a little Nonence would defend it, that Israel sinned not till then: When I had proved the contrary to him in the general Acceptation of the Word [Sin]; I told him, if it he took the Word Figuratively, the Genius for a Species, I granted him that they sinned not that Species of Sin, which Jeroboam taught them, which is in the Text emphatically called Sin: If he meant that they sinned no Sin of Idolatry, or no National Sin till then, It was not true, and if it were, it was nothing to our Question, which was about Sin in the General, or indefinitely. He told me they sinned no National Sin till then. I asked him whether the Idolatry, the Unbelief, the Murmuring, &c. by which all the Nation, save Caleb and Joshua fell in the Wilderness, and the Idolatry for which in the time of the Judges the Nation was conquered, and captivated, were none of them National Sin? I give the Reader the Innuance of this Oudious kind of Talk, to shew him what kind of Men we talk with, and what a kind of Talk we had.

§ 196. And a little further touch of it I shall give you: When I beg'd their Compaign on the Souls of their Brethren, and that they would not unnecessarily call so many out of the Ministry and their Communion: Bishop Cofins told me that we threatened them with Numbers, and for his part, he thought the King should do well to make us name them all. A charitable and wise Motion! To name all the Thoofands of England that differed from them, and that had sworn the Covenant, and whom they would after Perference.

§ 197. When I read in the Preface to our Exceptions against the Liturgy [That after twenty years Calamity, they would not yield to that which several Bishops voluntarly offered twenty Years before: (meaning the Corrections of the Liturgy offered by Archbishop Ujler, Archibishop Williams. Bishop Morton, Dr. Prideaux, and many others); Bishop Cofins answered me, That we threatened them with a new War, and it was time for the King to look to us: I had no shelter from the Fury of the Bishop but to name Dr. Hammond, and tell him that I remembered Dr. Hammond infilled on the same Argument, that twenty Years Calamity should have taught Men more Charity, and brought them to repentance and Brotherly Love; and that it is an Aggravation of their Sin to be unmerciful after so long and heavy Warnings from God's Hand: He told me, if that were our meaning, it was all well. And these were the most logical Discourses of this Bishop.

§ 198. Among all the Bishops there was none who had so promis'd a Face as Dr. Sterne the Bishop of Carlisle: He look'd so honestly, and gravely, and soberly, that I scarce thought such a Face could have deceived me; and when I was inventing them not to cast out so many of their Brethren through the Nation, as scripted a Ceremony which they confess'd indifferent, he turn'd to the reft of the Reverend Bishops, and noted me for saying [in the Nation]: He will not say [in the Kingdom] faith he, left be own a King. This was all that ever I heard that worthy Prelate say: But with grief I told him, that half the Charity which became to grave a Bishop, might have suffic'd to have help'd him to a better Expofition of the Word [Nation]: from the Mouths of such who have so lately taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and sworn Fidelity to the King as his Chaplains, and had such Testimonials from him as we have had: and that our case was faid, if we could plea by the King's Commisilion for Accommodation, upon no better Terms, than to be noted as Travstors, every time we used such a Word as the [Nation]; which all monarchical Writers use.

§ 199.
\section*{PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.}

§ 199. Bishop Morley earnestly pleaded my own Book with me (my fifth Difp.) as he had done before the King: And I still told him, I went not from any thing in it. He vehemently aggravated the mischief of Conceived Prayer in the Church, and when I told him that all the Actions of Men would be imperfect, while Men were imperfect, and that the other side also had its inconveniences; he asked me whether I thought the inconveniences of Extempory Prayer were not rather to be avoided, than those of imposed Forms: I told him that we should do our best to avoid the evils or abuse of both: He asked me, how that should be? I answered him, not by disclaiming the use of Forms, or of conceived Prayers, but using both in their proper reasons — And as I was going on, the Company fell into a laughter at me, as if I had spoken for some foolish thing, when I spoke but for that which the Ministers of England have used ever since the Reformation; and that have any Zeal doubte by their allowance to this day, praying Extempore in the Pulpit.

§ 200. I oft made it my earnest request to them, but that we might have our proper turns in speaking, and that we might not interrupt one another, but lay the end: but I could never prevail, especially with Bishop Morley; who, when any thing was spoken which he would not have to be spoken out, would presently interrupt me, and go on in his way. I told them that if they took this Course, I judged all our Conference fruitless to the hearers: for my Speeches were not incoherent, but the end and middle must be joined to the beginning to make up the fence, and that as the END is firft in the intention, but laft in execution, so I usually reserved the chief part of what I had to say to the laft, to which the beginning was but preparatory: And therefore I had rather they forbade me to speak any more, than let me begin, and then not suffer me to go on any further. The Bishop answered that I spake so long, and had so many things, that their memories could not retain them, and should lose the firft if they layed till the laft: and that I spake more than any other: I told him, that as to my speaking more than others, it was my duty, yea to speak as much as all the rest, except when my Brethren gave me that labour. If they thought I spake too much, they would tell me so: And for others, one side was to speak as oft as the other side: if we had continued that they should fill the Room, when we were but Three, and then everyone in the Room should speak as much as one of us, we had made a fair bout of it. I cared not how many of them spake, if they were but willing to be anfwered: But if five of them must speak, and but one of them be anfwered, they would fay that all the rest were unanswerable. And for my length, I told him, that we confented that one of themselves should be always in the Chair, as they had been; and whenever the Chair-man interrupted me, and told me I had spoken long enough, I was willing to be filent (but that was never done): or let us turn the Quarter-Glafl, and fee that one speak no longer than the other; And for the weakness of their memories, I supped they were on equal Terms: It was as hard for us to remember what they laid; and if we could not, we would either take Notes, or ask another, or pass by what we forgot, rather than overthrow all Order in Difcourfe, and speake in Confufion like People in a Fair. And for my part, I thought, that a continued Speech without vain words doth bett fpare time, faying that when I may thus let all the parts of my fence together (when the broken parcels signifie nothing) I can better make known my meaning in a Speech of half a quarter of an hour, than in two days rambling Difcourfes, where Interruptions and Interlocutions tof us up and down from thing to thing, and never let us fee the fence and reafon of each others in that Connexion and Harmony which is its Light and Strength. But all thefe words were cast away; and they had seldom Patience to forbear an Interruption.

§ 201. One learned Doctor behind me (that was no Commissioneer) defired to be heard, as if he had some unanswerable Argument: And it was a Quefition, Whether all that fupped Conformity, whom we pleaded for, were not fuch as had been againft the King? I anfwered him. 1. That the King himfelf had given sufficient Teftimony of many of them. 2. That there is not one Minifter of twenty that we pleaded for that had ever any thing to do in the Wars, or againft the King; moft of them being then Boys at School, or in the University. 3. That Men on both fides had been againft the King. Hereupon Bishop Morley asked me, whether ever I knew a conformable Man for the Parliament, againft the King: Yes, my Lord, quoth I, many a one. Name one, quoth some of them: Yes, a Bishop, yea an Archbifhop, quoth I: At which they all heartenked as at a wonder; Do you not know, quoth I, that the Archbifhop of York, Dr. Williams, sometime Lord Keeper
of England, was a Commander of the Forces for the Parliament in Wales? At which they were silent, and that Argument was at an end.

§ 252. When I told them that if they cast out all the Non-conformists, they would not be tolerable Miniatures to supply the Congregations: Bishop Morley answered that so it was in the late Times, and that some Places had no Miniatures at all, through all those Times of Usurpation: and named Aylesbury, where he knew to have had none upon his own knowledge. I told him that I never knew any such, and therefore I knew there were not many such in England: And if it were so, I hoped that he would not plead for such a Mischief by the Example of the Usurpers. But since, I have enquired of the Inhabitants about Aylesbury, and they unanimously professed that it was notoriously false, and named me the Miniatures that had been there successively, and usually two at once.

§ 253. Also the said Bishop, when I talk of silencing Miniatures for things indiff. told me, That I should remember how we did by them; and that we talk not then as we do. I answered him, That I was confident there was no Man there present that had ever a hand in silencing any of them: For my own part, I had been in Judgment for casting out the utterly Insufficient and notoriously Scandalous, indifferently of what Opinion or Side Bever; but I had publicly written against the silencing or displacing any worthy Man for being against the Parliament: And if it had been otherwise, he should take warning by others. Faults, and not imitate them, and do evil because Cromwell did so.

§ 254. Upon this, Dr. Walton Bishop of Chester said, Indeed Mr. Baxter did write against the Calling of us out: But, Mr. Baxter, did not you say, That if our Churches had no more than bare Liberty, as others had, without the compulsion of the Sword, that none but Drunkards would join in them. I answered, No, my Lord, I did not: I only said, that (as they had been ordered) if they had but equal liberty for Volunteers, they would be like Ale-houses, where many honest Men may come, but the number of worse Comers is so great, as maketh it dishonourable. There is no impeding Men Writings, unless the Book be opened, and the words and context well perused.

§ 255. Dr. Bates urged Dr. Gunning that on the same reasons that they so imposed the Grofs and Surplice, they might bring in Holy Water, and Lights, and abundance of such Ceremonies of Rome, which we have cast out. He answered, Yes, and so I think we ought to have more, and not fewer, if we do well, (or to that fence).

§ 256. They told us of the Antiquity of Liturgies: And I earnestly intreated them to let true Antiquity be imitated by them: and desired any of them to prove that ever any Prince did impose one Form of Prayer or Liturgy, for Uniformity, on all the Churches in his Dominions: Yes, or upon any one Province, or Country under them: Or that ever any Council, Synod, or Patriarch, or Metropolitans, did impose one Liturgy on all the Bishops and Churches under them. I proved to them not only from the instances of and the Church of Naceofiana, but others that every Bishop then chose what Forms he pleased for his own Church. They could deny none of all this: But Antiquity is nothing to them when it makes against them.

§ 257. Towards the end of our Meetings, Bishop Celen, taking the Chair, told us, That a very worthy Person had offered unto his Superiors a Paper containing the way to our Reconciliation, which he thought so reasonable and fit, that he desired us to take them into our Consideration, and to deliver me the Paper. I asked him, from whom he expected an Answer: He said from me: I told him that he might well know that I would enter upon no new Debates, without the Content of my Brethren present, and whether they would meddle in it, and undertake new Work without the Content of our Brethren, who are absent, I could not tell; especially when long and wandering Discourses had already taken up almost all our time. But upon perusal of the Paper, I perceived that it was a cunning Snares for us; but advised our Brethren present that we might promise them an Answer by the next Morning, but only in the name of us three, and that our Brethren absent should not be judged to be concerned in it. This I the rather did, because I perceived it came by the notice of some above us, who would enquire after it, and that an Answer in Writing would be a better Spending of our time, than that rambling Discourse which there we spent it in; where a multitude of Men would needs speak, and yet would be angry if they were answered. The Paper with the Answer is as follows.

The
The Paper offered by Bishop Cosins as from some considerable Person.

A way humbly proposed to end that unhappy Controversie which is now managed in the Church, that the Sore may no longer rankle under the Debate, nor Advantages be got by those that love Division.

1. That the Question may be put to the Managers of the Division, Whether there be any thing in the Doctrine, or Discipline, or the Common Prayer, or Ceremonies, contrary to the Word of God; and if they can make any such appear, let them be satisfied.

2. If not, let them then propose what they design in point of Expediency, and acknowledge it to be no more.

3. Let that then be received from them, and speedily taken into the Consideration and Judgment of the Convocation, who are the proper and authentic Representatives of the Ministry, in whose Judgment they ought to acquiesce in such Matters; and not only so, but to let the People that follow them know that they ought not to disturb the Peace of the Church under the pretence of the Prosecution of Expediency, since the Division of the Church is the great Inexpedient.

The Answer to the foresaid Paper.

Right Reverend, &c.

As it was your design that we should return an Answer to these Three Proposals only in our own Names who are but Three, so we must here protest therefore, that it is not to be taken as the Act of the rest of our Brethren the Commissioners; but as part of the Conference to which we are deputed: And though we are the Managers of the Treaty for Pacification or Agreement, and not the Managers of the Division, and therefore cannot take our selves to be the Persons meant by the Author of the Proposals; yet we are glad to take the opportunity of your invitation, to protest that the principal part of these Proposals is so Rational, Regular and Christian-like, that we not only approve of, but should be fully satisfied (as to the Debates before us) with the great grant of the first alone, and not be wanting in our Duty, according to our Understanding and Ability, in endeavouring to accomplish the Ends of your Desires in thereft: More particularly,

Ad 1st, Though we find by your Papers and Conference that in your own personal Doctrines, there is something that we take to be against the Word of God; and perceive that we understand not the Doctrine of the Church in all things alike, yet we find nothing contrary to the Word of God in that which is indeed the Doctrine of the Church, as it comprehended the Matters of Faith, distinct from Matter of Discipline, Ceremonies and Mores of Worship.

As to Discipline, there was given into his Majesty, before his Declaration came forth, a summary of what we think to be contrary to the Word of God, which we shall more fully give in to you or any others whenever we are again called to it.

For the Common Prayer and Ceremonies we have in our Exceptions and Reply delivered you an Account of what we take to be unlawful and inconvenient: And we humbly crave that our Reasons may be yet impartially considered. At present we shall humbly offer you our Judgment concerning the following Particulars, and protest our readiness to make it good when we are called to it. It is contrary to the Word of God,

1. That no Minister be admitted to Baptize without the prescribed use of the Transient Image of the Cross.
2. That no Miniffer be permitted to read or pray, or exercise the other parts of his Office that dare not wear a Surplice.

3. That none be admitted in Communion to the Lord's Supper, that dare not receive it kneeling: and that all Minifters be enjoined to deny it to fuch.

4. That Minifters be forced to pronounce all baptized Infants to be Regenerate by the Holy Ghost (whether they be the Children of Chriftians or not).

5. That Minifters be forced to deliver the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chrift, unto the unfit, both in their Health and Sickness: and that with personal application putting it into their hands: and that fuch are forced to receive it, though against their own wills, in the Confcience of their Impenfency.

6. That Minifters be forced to Absolve the unfit; and that in absolute Exprefions.

7. That they are forced to give thanks for all whom they bury, as Brethren whom God in mercy hath delivered and taken to himself.

8. That none may be a Preacher that dare not Subcribe that there is nothing in the Common Prayer Book, the Book of Ordination, and the Nine and thirty Articles, that is contrary to the Word of God: These are moft of the things which we judge contrary to the Word of God, which at prefent come to our remembrance. So we humbly defere, that whenever you would have us give you a full enumeration of fuch, we may have leave to confult with the reft of our Brethren, and deliver it to you by our Common Consent. And we humbly crave that all these Points may be taken into ferior Consideration, and thofe of them which we have not yet debated, we are ready to debate and give in our Arguments, whenever we are called to it, to prove them all contrary to the Word of God. And may we be fo happy as to have this Proposal granted us, we shall undoubtedly have Unity and Peace.

Ad 2d, We suppose according to the Laws of diftinguifhing, you speak in this second Proposal of all things fo inexpedient as not to be contrary to the Word of God. Otherwife the greateft Sins may be committed by inexpedienfies: As a Physician may murder a Man by giving him inexpedient Medicines: and a General may defroy his Army by inexpedient ways of Conduct and Defence. And the Paffor may be guilty of the Damnation of his People by Doftines and Applications inexpedient and unfuitable to their nature: And a way of worship may be fo inexpedient as to be finifh'd and loathfom unto God; fuch is the Battology or thinking to be heard for affected Repetitions or Babblings; Pharifical Thank-givings, that Men are better than indeed they are, with abundance fuch like: But suppoing that you here fpeak of no fuch inexpedient things, but fuch as are not contrary to the Word of God, We add,

Ad 3d, We are thankful in fuch Matters we may have leave to make any fuch Propofals as are here mentioned: but we fhall not be forward to bufie ourfelves, and trouble others about fuch little things, without a Special Call: If the Convocation at any time defire an account of our Thoughts about fuch Matters, we fhall readily produce them.

And 1st [acquiefcing in their Judgments in fuch Matters] what we Three do in that point, is but of little Conquence: And for others, leeing the Minifters that we fpeak for, were many Hundreds of them displaced or removed before the advice of the Convocation, and others denied their Votes, because not Ordained by Diocfens, and others not approving the Conftitution of our Convocations durt not meddle in the choice: We cannot tell how far they will think themfelves obliged by the Determination of this Convocation. But this can be no matter of impediment to your Satisfaction or ours: For we are commonly agreed that we are bound in Confcience to obey the King and all his Magiftrates in all lawful things; and with Christian patience to fuffer what he inflicthed on us for not obeying in things unlawful: And therefore while we acquiefce thus far in the Judgment of fome who muft make the Decrees of the Convocation to be civilly obligatory, and the King intendecl to take their Advice before he determine of fuch Matters; It isall one as to the end, as if we direcdy did thus far acquiefce in the Judgment of the Convocation, if the King approve it: But if the King and Parliament diftle or diffollow the Convocation's Judgment (as it is poffible they may have caufe to do) would you have us acquiefce in it, when King and Parliament do not ?

And for the laft part of the Proposal, by God's Affiftance, (if you do not fenience or difable us) we are resolved faithfully to teach the People, that the Direction of the Church is worse than inexpedient; and the Peace of it not to be disturb'd for the avoiding of any fuch inexpedienfies as are not contrary to the Word of God: We,
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

We conclude with the Repetition of our more earnest Request, That thefes wife and moderate Proposals may be profecuted, and all things be abated us which we have proved, or shall prove to be contrary to the Word of God. But if we agree not on those things among our felves according to his Majefly’s Commandment, the World may know we did our parts.

When the Liberty of using the Alterations and Additional Forms which were offered to you according to his Majefly’s Declaration, would end all our Differences about Matters of Worship: And when you have had them in your hands fo long, since you called for them, and have not, notwithstanding the Importance of our Requests, vouchfaded us any Debates upon them, or Exceptions against them, but are pleafed to lay them by in filence; We once more propofe to you, Whether the granting of what you cannot blame, be not now the fhortest and the fureft way to a general Satisfaction.

Note here, That I offered to my Brethren two more Particulars as contrary to the Word of God: which were,

1. That none may have leave in Publick Worship to use a more fuitable orderly way; but all are confined to this Liturgy, which is fo defective and disorderly (which we are even now ready to manifefl if you will receive it.)

2. That none may be a Minifler of the Gospel that dare not subject himself by an Oath of Obedience, to the Diocelans in that State of Government which they exereified in this Land, (contrary to the practice of all Antiquity). These Ten Things I offered as contrary to the Word of God, but the two Brethren with me thought these two laft were better left out, left they occasion new Debates, though they judged them true.

§ 208. When I read and delivered these Papers, the Bishops were much displeafed, that I fhould charge fo many things on the Church as Sins: Where you may note the marbleious oieanty of thofe men, that when they had treated with us fo long, and received fo many large Exceptions and Replies, and in all had heard us open the finfulnefs of their way, they fhould yet imagine that we had accused their way but of inexpedience, and think to gratifie themselves by fuch a poor device. But their main design was to divide us, while they fet us upon diftinguifling all their faults from their inexpeditenes; and they thought that one would take that for inexpedit only, which others took to be fii. And they confidered not that we were now treating what fhould be imposed, and not what fhould be obeyed if it were imposed: and that we would charge Sin upon their Impofitions in many points which might lawfully be done when imposed, rather than to forfake the Churches. And if I did the Church any Service in all thofe Debates, it was principally by ftratifying their evil design, of dividing us; fo that all the Snares that ever they could lay for us, never procured them that advantage, once truly to fay, that we difagreed among ourfelves. For though there were know at a distance, who could not have agreed to all that we did, yet we fo far left them out (though to the difpleafure both of the Prelates and them, that no difcord was found in any of our Propofals or Debates:) which cut none of them more to the heart, than all that elfe we did to their difpleafure.

§ 209. By this time, our frequent crossing of their Expefations, I faw had made fome of the Bishops angry: above all Bifhop Marley, who over-rulled the whole bunfeln, and did interefs himfelf in it deeper than the reft, and was of a hotter Spirit and a readier Tongue. But that which difpleafed them moft was the freedom of my Speeches to them, that is, that I fpake to them as on terms of Equality as to the Calbe; yet with all honourable Titles to their Perfons: For I perceived that they had that eminency of Power and Intereft, that the greateft Lords were glad of their favour, did expect that the prefence of fo many of them fhould have awed us into fuch a silence, or cowardinefs, as fhould have betrayed our Calbe; or at leaft that their Vehemenc, and Paftions, and Interruptions fhould have put us out of Countenance: But I treated them to give us leave, with the due honour of their Perfons, toufe that neceffary liberty of Speech to them, as befeemed fuch as are very confident that they plead for the Calbe of God, and the happiness and healing of a bleeding Church, and that upon the warrant of the King’s Commissi- on: And I muff fay, that though they frowned at my freedom of Speech, they never once accused me of any unmannefier or unreverent Language.
§ 210. When we were going to our Disputation, Dr. Pierce asked whether he that was none of the three deputed by them to that Service, might joyn with the rest: And we told that we cared not how many joyned; the more the better: for if any one of them could see any Evidence of Truth which the rest did overlook, it would redound to our Benefit, who desired nothing but the Victory of Truth.

§ 211. And before he began with them, he would lain have had one bout with me himself: Whereas I moved them to some Chriftian Charity to all thofe Confciencious Chriftians, that were to be put away from the Communion of the Church, if they did but scruple the lawfullness of kneeling in the reception of the Sacrament (though I fill profefl to them that I held it not unlawful myfelf, when the Sacrament could not be otherwife had) Dr. Pierce offered himself to a Disputation, to prove that (let them be never fo many) it is an Act of Mercy to put them all from the Communion of the Church: I easily perceived what advantage his Confidence and Paffion gave me, and I intreated him to try his skill, but his Brethren would not give him leave: I earnestly entreated them to give him leave but to try one Argument, but I could not prevail with them; being wiser than touffer his Paffion to expose their Caufe to Laughter and Contempt: But yet he could not forbear to call out his medium, and tell us how he would have argued; viz. That they that receive the Sacrament, being in judgment againft kneeling in the Act of Receiving, do receive it Schifmatically, and fo to their own Damnation: Ergo it is an Act of Charity to keep them from the Communion of the Church. Where note, That our Dispute was only whether the Legislators fhould by Laws or Canons keep them away, and not whether a Paffor, fuppofing fuch Laws exiftent, should keep them away: And therefore by making it damnable Schifm anteceudently to our Laws, he muft needs mean that fome Foreign Laws (of General Councils) do prove it Schifm, or else the Custom of the Universal Church. And as to the firft, I did at large there prove that the Twentieth Canon of the Council at Nice, and the Council Trull. and the moft ancient Writers, do unanimously, decreas againft kneeling, and make it univerfally unlawful (and that by Apofolical Tradition) to adore kneeling [on any Lord's Day in the Year, and on any other Day between Easter and Whifunday; and that no General Council hath revered this, till near Difufe and contrary Custom did it. And for Custom, the Protestant Churches concur not in that Custom, nor are they Schifmatics for differing from the Papifts and others that do fo: nor is it better for them all to be without any Church Communion, than not to kneel in the Act of Receiving: Nor do the Papifts themselves make every Man a Schifmattick that followeth not the Custom of their Church in every particular Gellure, unless he separate from their Church itfelf; much lesf do they pronounce Damnation on all fuch. But if it were the Law of our own Land or Church which he thought made it Schifm, then he might as well have fo argued for fittin or standing, and againft kneeling, viz. [That it is Charity to make a Laws to keep all from Church Communion that will kneel, because when fuch a Law is made, it is damnable Schifm to kneel]. But the very truth is, I perceived too little Compassion to Souls in the zealof and fwaying Managers of thofe Controversies, and fo little regard of the Scruples and Tenderness of Godly People who were afraid of Sinning, as that I feared thought among Protestant there had been any fuch. Whether they would have abated one Ceremoni if they had had an hundred more, to keep all the Diffcncers in three Nations from being call out of the Miniftry and Church, I know not; but of thofe they have they would not abate one: which made me oft think, that their Spirits are much more like the Papifts than their Formal Worship and Discipline is so much do they agree in deftroying Men for their Opinions and Ceremonies fake: and in Building the Tombs of the Prophets, and over honouring the dead Saints, while they go on to hate and deftroy the living. And it made me oft remember Bishop Hall's Character of an Hypocrite who beweth at the Name of fons, and sweareth by the Name of God, and would let all the World on fire for a Circumfance. And it made me remember what that learned godly Minifter Mr. Spinage hath oft told me, and many others, and is still ready to juftifie upon Oath, that being heretofore familiar with this Mr. Thomas Pierce, and saying once to him; [Three Men that you abhor, are very godly Men, and have much Communion with God;] he brake it into this Anfwer, [A poor on this Communion with God]. And it made me think of Augustine's Description of the forthworlclings, that had far rather there were one Star feuver in heavcn, than one Cow or one Tree the fower in their Grounds; So had these Men rather One thound eight hundred godly faithful Minifters were silenced at once, and a Hundred thousand godly Chriftians kept out of the Churches Communion and perfecuted, than one Ceremony should be call out of the Church,
Church, or left indifferent, or one Line reformed in their Common-Prayer. § 212. But when Dr. Pierce could not have leave to take up his Diligent, he fix upon me with kind Persuasions; and Bishop Harley (and he) first told me, that it was strange I should make such a fit for other Mens Liberty to forbear knelling in the Act of Receiving, when I professed my self to take it to be lawful: I told them that they might perceive then, that I argued not from Interest and Opinion; but from Charity, and for Love and Peace. They told me that it was we that had filled the Peoples Heads with thed Scruples, and then when we should dispossesl them of them, we pleaded for their Liberty: If I would but reach the People better, they would quickly be brought to Obedience, and would need no Liberty. I told the Bishop, that he was much mistaken, both in laying that we put thee Scruples into their Heads, and in thinking that my Power with them was so great, as that I alone could preach them out. He reply'd with great Confidence, that if I would but endeavour in good earnest to satisfy them, they would quickly be satisfied. I told him that he had both before the King, and here, declared that no Man had written better about the Ceremonies than I had; and had produced my Book: and therefore I thought he confuted himself: For I wrote that Book before the King came in, even in the heat of the Nations Zeal against Ceremonies; and how then is it like, that I put those Scruples into their Heads when I wrote against them? And I thought Writing was the publickest manner of Teaching, where I spake to many thousands who could never hear my Voice: How then could he say that I wrote so well, and yet did not reach the People what I wrote? But I told him that he must pardon me, that in the Pulpit I found greater matters to do than to preach for Ceremonies, and could never think that such kind of preaching tended most to the laying of Mens Souls. And I many times told him and the rest, that I perceived that it was like to be a great Wrong to us, and a greater to themselves and the Kingdom, that they still thinly imagined our Power to be greater with the People than it is, and that they think we could reduce them at our Pleasure to Conformity, when it is no such matter; and that they imagin that the Godly People who differ from them, do pin their Religion so absolutely on our Sleeves, and take up all their Opinions on trust from us: Whereas I affured him, that he will find by Experience that so many of them know why they hold what they hold, and do it purely for Conscience sake, that if all we should turn and fell against them, there would so many thousands continue in their Opinions, as I would not be a Persecutor of, or excommunicate for more than ever their Lordships will get by it. But the Bishop express'd more confidence still, that I could reclaim them my self if I were but willing, and that they only followed the Opinions of their Teachers. I intreated him again to tell me, why then they did not follow my Opinion which he himselfe faith I have published in Print. Hereupon Dr. Pierce would needs lovingly desire that he and I might go about the Country and preach People to Conformity, and he did not doubt but they would quickly be reduced. I told him that for his part, I knew not how powerful his preaching might be, but I could expect no such Succes of mine; and I marvilled why he had not recovered all the Country before this Day, having had so many Years time to have gone about and preach them to Conformity, if he would have used it. He answered, that he had recovered all his own Parish. I told him, That if he had done so by all others, there would have been no need of all this Trouble: But I often told the Bishop and him, that they knew that though I took not knelling to be unlawful, yet I took their Subscripions and Oath of canonical Obedience, and other things to be unlawful; and I perceived that they intended no Abatements, and consequently that they intend the silencing of me, and all that are of my Mind (for all their Commendation of my Writing on that Subject:) And I ask'd them then, how I can go about to preach for them, when they have first silenced me? Or if they would be so favourable to forbear me till I had done preaching for their Ceremonies, it was but an odd kind of motion for them to make [some preach for our Ceremonies so long, and then you shall never preach more;] and an odd Employment, for me to undertake, to go about to persuade People to obey them in a Ceremony or two, that are intended when that is done, to forbid me and others to preach the Gospel, and the People to enjoy their Peace upon other Accounts; and no doubt to call us Schismatics when they do it. This Speech they were offended at, and said, that I ought to make them odious, by representing them as cruel, and Persecutors, as if they intended to silence and cast out so many. And it was one of the greatest matters of Offence against me, that I foreknew and foretold them, what they were about to do. They said, that this was but to stir up the Fears of the People, and cause them to
disaffected the Government, by talking of silencing us, and casting out the People from Communion. I told them that either they do intend such a Course or not: If they do, why should they think us criminal for knowing it? If not, what need had of all these Disputes with them? which were only to persuade them not to call out the Ministers and the People on these Accounts. And it was but a few Weeks after this that Bishop Morley himself did silence me, forbidding me to preach in his Diocese, who now took it to heinously that I did foretell it: Yet, because the Heaters knew not what would be, their Party justified them, and concurr'd in confuring me as uncharitable for speaking so hardly of them, and this maketh me remember that thus I have formerly been blamed by all, whose Miscarriages I foretold: When I told many both of the Parliament and Country, what the Army did intend to do against them, and many others more particularly foretold it, the Army was angry with (them and me), and accused us of making them odious by our Slanders (and call out many Members of the Parliament on that Pretence); and yet within a few Weeks they did the very things that we foretold: So unanimous are all Men that have ill Deligns, in going the same way to their Accomplishment; and so dangerous is it to foreknow what cruel Men are about to do.

§ 213. You have had the Substance of our wandering Difcourses; you are next to have our as unprofitable Disputes: In which all was to be managed in Writing ex tempore, by Dr. Pearson, Dr. Gunning, and Dr. Sparrow, with Dr. Pierce on one side; and Dr. Bates, Dr. Jacomb, and my self on the other side; we withdrawing into the next Room, and leaving the Bishops and them together, while we wrote our part: And we began with the Imposition of Kneeling, upon two Accounts, (though I took theGEsture it fell as lawful) 1. Because I knew I had the fullest Evidence, and the greatest Authority of Antiquity or Church-Law and Custom against them. 2. Because the Penalty is so immediate and great (to put all that kneel not, from the Communion): And it was only the Penalty, and to the Imposition on that Penalty, which we disputed against.

Our Arguments.

§ 214. Oppon. Arg. 1. To enjoin all Ministers to deny the Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament on the Lord's Day is sinful.

But the Common-Prayer-Book and Canons enjoin all Ministers to deny the Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament on the Lord's Day.

Ergo the Common-Prayer-Book and Canons, do (or contain) that which is sinful.

1 Resp. Not granting nor denying the Major, in the first place prove the Minor.

Oppon. We prove both: 1. Prob. Minor. To enjoin Ministers to deny the Communion to Men, because they dare not go against the Practice of the Apostles, and the universal Church for many hundred Years after them, and the Canons of the most venerable Councils is sinful.

But to enjoin Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament on the Lord's Day, is to enjoin them to deny Communion to them, because they dare not go against the Practice of the Apostles, and the universal Church for many hundred Years after them, and the Canons of the most venerable Councils.

Ergo, To enjoin all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament on the Lord's Day is sinful.


1 Resp. The Minor (viz. as to the Common-Prayer-Book, of which the Proof must proceed) is not yet proved.

But the Major (which we had not then spoke to, but now do, clearly denying that Major also of the first Syllogism) you prove by the Syllogism brought in which we deny the Minor.

§ 215. Here we told them, That for the Proof of both Propositions denied, the Presence of the Books is necessary, which we designed them to procure us; but they were not fetched. And first we had a large Debate about the Words of the Common-Prayer, [He shall deliver it them kneeling on their Knees]: Dr. Pearson confesed, that the Canons did rejoin them that kneel not, from the Communion; but these Words of the Common-Prayer-Book do not: But they only include kneelers, but exclude not others. We answered them, that either the Common-Prayer-Book dare exclude them that kneel not, or it doth not: If it doth, the Proposition is true: If it do not, then we shall willingly let fall this Argument against it, and proceed to another: Therefore I designed them but to tell us openly their own judgment of the Sense of the Book; for we protested to argue against it only on Supposition of the exclusive Sense.
§ 216. Hereupon unavoidably they fell into Discord among themselves: Dr. Pusey, who was to defend the Book, told us his Judgment was, that the Synod was not exclusive: Bishop Morley, who was to defend the Nonconformists, gave his Judgment for the exclusive Sense; viz. That the Melister is to give it to Kneelers, and no others. So that we professed to, That we could not go any further, till they agreed among themselves, of their Sense.

§ 217. And for the other Minor denied, though the Books were not present, I alluded to the 20th Canon Concil. Nican. & Concil. Trull. and Tertullian oft, and Epiphanius, with the common Contempt of ancient Writers, who tell us, it was the Tradition and Cusfoim of the universal Church, not to adore by Genuflexion on any Lord's Day, or on any Day between Easter and Whitsun. Ergo, not fo to adore in taking the Sacrament.

§ 218. Bishop Morley answered, That this was the Custom but only between Easter and Whitsun, and therefore it being otherwise the rest of the Year, was more against us. I answered him, that the mi/look, where a multitude of Evidences might rectify him, it was on every Lord's Day through the Year, that this Adoration by Genuflexion was forbidden: though on other Week-days it was only between Easter and Whitsun.

§ 219. Next he he the rest insisted on it, that these Canons and Customs extended only to Prayer. To which I answered, That the plain words are against them, where some speak of all Adoration, and others more largely of the publick Worship, and offered to bring them full Proof from the Books, as soon as they would give me time. 2. And if it were only in Prayer, it is all one to our Ca$e: For the Liturgy gives the Sacrament with Words of Prayer; and it is the common Argument brought for kneeling, that it is suitable to the conjunct Prayer. And I told them over and over, that Antiquity was so clear in the point, that I desired all might be laid on that, and I might have time to bring them in my Testimonies. But thus that Argument was turned off, and the Evening broke off that part of the Dispute.

The next Days Argument.

§ 220. Oppon. To enjoin Ministers to deny the Communion to such as the Holy Ghost hath required us to receive to the Communion is sinful.

But to enjoin Ministers to deny the Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, is to enjoin them to deny the Communion to such as the Holy Ghost hath required us to receive to the Communion.

Ergo, to enjoin Ministers to deny the Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, is a Sin.

Ref. We deny the Minor.

Oppon. The Holy Ghost hath required us to receive to the Communion, even all the weak in the Faith, who are charged with no greater Fault than erroneously refusing things lawful as unlawful.

But many of those who dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament are (as the world) yet weak in the Faith, and charged with no greater Fault, than erroneously refusing things lawful as unlawful.

Ergo, to enjoin Ministers to deny the Communion to all who dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, is to enjoin them to deny the Communion to such as the Holy Ghost hath required us to receive to the Communion.

Ref. We say, This is no true but a fallacious Sylogism, of no due Form: For this Reason, That whereas both Subject and Predicate of the Conclusion ought to be somewhere in the Premises, there neither Subject of the Conclusion (viz. to enjoin Ministers to deny, &c.) nor the Predicate of the Conclusion (viz. is to enjoin them to deny, &c.) are any where found in any part of either of the Premises; so that here are not only quaternio, but quinque termini.

Oppon. You have both Subject and Predicate in the Premises as to the Sense. If you will have each Syllable, take it thus.

If to enjoin Ministers to deny the Communion to Men for no greater Fault than being weak in the Faith, and refusing things lawful as unlawful, be to enjoin them to deny the Communion to such as the Holy Ghost hath required us to receive to the Communion, then to enjoin Ministers to deny the Communion to all, &c.

But to enjoin Ministers to deny the Communion to Men for no greater Fault than being weak in the Faith, and refusing things lawful as unlawful, is to enjoin them to deny the Communion to such as the Holy Ghost hath required us to receive to the Communion.

Ergo, To enjoin, &c. (as in the Minor.)
Ref. We distinguish to that Term [things lawful]: for both things lawful, and by no lawful Power commanded to be done are called such: And also things lawful, and by a lawful Power also commanded to be done, are called such.

If you take things lawful in the former Sense, we deny your Major. If you take things lawful in the latter Sense, we deny your Minor.

Oppon. In Rom. 14. 1, 2, 3, and 15. 1. The Apostle by the Holy Ghost speaking of things lawful and not commanded, yet being himself a Church-Governor, commanded them not, but required even Church-Governors as well as others to receive the Disputers and forbear them, and not to make these the matter of Confence or Contempt. Ergo, the Minor (or Consequence) is good.

Ref. We answer four things: 1. We deny the Consequence of the Emby
mem.

2. Our Discourse proceeding wholly about things lawful and commanded by a lawful Power, they profess to proceed only upon things lawful and not commanded by a lawful Power (in which Sense only of things lawful, and not commanded also, we denied your Major): For they that prove the Major, which was not denied by us but in such a Sense, profess to proceed in that Sense.

3. Rom. 14. 1, 2, 3. speaks of things lawful and not commanded by your Acknowledgment: And we all along have professed to debate about things lawful and also commanded. So that the Text brought by you, is manifestly not to the purpose of this debate.

4. To receive them in Rom. 14, is not forthwith to be understood of immediately receiving to the holy Communion: And for this Reason again that Text makes nothing to prove for their receiving to the holy Communion.

§ 221. When this Answer was given in, it was almost Night, and the Company brake up: And because I perceived that it was hard (especially among such Difficulties) to reduce all in a moral Subject (that must have many Words) to an exact Syllogistical Form to the last, without Confusion; and that the only Advantage they could hope for was to trifle pedantically about the Form of Arguments, I resolved to imitate them in their last Answer, and to take the Liberty of more (Explanatory) Words.

§ 222. The next day I brought in our Reply to their Answer at large, as here followeth.

Oppon. The Syllogisms necessarily growing so long, as that the Parts denied cannot be put verbam in the Conclusions, without offence to those that are leath to read that which is pedantick and obscure, we must contrain the Sense, and divide our Proof.

The Sense of your Answer to the hypothetical Syllogism was, That if we speak of things lawful and not commanded, then you deny [that those that we must deny Communion to are such as the Holy Ghost commanded us to receive, though those were such that are described in the Antecedent]. But if we mean such lawful things as are commanded by lawful Power, then you [deny that those are such as the Holy Ghost required us to receive.

To take away this Answer——If your Definition be frivolous or fallacious, as applied by you in your Answer, and one Branch of it, but a begging of the Question, Then your Answer is vain, and our Argument standeth good. But the Antecedent is true: Ergo, so is the Consequence.

1. It is frivolous and obscure, and rather making than removing ambiguity, and ergo useless. 2. It is obscure: For we know not whether you mean [commanded simply without any Penalty] or [commanded with the enforcement of a Penalty]: [if the latter, whether you mean it of [a Command with such a Penalty as we speak against]] or [some other Penalty]. And whether you mean [commanded by such as have a Lawful Power ad hoc] or [only ad aliud.] Your Definition must necessarily be distinguished of before it can be pertinent, and applied to our Case: Ergo, it is frivolous through obscurity.

If you speak of a Command without Penalty, or with no other Penalty than such as is consistent with [Receiving, not depleting, not Judging, and all the indulgence mentioned in the Text], then your very Definition grants it in the Cause. But if you speak of [a Command with such Penalty as is inconsistent with the said Receiving and other Indulgences], then this Branch of your Definition as applied by you Relp. 2. is but the begging of the Question, it being such Commanding that we are proving to be forbidden by the Text——If there be no Power that may command such things any farther than may stand with the Reception and other Indulgences of the Text, then must you not suppose that any Power may otherwise command them. But the Antecedent is true: Ergo
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

go so is the consequent.——For the Minor, if Paul and the resident Passers of the Church of Rome had no Power to command such things, further than may stand with the said Reception and Indulgences, then no others have such Power. But Paul and the Resident Passers of the Church of Rome had no such Power: Ergo, there are no others that have such. And so your Division being frivolous and fallacious, the Argument stands good.

The Sense of our Entabulature was, that [these things being therefore not commanded, because they ought not to be commanded any further than may stand with the said Reception and Indulgences in the Text, God having there forbidden Men any otherwise to command them; therefore the Consequences stands good, your Division being either imperfect, or granting to the Politulatum, or begging the Question.

And so we have replied to your first Answer.

Ad 2ο. Again if you speak of a simple Command, enforcing no farther than consistent with the foregoing Reception and Forbearance; 1. You grant the thing in question: Or thus 2. If there be no such Difparity of the Cases as may warrant your Difparity of Penalty against your Brethren, then our Argument still stands good. But there is no such Difparity of the Cases as may warrant your Difparity of Penalty against your Brethren: Ergo.

For the Minor: If those that Paul speaks of that must be received and forbad, did sì against the Command of God, in the weakness of their Faith, and their erroneous reful of things as sinful that were not so to be refused, then there is no such Difparity in the Cases as, &c. For you suppose those that refuse to know, to break the Command of Man, and those that Paul spake of brake the Command of God, and yet were to be received and forbad.

But if you here also speak of [a Command enforced by Penalties inconsistent with the said receiving and Forbearance]; we reply,

If our present Work be to prove that God hath forbidden all such Commands, then our proceeding (in proving it) is regular, and our supposing the things not so commanded (having proved it); and your Discourse wholly proceeding of things so commanded (before you answer our Proof that they ought not to be Commanded) is an irregular Supposition, and begging of the Question. But ours, &c. Ergo. &c.

Ad Relp. 3ο. If Rom. 14. 1, 2, 3. and 15. 1. &c. speak of things lawful and no further commanded than may consist with receiving and forbearing, forbidding any other commanding of such things, then the Text is most pertinent to prove that there ought not to be no such Commands, and that they are sinful. But the Antecedent is true. Ergo——Ergo.

Ad Relp. 4ο. [Immediately] was no Term in our Question. But that Rom. 14. 1. speaks of receiving to the Holy Communion we prove: If the Holy Ghost command the receiving of Men to that Church-Communion in whole or in general without Exception, whereof the Communion in the Holy Sacrament is a most eminent part, then he thereby commanded receiving the them to the Holy Communion in the Sacrament, as a principal Part: But the Antecedent is true: Ergo, so is the Consequent.

The Summa of our Reply is, That when we are proving from Rom. 14. and 15. that God hath forbidden Men to command such things indifferent on pain of Exclusion from Communion; for you now (so distinguisht of things commanded by Authority, and things not commanded) and then to say [that if they be not so commanded, then we grant that they should not be so commanded] but if they be so commanded, then God hath not forbidden so to command them: this is to make the Fault of Man antecedent to the Law of God; or the Law to forbid the Fact, in Cases no Man will do it, but not to forbid it if it be done: As if you had said [God forbade David to commit Adultery in case it be not committed by him] but not in case it be committed.

§ 22. When this Reply was read, Dr. Gunning spake a few Words against the length of it; and desired a Copy of it, that he might take it home with him, to bring in an Answer the next Day. In the mean time I urged Dr. Pierfon to perform his Promise, in taking the Opponents part, and making good their Impostitions; and so at last they came to it. Their Disputations, to avoid the Readers Confusion, shall come last after our next Reply:

§ 22. The next day Dr. Gunning brought in a large Discourse, in answer to our last Reply. His Answer it fell was full of inflituent Words, especially because I used the Words [begging the Question] (though sufficiently explained) as applied to them that were Respondents. I told them that I confessed it was not an usual Speech, but I thought it not unfair: and that when the Respondent will needs have the thing questioned
questioned to be put into the Subject as part dispute, which should be in the Predic-ate, and lo would foretell all the Opponents’ proof, it is not unkindly called a begging of the question: But for this I was indifferency. They shoule have it other Terms if they pleased, it being a Matter that our Cause is not concerned in. I took Dr. Gunning’s Paper home, and brought them an Answer the next day we met; and though I took not a Copy of his Paper, for want of time (and he would not lend it me after) yet you may see the Sum and Sense of all his Answer in the following Re- ply, (which, as the former, my Brethren read over and approved of).

The REPL Y to the Bishops Disputants, which was not answered.

Whether it be our Arguing or your Answering that is法律责任, declaratory, pe-dantic. (as you call it), and whether your confident inflicting arite from your advantages or infirmity of Mind, and want of Matter for more pertinent Anwers, are Quelions that we shall leave to impartial Judges: And we shall crave pardon if we rather seem to neglect your words, than to follow you in these strange vagaries any further than mere Necessity for saving your Readers from the Error into which they are fitted to mislead them doth require.

To prove the Consequence of an Hypothetical Argument, by an Enthymeme, hath not been ued to be accounted culpable. The Proof you shall not want.

That we removed your Answer by shewing your Distinction frivolous; deferred not to be called, A popular Inflation, Superfluous, &c. We had two things here to do: The first was, if we had been at hand with you, to have called on you for the necessary Explanation of your Distinction, Whether by [commanded by lawful Power] you mean [commanded under no penalty] or [commanded under a penalty, con-fident with the Receiving and Forbearing mentioned in the Text] or [commanding under a penalty inconsistent with the Receiving and Forbearance]: And whether you mean by [Lawful Power] that which is indeed [Lawful Power ad loc] or only [ad alud]?

As far as we can find in thefe your Papers, you still forbear to explain your Distin-
ction. But this we must yet insist upon, and desire of you, notwithstanding all your Exclamations.

And then our next work must be to shew you that indeed your Distinction is ufe-
less as to the fhaking of our Argument. The latter branch of your Distinction [if we speak of things lawful and commanded] you apply to the denial of our Antecedent, or Minor, which we prove flands good, notwithstanding this your Answer. Indeed we speak of [things lawful as such] abstracting from command: But we speak of things which materially were partly not commanded, and partly commanded: It was not commanded to eat or not eat the Meat in question, to keep the Days or not keep them: In thefe they went against no Law: But to be weak in the Faith, and erroneously to take things lawful to be unlawful, and things indifferent to be necessary, and to offend a Brother by the ufe of Liberty on the other side, were against the Commands of God. Now the Scope of our Argument was to shew, that if you speak of [a command upon the penalty of the question] your Distinction helps you not to shake our Argument, because as it is true that the Text speaketh not of things so commanded, so the thing that we are proving is, that it is the fence of the Text to forbid all such commands. If it be the fence of the Text to forbid such commands, then your Distinction is frivolous, and the ufe of it here prevented, and our Argument stands good: But it is the fence of the Text to forbid all such commands: Ergo—The Minor we are to prove hereafter, when we are further called to it by your Anwers. But if by [command] you mean any other command without pe-nalty, or without the penalty forbidden, we argue, If it be all one as to our Cafe, whether it be so commanded or not, then your Distinction is frivolous, and our Argument stands good: But it is all one to our Cafe, whether it be so commanded or not: Ergo—This was the Sum of our Rejection of your Answer, which we cannot profecute till you will be persuaded, as we have required, to explain your Di-

Distinction; and then we shall know what to speak to.

But
But perhaps you take your very Refusal to explain it, to be an Explanation; and your words may seem to allow us to understand you of any command with this penalty or without, where you say [That Text which speaks of things under no command at all is brought nothing to the purpose, of the things which we debate of; being under some command of lawful Authority.] But still, that Text which forbidth any such command, and doth take away the Authority of no commanding, is something to the purpose, as proving that no Humane Authority should so command: But this Text forbidsthe any such command, and fo take away the Authority of no commanding—Ergo: And as it is a command consistent with [Receiving, Forbearing, &c.] that you may be understood to speak of, 1. If you speak de facto & de jure, and suppose that there be and ought to be no other command, then you grant us the Caufe, that there should be no command, upon penalty of being [Not-received, Not-forborne, &c.] 2. If your Supposition be de facto only, then That commanding which consisteth with God's command [to Receive and Forbear, &c.] altereth not the Caufe: But such is the commanding that now you are supposed to speak of—Ergo—So still your distinguishing toucheth not our Argument: no more than if you had distinguished of the Instructed and Uninstructed, and said Paul speaketh of those that were uninstructed only, Ergo he is not alluded to the purpose.

Whereas you say [That this penalty, that the Minister be enjoyned not to administer the Communion to those that disobey such command, is no ways inconsistent with the Receiving, and all the indulgences of that Truth] We shall prove the contrary anon in due place.

For application to indifferent persons, we also are willing such shall judge, whether if your Distinction speak of no commanding but such as is consistent with this [Receiving, Forbearing, &c.] it leave us not in possession of the force of our Argument; and if it speak de jure, that there should be no other, whether it yield not up the Caufe?

It seems our very phrase of begging the Question being misunderstood by you, hath been taken as your greatest occasion of insulting: But if we used an unusual Phrase, if that occasioned your mistake, we can beg your pardon, and explain it, with less wrong to our Caufe or our selves, than you can make such use of it, as to yours. We did not dream of charging you with that begging of the Question which is the fallacy and fault of the Opponents, as it is the begging of a Principle undertaken to be proved: we know this is nor incident to the Respondent, nor to be imputed to him: we charged you with no such thing: though we confess our Phrase was liable to your misinterpretation: But we crave your willingness to understand, that we were proving that such things may not be by Rules enjoyed or commanded under the penalty of Exclusion from Communion! and that the latter Branch of your Distinction hath the nature of a Reason of your denial of the Proposition denied, viz. because the things are commanded; and that by our telling you of begging the Question, we mean but this much; 1. That you give us a Reason implied in a Distinction, which is but equal to a simple Negation, and is not (we say not the giving a sufficient Reason, but) the giving of a Reason indeed at all. 2. That it is but equal to an unfavourable Denial of the meer Conclusion. 3. Yea, that it is a preposterous Reduction of the Rule to the Action; and of the former to the latter. Suppose we had thus phrased our Proposition.

Rules themselves are here forbidden to enjoy or command the rejecting of such as are only weak in the Faith, &c.] And you should distinguish and say [Either Rules have commanded the rejecting them for such things, or not: If they have, then we deny the Proposition] that is, [If they have done it, they may do it, and the Text that forbids it to be underfoot of such Rules as have not already forbidden it]; Tell us how you will call such distinguishing your selves, and you may understand our meaning. It is all one if you put your Exception into the description of the Fault: and when we say [God here forbidth Governors themselves to make any Commands or Injunctions for rejecting such as are only weak in the Faith, and mistake about indifferent things] and you distinguish thus, [either the weak offend against such Commands, or not: If they do so against such Commands, then the Text forbidsthe not the making of such Commands] Give this kind of distinguishing and answering a proper Name your selves. Or if to our Proposition you say, [The indifferent things are commanded by the Governors, or not: If they be, then God forbidsthe not the Governor to command the rejection of the persons from Communion] that is, [Though God forbid Governors to make Laws for rejecting such as are about indifferent things only; yet that is in supposition that the said Governors do not first command those indifferent things: for if once they command them, they may then command the rejection of those that break them]. But on the contrary, He that forbidsthe the rejection of such simply and antecedently to the Laws of Men, for-
forbidsthe rej ecting of them mediatly or immediately, and forbidsthe framing of such Commands as shall be means of the prohibited Re jection: But God in the Text forbidsthe Rejection of such, simply and antecedently to the Laws of Men: Ergo be forbidsthe Rejecting of them mediatly or immediately, and forbidsthe framing of such Commands as shall be means of the prohibited Re jection.

Though we have thus taken off your Answer, we shall give you fuller proof in the end of what you can reasonably expect.

You next Answer this Argument of ours [If there be no power that may command such things any further than may stand with the Reception and other Indulgences of the Text, then must you not suppose that any Power may otherwise command them: But the Ante cedent is true: Ergo——] Here you deny the Minor; which I prove thus.

If none have power to break the Laws of God, then there is no Power that may command such things any further than may stand with the Reception and other Indulgences of the Text: But none have power to break the Laws of God: Ergo there is no power that may command such things any further than may stand with the Reception and other Indulgences of the Text.

We had used before another Argument to prove the Minor thus, [If Paul and the resident Pastors of the Church of Rome had no power to command such things further than may stand with the said Reception and indulgence, then no others have such power: But Paul and the resident Pastors of the Church of Rome had no such power——Ergo there are no others that have such]. Here you deny the Assumption. Which is proved by the foregoing Medium. If Paul and the resident Pastors of the Church of Rome had no power to cross the Will of God, then they had no power to command such things further than may stand with the said Reception and Indulgence: But Paul and the resident Pastors of the Church of Rome had no power to cross the Will of God: Ergo——

You vainly call the Explication of our Ent hymene in plainer words [the proving of its obscure Consequence by the more obscure Consequence of another] and hereupon inful: but we shall take leave to leave you to your humour in such things. If it offend you, blot out the Ent hymene, seeing you have Reply enough without it: Or if you will be still tempted to inful till you are delivered from the Ent hymene, you have our fence in this Argument.

If the things spoken of by the Apostle were not only not commanded, but forbid to be commanded any further than may stand with the Reception and Indulgence of the Text, then there is no such disparity in the Cases as may shake our Consequence, though with us such things are commanded: But the Antecedent is true; Ergo fo is the Consequent.

To your second Answer, we first again endeavoured to bring you to explain your Difinition, what Commanding you mean: but have no Return to that but Silence; which we argued to be reformation.

Then we argued thus, [If there be no such disparity of the Cases as may warrant your disparity of penalty against your Brethren, then our Argument still stands good: but there is no such disparity of the Cases as may warrant your disparity of penalty against your Brethren: Ergo——

You deny the Minor: which we proved thus——If thofe that Paul speaks of that must be received and forborn did sin against the command of God, in the weakness of their Faith and their Erroneous refusing of things as finful that were not to be fo refused, then there is no such disparity in the Cases as &c. But, &c. Ergo——

Here you deny the Consequence; which we prove thus: If the Sin of thofe that dare not kneel be no greater than theirs that were weak in the Faith, and refused Things lawful as unlawful, and took Things indifferent as neceffary, and hereby gratified the Jews and other Enemies of the Church, and relapsed on the Churches Liberties purchased by Chrift, and yet became the Confurers of the strong; and if the Scruple of Kneeling have as fair Excuses as the other, then the Consequence is good, and there is no such disparity in the Cases as may warrant your penalty: But the Antecedent is true; Ergo fo is the Consequent.

We shall prosecute the Comparison further anon.

We added here this Reason in brief. [For you suppose thofe that refuse to kneel to break the command of Man, and thofe that Paul spoke of broke the command of God, and yet were to be received and forborn] Ergo there is no such disparity as may warrant your penalty. Here you add to our words [the command of Man] the word only, and say, that elfe we do but trifle. We reply; that by adding your own words, and then perverting us to own them left we trifle, you do worse than trifle, and your
your gros injustice hath no fair pretence, being against the Light of our Conclu-

sion and Undertaking; we were but to prove that there was no such disparity, i. e.
that the fault of those that kneel not, was not greater, and so much greater as might
warrant your penalty: Therefore as you will acknowledge kneeling at the Sacra-
ment to be immediately but the command of Man, and weakness of Faith, Error,
Censuring, &c. to be immediately against a command of God, (which yet we spoke
of but for just denomination, and not to prove a disparity to our advantage), So if
we prove no disparity against us, we do what we undertake: And that a Sin against
the command of God immediately, is as well worthy of Punishment as a Sin a-
gainst the command of Man immediately extersis paribus is true, and all that we
affirmed, and all that we were bound to prove.

Yet you importune us to answer you a Question, [Whether is not the Erroneous re-
sisting of lawful things, commanded by lawful Authority, as sinful, the resisting of things as
sinful that were not to be so resisted?] We Answer you, 1. But with them and you it is
the Thing in Controversies, Whether they are lawful Things, or not? 2. If they be,
What then? Why you fly, [If so, then even according to your own reasoning, if
you reason at all, those Refusers to kneel sin against God, and the Rule your selves lay down
thereof, as well as those Rom. 14.] And what then? Is there therefore a Disparity be-
cause they do alike? Are such as these the occasions of your insultiing? We shall
then fulpest you have some gros Mistake, whenever we find you thus insultiing.
But you say [That Ergo we did fallaciously impute the one to break the Command
of God, and the other to break the Command of Men.] But really, is it not so? If you
allow not the Distinction inter Leges Divinas & Humanas, you know how singular you are,
and what Consequences will follow: If you do, why may we not use such Denominations?
But you say of the sinfulness [It is most evidently common to the for-
mer with the latter.] 1. If the Controversie be yielded you it is so. 2. And what then?
because it is common, Ergo there is such a Disparity as may warrant your
 grievous penalty. We only prove no such Disparity, and we are notably confu-
bered, by your proof that the Sinfulness is common, that is, by yielding what we
prove.

Next in many words you tell us of a Disparity. 1. Because in our Case kneeling is
commanded. 2. Because the things are antecedently helps to piety. To which we have
before anwered: 1. God hath forbidden all Commands of such things, inconsistent
with the Reception and Forbearance in question. 2. Their Sin of Weakness in
Faith, and Error, were also against Commands. 3. We shall shew greater Rea-
sons of Disparity on the other side. 4. The thing in question (Kneeling) hath noth-
ing antecedent to the Command to make the refual of it sinful, no nor more
than other Gestures. Of which after.

To your third Answer we replied, [If Rom. 14 & 15. speak of things lawful,
and no further commanded than may consi with [Receiving and Forbearing], forbidding
any other commanding of such things, then the Text is most pertinent to prove that
ought to be no such Commands, and that they are sinful]. But the Antecedent is true: Ergo—

Here you tell us of manifest fallacy, of advantageous Equivocation, or else a gross igno-
norantia Elenchi in the Conclusion; words easy to be uttered by you. But if you will
[profess all along, as you say, to proceed or debate only of things lawful and commanded
by lawful power] that is, lawfully, when our very Question is, Whether such things can
be so commanded? and we are proving that they cannot, and you will call it an ignora-
norantia Elenchi, if we will not grant you all in question, but will endeavour to prove the
contrary to what you would have granted, this is that which we before called even the
Respondents begging of the Question, when he accuseth the Opponent for pro-
ving what he denieth, and would put that into the Subject as not to be questioned;
which is in the Predicate, and we are disproving. 2. And remember that in your
first Paper we were not called to dispute the Parity or Disparity of the Offences:
Ergo by [such things] we mean [such things] as are mentioned Rom. 14 & 15. And
our Conclusion there goeth no further; that Matter being further to be carried on in
its proper place.

To your fourth Answer we replied, That [immediately] was no Term in our Questi-
on: You say you may dilinguish: True; but you cannot bind us to prove that
the Men that we prove are to be received to Communion, must be immediately
received; when we never affirmed it; as long as you tell us not whether you speak
de immediate temporis, vel condicionis, vel status, or what you mean by immediately:
In regard of Time, no Man in the Church is immediately to be received to the
Sacriment, till the very time come.
2. We Argued, If the Holy Ghost command the receiving of Men to that Church Communion in general without exception, whereas the Communion in the Holy Sacrament is a most eminent part, then be thereby commandeth the receiving them to the Communion in the Sacrament. But, &c. Ergo, &c. Your Answer signifieth that it is a receiving first to Infraction, and not to the Sacrament, toll some Change be made, you tell us not what, or that it is such a Receiving as may consist with denying them the Communion. We shall now therefore prove in order these two Propositions, which are to be next proved.

1. That the Reception that Paul speaketh of, is such as is not consistent with denial of the Sacrament for those faults.

2. That there is no such Disparity between their Faults and those that refuse to kneel at the Sacrament, as may warrant your Disparity of Penalty or Usage.

The first we shall prove. 1. From the Text before us; 2. By other Scriptures; 3. By Testimony of Expounders, especially those of your own way in other Things.

I. So to receive one another as Christ received us to the Glory of God the Father, and this not to doubtful Disputation, (or not to judge their doubtful Thoughts) and not to depile or judge one another, but to take each other for such as do what we do to the Lord, and let every Man be fully persuaded in his own Mind; and so as to distinguish the Points that we differ about from those in which God's Kingdom doth consist, in which whatsoever is Christ is acceptable to God, and should be approved of Men; and so as to follow the things that edifie and make for Peace, and not lay a stumbling block or occasion of falling in our Brother's way, or destroy him by the uncharitable use of our Liberty, knowing it is Sin to him that aftereth it Sin; but to forbear our selves to use those things in Controversy whereby our Brother stumbleth or is offended, because he is damned if he use them doubtfully; and therefore to have the belief of their lawfulness to our selves before God, and to bear with the Infirmities of the Weak, and please them to their Effication, and not to please our selves, that so being like-minded one towards another, that with one mind and one mouth we may glorify God: We say, Thus to receive is not consistent with the denial of Communion in the Sacrament for those Faults. But such was the Receiving required by the Apostle Romans 14. & 15. — Ergo——

He that can seriously ponder all these Expressions, and the Scope of the Holy Ghost, and yet can believe that all this Receiving is but such as consisteth with forbidding them Communion in the Lord's Supper, which then was to great a part of the daily Communion of the Church, and also may consist with the further Proceed against People and Ministers to Excommunication, and Prohibition to preach the Gospel, which is now pleaded for in our Cafe, is of so strange a temperature of Understanding, as that we can have little hope by any Scripture-Evidence to convince him.

2. When the Holy Ghost requireth Men in general to receive others as Church-Members into Church-Communion, with the Affection and Tenderness here expressed, and doth not except any ordinary part of Church-Communion, it is not lawful for us to interpret it of such a Receiving as excluded the principal part of ordinary Church-Communion.

But in Romans 14. & 15. the Holy Ghost requireth Men in general to receive others as Church-Members into Church-Communion with the Affection and Tenderness here expressed, and doth not except any ordinary part of Church Communion.

Ergo it is not lawful for us to interpret it of such a Receiving as excluded the principal part of Ordinary Communion.

The Reason of the Major is, Because as the whole containeth all the parts, so when the whole or general is commanded, if Men may take liberty to except the very principal part where the Law doth not except it, then no Commands can be intelligible, or such Interpreters may have liberty to make void the law at their own pleasure. As when it is said [Honour the King] and Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers, and [not refuse] &c. If Men may take liberty by interpreting, to except the very principal part of Honour, and the principal persons from Subjection, and the principal Cafe from [Refuse not], it will be no just interpretation. If these same Persons had a Command in general, to [worship God] or [bold Communion with the Church] if they themselves should interpret it so as to exclude worshipping God in the Sacrament of the Eucharist; or holding Communion with the
the Church therein, we doubt not but they would be judged unjust distingui-
shers.

The Minor is granted us by our Reverend Brethren, who here openly cefles
that the Text speakest of Church-Members, and of Receiving them to Church-
Communion, though they unwarrantably interpret it of such a Communion as
extendeth not to the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

3. If the Text Rom. 14. & 15. forbid not one part to put away others from
Communion in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, then it forbiddeth not the other
Party to separate from their Brethren in the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

But the Consequent is false: Ergo fo is the Antecedent.

The Reason of the Consequence of the Major is, because if it speake not of that
part of Communion to one Party, it cannot speake of it to the other, it being plain-
ly the same Communion that it speakeh of to both.

The Minor is ordinarily granted us by the Diffenders, when they apply this
Text against Separarists, that upon the Account of Ceremonies and Things indif-
ferent, condemn the Church, and judge their Brethren, and separate from their
Communion in the Eucharist.

II. From other Scriptures. If in all the Word of God there be no mention of
such a Receiving into Church-Communion, (much les with all these Prohibitions
of Judging, Defiling, Offending, &c.) as confisith with Rejecting from Commu-
nion in the Eucharist, of any Person naturally capable, then the word Receiving
is not to be so expounded here.

But in all the Word of God there is no mention of such a Receiving into Church-
Communion (much les with all these Prohibitions, &c.) as confisith with Re-
jecting from Communion in the Eucharist, of any Person naturally capable.

Ergo the word Receiving is not to be so expounded here.

The Reason of the Consequence of the Major is, because here is no apparent
ground in this Text for us to understand the Receiving spoken of, as different from
what is mentioned in all other places of the holy Scripture: And if without any
such ground we should allow our selves a singular Interpretation, we should open
a way to Men to make what they pleafe of Scripture.

The Minor being to be proved by an Induction of all particular Texts, it
will be the briefer way for the Respondent to inftance in any one which he thinks hath
such a fense, and then we shall be ready to prove the contrary.

III. For the fence of Expositoris; We fhall begin with the Learned Dr. Ham-
mond; who expoundeth the Text of Church-Communion, and fuch Communion
as cannot confit with Excommunicating from the Sacrament of the Eucharist,
or the other heavy Penalties upon Miniflers and People which we now plead a-
gainft, as may be feen in thefe his plain Expressions. V. 1. [ And for the prefer-
ving of that Chriftian Charity among all mentioned Solemnly Ch. 13. 8,9,10. (vid.
11.) I fhall enlarge to give these Rules. The Jewish Believer——— on the other
side the Gentile Believers feeming the Chriftian fubjed upon fuch things — are apt
to separate—and fo betwixt one and other the Communion is like to be broken.

The Scrupulous or Erroneous Judaizer——— do the Gentiles not reject, but
receive to your Communion: Yet not fo that he thereby thinks himself encour-
aged or authorized to quarrel with other Men's Resolutions—— and to condemn oth-
ers——. V. 5. The Scrupulous Judaizer muft not reject and cast out of his Com-
munion the Gentile Chriftian——— for God hath admitted him into his Church
(without laying that yoke upon him) as a Servant into his Family, and he is not
to be excluded by the Judaizer for fuch things as thefe——. V. 4. What Commis-
ion hath thou, O Jewifh Chriftian, to judge God's Servant, received and owned
by him, to exclude him out of the Church.——— God is able to clear him, if he
pleafe, and he certainly will, having by receiving him into his Family given him
this liberty——. V. 5.—— In fuch things every Man muft act by his own, and not
by another Man's Judgment or Confequence, what he is verily perfuaded he ought
to do; and therefore Unity and Charity ought not to be broken by you for fuch
things——. V. 6, 7. and this fure is well done on both fides. For no Man of us
is to do what he himself likes bet, but what he thinks is moft acceptable to God.
——. V. 9. And all the Fruit of Chrift's Death and Suffering and Reftoration, which
accrues to him, is only this, that he may have Power and Domion over us all,
so command or give what liberty he pleache. V. 10. But why doft thou Jewifh
condemn the Gentile Chriftian, or exclude him from thy Communion, because
he
he useth his Christian Liberty, &c. Or then Gentile Christian, why doit thou think it a piece of senseless Stupidity in the Jew to abstain, and thereupon despise and vilifie him, which also is a kind of judging him: Whereas indeed neither of you is to be the Judge of the other, but Christ of you both —— V. 13. Do not any longer censure and separate from one another Communion for such Things as these —— V. 14. The pervasion of its being forbidden him is, as long as he is fo pervasified, sufficient to make it to him unlawful to use that Liberty —— see V. 15, 16. — V. 17. For Christianitv confitts not in such External Matters—but in— mercifulness, and peaceableness, and delight to do good one to another — Not dividing and hating and excommunicating one another. —— V. 19. Let us most zealously attend to those things, which may thus preserve Peace among all sorts of Christians, though of different persuasions —— V. 20. Do not thou for so inconsiderable a Matter as Eating is, or because another will not or dares not make use of that Christian Liberty —— disturb that Peace, that Unity which God hath wrought —— V. 21. It is not charitable to make use of any part of Christian Liberty, when by this so doing any other Man is kept from receiving the Faith or any way wounded or hurt, i.e. brought to any kind of fin —— V. 23. And indeed for the Scripulous Jew, there is little reason he should be so ill used for his daring to eat, when he thinks himself otherwise obliged: for it were a damning Sin for which his own Conscience already condemns him, should he eat or do any indifferent thing, as long as he thinks in Conscience that it is not so —— Chap. 15. V. 5, 6, 7. And that God for whom we ought to suffer, —— give you the Grace of Unity and Charity, such as Christ commanded and expects from you, that ye may joyn unanimously Jews and Gentiles into one, and assembling together, Worship and Serve the Lord —— in all Unity of Affections and Form of Words. Wherefore in all Humility of Condescension and Kindness, embrace and succour one another, help them up when they are fallen, instead of despising and driving them from your Communion after the Example of Christ's usage towards Men, who came from Heaven and laid down his Life to relieve us, and there is nothing by which God is more glorified than this ——]

If all this may confit with rejecting from all Communion in the Eucharist, and afterwards Excommunicating, Suspending, Silencing, Imprisoning, &c. we understand not English.


§ 225. This Paper was given in the very last day of our Communion and Dispute: And Dr. Gunning read another which he had prepared for an Inquisition at our Dismission, which Paper had some Mistakes in it, and the Citation of many Witnesses, who (as he would have perfwaded us) took the word [Receiving] Rom. 14. & 15. as not meaning or including, Receiving to the Holy Communion in the Sacrament.

§ 226. In the beginning he affirmed that we had refused to Dispute, till they had promised to take their turn, and prove the lawfulnes of their Impostions. To this I answered, That it was contrary to our open and frequent Profession, that we would do our part whether they would do theirs or not; only I said, that if they refused it, we should take it for a deserting of their Cause. This he a while denied.
I appealed to the Auditors of his Party: and they gave no Answer: Dr. 
left Witnessed it, Dr. Jacomb offered his Oath of it: He told them that they were 
were Parties. By this time I saw mine Error, in giving way for their Doctors to 
in to applaud them and witness for them, when we had none (or next to none) 
of our there, supposing by the Agreement three only must have stayed.

§ 227. When Dr. Gunning had read his Injuring Answer the day before, and 
gave a great matter of my telling the Responder of [begging the Question] they 
put Dr. Sanderfan, Bishop of Lincoln, into the Chair, that his Learning and Gravity 
might put a Reputation upon his Sentence (he being a very worthy Man, but for 
that great Pevishness, which Injuries, Partiality, temperature and Age had 
caused in him): The Bishop in a few angry Words pronounced that Dr. Gunning had 
the better, and that the Responder could not beg the Question, and that I was a 
Man of Contention if I offered to Reply.] I told him, that though we reverenced 
much his Lordship's Age and Learning, yet he was but a Party, and no Judge: 
which yet if he were, it was to strange to us that a Man should be prohibited to 
reply, and a Centure anticipated passed on that Reply before it was heard, and on 
the Repliers for it, that we craved his Lordship's Pardon if we disobeyed him, and 
gave in our Reply, which might have more in it than he could foresee. And the 
next Day when I gave in the Reply (before inferred) there was no such Injuring 
as before.

§ 228. When Dr. Gunning had read his Citations of Testimonies of the Sense of 
Rom. 14, and 15. Bishop Cofins called to all the Bishops and Doctors in the Room 
for their Votes, [All you that think that Dr. Gunning hath proved that Rom.14. (speaketh, 
not of receiving to the Sacrament, say, I.] And to they all cried, I. I told him that 
we knew their Opinion before; and if this were the life that he made of our Congreg 
that they should be all present while ours were all absent (five two or three Scholars, and two or three Gentlemen that stood behind to hear) it shewed 
that their Cause was very needly of Defence, when their own Voices must go 
instead of Argument: But if they would go on upon such lamentable Reasoning as 
they had used, to call out the faithful Paffors and the People, and divide the 
Church, and afflict their Brethren, the Day was coming when their own Votes 
should not ablove them.

§ 229. Hereupon we fell again upon the point of Charity and Compaflion to the 
Church, and their frustrating the King's Commission, and the Kingdoms Hopes. 
And when they protestedit their Desires of the Churches Peace, I told them they 
would not abate the smallest Thing, nor correct their grovellest Errors for it: And 
hereupon I read over to them the Preface (drawn up by Mr. Colone) before our 
Reply to their Answer to our Exceptions against the Liturgy, which rectifying 
their Corruptions, and shewed their Unpeaceableness, offended but silenced them.

§ 230. By this time the Evening of our Last Day was far gone; and I desired 
to know of them, whether we should continue our Dispute any further, as Private 
Men Voluntarily among our selves; for I had many more Arguments, which I 
defined before to have read all at once, but could not be permitted: Or whether 
they would receive my Arguments, and the Reply which I last read. Dr. Pierfons 
resolved that he would meddle no more after that Night. Bishop Morley said, he 
thought it unfit when the King's Commission was expired that we should meddle in 
it any farther. But Dr. Gunning and I had so much mind to it, (for I knew that 
almost all my Arguments were yet behind, and it was a Cause that might easily be 
made very plain) that I told him, I would venture on the Danger for the Love of 
Charity and Peace, and he agreed that I should send him in all my Arguments, 
with the last Reply (which he had not answered) the next Day.

§ 231. Lastly, I desired Bishop Morley to resolve us what Account we were jointly 
to give his Majesty of our Proceedings, that we might not wrong each other: 
And by his and their Consent it was agreed on, that we give nothing in our Account 
to the King as charged on one another, but what is delivered in by the party 
in Writing: That and that our account was to be this, That we were all agreed on the 
Ends, for the Churches Welfare, Unity, and Peace, and his Majesty's Happinesses 
and Contentment, but after all our Debates, were disagreed of the means. 
And this was the End of that Assembly and Commission.

§ 232. As soon as we were gone, I delivered my Papers to a Scribe to be transcribed: 
And about Eight or Nine, just as I was entering the Door of my Lodging, 
Dr. Gunning's Meffenger comes to me, to tell me, that upon further Consideration, 
he should receive no more Papers from me after that Day, and so our further trouble 
was prevented.
§ 233. In the last place, it's time that I give you a Copy of their Disputation; and this which followeth is exact and all.

[Oppon. (Dr. Pierson, Dr. Gumming, Dr. Sparrow and Dr. Pierce) 'My Affertion is, Nothing contained in the Liturgy is sinful.'

'this general Affertion I am ready to make good in all Particulars, in which our Brethren shall think fit to charge the Liturgy with Sinfulness.

And because our Brethren have as yet by way of Disputation, charged no other part of it with the Imputation of Sinfulness, but that which concerneth kneeling at the Communion, therefore my first Affertion as to that particular is this.

'Vel The Command contained in the Liturgy concerning kneeling at the Communion is not Sinful. This Truth I am ready to prove by several Arguments.

'The only Command [The Minifter shall deliver the Communion to the People in their Hands kneeling] is not sinful.

'The Command contained in the Liturgy concerning kneeling at the Communion, is this only Command [The Minifter, &c.]--

'Ergo. The Command contained in the Liturgy, concerning kneeling at the Communion, is not sinful.

Resp. Negatur Major.

'Oppon. Prob. Major. That Command which commandeth only an Act in it fell lawful, is not sinful.

'This only Command [The Minifter shall deliver the Communion to the People in their Hands kneeling] commandeth only an Act in it fell lawful--

'Ergo. this only command [The Minifter shall deliver the Communion to the People in their Hands kneeling] is not sinful.

Resp. Negatur Major, & Minor.

'Oppon. Prob. Major—that Command which commandeth an Act in it fell lawful, and no other Act or Circumstance unlawful, is not sinful.

'1. That Command which commandeth only an Act in it fell lawful, commands an Act in it fell lawful, and no other Act or Circumstance unlawful, is not sinful.

'Ergo—That Command which commandeth only an Act in it fell lawful, is not sinful.

Resp. We deny the Major, and (for brevity) give a double Reason of our Denial. One is, because that may be a Sin per accidens, which is not so in it fell, and may be unlawfully commanded, though that Accident be not in the Command.

Another is, That it may be commanded under an unjust Penalty.

2. We deny the Minor for both the same Reasons.

'Oppon. Prob. Minor. The delivery of the Communion to Persons kneeling, is an Act in it fell lawful.

'This only Command [The Minifter shall deliver the Communion to the People in their Hands kneeling] commandeth only the delivery of the Communion to Persons kneeling.

'Ergo. This only Command [The Minifter, &c.] commandeth only an Act in it fell lawful.

Resp. We distinguish of [delivering to Persons kneeling] it signifies either exclusively [to those and no other]; or not exclusively as to others: In the first Sense we deny the Major; in the second Sense we deny the Minor.

'Oppon. You deny both our Propositions for two Reasons, both the same: We make good both our Propositions, notwithstanding both your Reasons.

The Major firft.

'That Command which commandeth an Act in it fell lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjust Penalty is enjoined, nor any Circumstance whence directly or per accidens any Sin is consequent, which the Commander ought to provide against, is not sinful.

'That Command which commandeth an Act in it fell Lawful, and no other Act or Circumstance unlawful, commandeth an Act in it fell lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjust Penalty is enjoined, nor any Circumstance, whence directly or per accidens any Sin is consequent, which the Commander ought to provide against--

'Ergo. That Command which commandeth an Act in it fell lawful, and no other Act or Circumstance unlawful, is not sinful.

Resp.
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Resp. 1. The Proposition denied is not in the Conclusion*.
2. The Major is denied; because the first Act commanded may be per Accidents unlawful, and be commanded by an unjust Penalty, though no other Act or Circumstance be such.

' Oppon. The Minor next.
That Command which commandeth an Act in it self lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjust Penalty is enjoined, nor any Circumstance whence directly or per Accidents any Sin is consequent, which the Commander ought to provide against, commands an Act in it self lawful, and no other Act or Circumstance unlawful.

That Command which commands only an Act in it self lawful, commanded an Act in it self Lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjust Penalty is enjoined, nor any Circumstance, whence directly and per accidents any Sin is consequent, which the Commander ought to provide against.

Ergo, That Command which commands only an Act in it self lawful, commands an Act in it self lawful, and no other Act or Circumstance unlawful.

We prove our Major notwithstanding your Reason alleged.
That Command which hath in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a Command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an Act per accidents unlawful, nor of commanding an Act under an unjust Penalty, is not sinful, notwithstanding your Reason alleged.

That Command which commandeth an Act in it self lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjust Penalty is enjoined, nor any Circumstance whence directly or per accidents any Sin is consequent, which the Commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a Command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an Act per accidents unlawful; nor of commanding an Act under an unjust Penalty.

Ergo, That Command which commandeth an Act in it self lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjust Penalty is enjoined, nor any Circumstance whence directly or per accidents any Sin is consequent, which the Commander ought to provide against, is not sinful notwithstanding your Reasons alleged.

Resp. The Minor is denied upon the same Reasons; which you do nothing to remove: Such a Command hath not in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a Command; because though no other Act be commanded whereby an unjust Penalty is enjoined, yet still the first Act may be commanded sub Peua injufla: And though no other Act or Circumstance be commanded that is a Sin per accidents, yet the first is self commanded, may be a Sin per accurd.

Oppon. Either our Minor is true notwithstanding your Reason, or else the first Act may be a Command commanding an unjust Punishment, and be an Act lawful; or the first Act it self being lawful in it self and all Circumstances, may yet be a Sin per Accidents, against which the Commander ought to provide.

Pateimus utramque saltum; both the later Members are false.—— Ergo, Prima verum—Therefore the first is true.

Resp. 1. Neg. Major. Because 1. The Subject is changed: You were to have spoken of the first Act commanded, and you speak of the first Act commanding, in the first Member. You should have said, ['Elle the first Act may be commanded sub Penna insuffa, and yet be in it self lawful'] which is true.
2. Because the second Member where you should have spoken only of the commanded Circumstances of the Act, you now speak of all its Circumstances whether commanded or not.
3. We undertook not to give you all our Reasons: The Minor may be false upon many other Reasons.

And were your Major reduced in the Points excepted against, we should deny the Minor, as to both Members. And we should add our Reasons.

1. That Command which commandeth an Act in it self lawful, and only such, may yet be sinful privatively, by omission of some thing necessary, some Mode or Circumstance.

2. It may sinfully restrain, though it sinfully command not.
3. It may be sinful in Modis commanding that universally, or indefinitely, or particularly, or singularly, that should be otherwise: though in the Circumstances (properly so called) of the Act, nothing were Commanded that is sinful.

4. It
4. It may through culpable ignorance be applied to andue Subjects who are not Circumstances; as if a People that have the Plague be commanded to keep Assemblies for Worship; the Lawgiver being culpably ignorant that they had the Plague. Many more Reasons may be given.

Oppen. We make good our Major by shewing that the Subject is not changed, thus.

If whenever the first Act is commanded sub Pena injusta, and no other Act is commanded whereby any unjust Penalty is enjoined (which were your Words) the first Act commanding must command an unjust Punishment (which were ours) then we have not changed the Subject——

But the Antecedent is true; therefore the Consequent.

§ 254. Thus, Reader, thou hast every Word that was brought by them in this Disputation, to prove the justness of all those Impositions on pain of Excommunication (which infers Imprisonment, &c.) which have divided this miserable bleeding Church, and will admit of no Remedy, nor patiently endure him that shall propose it, or beg for Peace and Charity at their Hands.

§ 255. The other Arguments which I offered (and they were not accepted or read) were the following. In which you must note that all these Arguments were but propos'd thus briefly, and not followed up, because it was expected that they should have called us to that. And that this Writing was but begun, and many more Scripture Texts and Arguments omitted, for want of time, and by the Interruption of our Disputation. And concerning the foregoing Reply to Dr. Gunning about the Sense of Rom. 14. Note, that as I was purposing to have added a multitude of Testimonies more, to those of Dr. Hammond and Grotius, the ending of our Disputation did prevent me, and ever since then I cast by all such Thoughts as these, foreseeing that now (when they would not endure the means of Peace) my Duty would henceforth ly on the other side, to plead other Men into true and moderate Thoughts of things indifferent, and Obedience, so far as the Unity and Peace of the Church required it, and the matters imposed were not sinful to the Doers, though they might be sinful to the Imposers. I knew that henceforth I should be as much exercis'd in moderating those for whom I had now pleaded, and must bear some cenure alfo from many of them.

Quest. Whether it be just (or lawful) to enjoin all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament on the Lord’s Days? Neg.

Because you will needs caft all the Opponent’s Work on us, by arguing that we have brought no sufficient Reasons for the contrary (appealing to all Men acquaint’d with the just Method of Disputation, whether you that have the affirmative, do not hereby fly all just and equal Dispute, and shew a Difference, of your Cause) we that have the negative shall more justly by the fame method, call back your proper Work upon you.

If it be just (or lawful) to enjoin all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament on the Lord’s Days, then some cogent Argument may be drawn from the Nature of the thing, or supernatural Revelation, to justify it.

But no Argument can be drawn (for ought that ever was yet by the Right Reverend Fathers, or Reverend Brethren produced or manifested to us, or we can tell where to find, or how to invent) from the Nature of the thing, or from supernatural Revelation, to justify it.

Ergo, it is not just, &c.

If any such Argument can be produced, let it be produced, or you forfake your Cause. (Nore that this was written before they yielded to be Opponents.)

I. Our first Argument drawn from general Councils, and the Practice of the Universal Church, we handled already: and are ready to bring in fuller Proof.

II. And our second Argument from Rom. 14. and 15. where the Cause is purposely and largely decided, that things of such Moment must not be made the matter of Cenures, Rejections, or Contempt.

III. To impose on the Church things antecedently unnecessary upon to great a Penalty as Exclusion from Communion, is a sinful thing.

But to enjoin all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament (for Fear of Idolatry or Scandal) is to impose on the Church
Church things antecedently unnecessary, upon to great a Penalty as Exclusion from the Communion.

Ergo to enjoy all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament is a sinful thing.

The Major is proved thus: That which is contrary to the express Determination of the Holy Ghost, Acts 15, is a sinful thing.

But to Impose on the Church Things antecedently unnecessary, upon to great a Penalty as Exclusion from Communion, is contrary to the express Determination of the Holy Ghost, Acts 15, 28. [For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things: Ergo it is a sinful thing.]

IV. To cross that great Rule of Charity [I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice] is a Sin.

But to enjoy all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, is to cross that great Rule of Charity, &c. Ergo it is a Sin.

The Major is certain. Christ himself urging it twice upon the Ceremonial Hypocritical Pharisees, Matthew 9, 13, &c. 12, 7.

The Minor is thus proved. To prefer Sacrifice before Mercy (yea, an unnecessary Ceremony before Sacrifice and Mercy) is a crossing of that Rule.

But to enjoy all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament into to prefer Sacrifice before Mercy, (yea, an unnecessary Ceremony before Sacrifice and Mercy;) Ergo it is a crossing of that Rule.

The Major I suppose will not be denied: The Minor is thus proved —

1. To prefer this genuflexion in the Reception of the Sacrament, before our Brethrens Communion with Christ and his Church in the Sacrament, and before their corroboration and confutation thereby, and before the preaching of the Gospel by all those Ministers that will be hereupon laid by, even when many thousands among us are in gross ignorance for want of means, and consequently before the Salvation of very many, and the Worship of God by the Excluded; is to prefer Sacrifice before Mercy, yea, an unnecessary Ceremony before Sacrifice and Mercy.

But to enjoy all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, is to prefer this Genuflexion before all those things: Ergo it is to prefer Sacrifice before Mercy; yea, an unnecessary Ceremony before Sacrifice and Mercy.

2. If the forbidding of David and his Company to eat the Shew-bread, and the Priests in the Temple to break the Sabbath, and the Disciples to rub out the Corn, would have been the preferring of Sacrifice before Mercy, (as here prohibited,) then enjoying all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, is to prefer Sacrifice before Mercy (in the forbidden deed).

but the Antecedent is true; Matthew 12, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. Ergo fo is the Consequent.

V. To use the Power to Destruction which is given to be used to Edification, is unjust.

But to enjoy all Ministers to deny the Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, is to use the Power to Destruction which is given to be used to Edification.

Ergo. To enjoy all Ministers to deny the Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, is unjust.

The Major is proved 2 Corinthians 10, 8, &c. 13, 10. Romans 15, 2. 1 Corinthians 14, 26. Romans 14, 25, 26.

For the Minor I shall prove it. 1. As of the Destruction of the Person; 2. Of many others; 3. Of the Church itself:

I. To use this Power to deprive many Thousands of their Communion with Christ and his Church in the Sacrament of his Body and Blood, and consequent of all the Benes therto, is to use it to the Destruction of those Mens Souls.

But to enjoy all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, is to use this Power to deprive many Thousands of their Communion with Christ and his Church, in the Sacrament of his Body and
and Blood, and consequently of all the Benefits thereof: Ergo to enjoy all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, is to use this Power to the Destruction of those Souls.

2. To the Destruction of many others.

II. To use this Power to deprive many Thoufand ignorant, ungodly People of the Labours of able faithful Ministers, when those People are like to have no competent Preachers of the Gospel in their stead, is to use this Power to the Destruction of those many thousand Souls.

But to enjoy all Ministers to deny Communion to all those that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, is to use this Power to deprive many Thoufand, &c.—— Ergo it is to use this Power to their Destruction.

It being suppos'd that it is not any Injunction in general, but the English Injunction in specie that is spoken of. The Minor is proved thus:

If such an Injunction will Silence a great number of able and faithful Ministers, while there are not competent Preachers of the Gospel to supply very many of their Places, then to enjoy all, &c. is to use the Power to Deprive, &c.——

But the Antecedent is certain: Ergo, &c.

Two notorious Evidences in Matter of Fact do fully prove the Antecedent:

I. That there are a great number of able, faithful Ministers, whose Conciences do forbid them to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, though they suffer Silencing for it: and that the Injunction doth Silence (and Imprison them) if they do not deny it them. 2. That there are very many Congregations in Wales and divers parts of England, where are Thoufands of ignorant ungodly People, that even now have no competent Preachers, much less will there be known when all these Ministers are turned out.

3. To the Destruction of the Church.

III. 1. To use this Power to deprive the Church of a great number of her pious and exemplary Members, that are meet for her Communion, is to use it to the Church's Destruction.

But to enjoy all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel at the Reception of the Sacrament, is to use this Power to Deprive the Church of a great number of her Pious and Exemplary Members, that are meet for her Communion.

Ergo, To enjoy all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, is to use this Power to Destruction.

2. To use this Power to the certain and lamentable Division of the Church, is to use it to the Destruction of the Church.

But to enjoy all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel in the Reception of the Lord's Supper, is to use this Power to the certain and lamentable Division of the Church:

Ergo, To enjoy all Ministers to deny them Communion, is to divide them by constraint from the rest.

Ergo, To enjoy all, &c. is to use this Power to the certain and lamentable Division of the Church.

The Major is undeniable: The Minor I prove thus——

1. To divide by force (or constraint) so many Thoufands as dare not kneel in Receiving the Lord's Supper, from the rest, is to use this Power to the actual and lamentable Division of the Church.

But to enjoy all Ministers to deny them Communion, is to divide them by constraint from the rest:

Ergo, To enjoy all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not kneel, is to use this Power to the certain and lamentable Division of the Church.

2. To maintain and exercise by this Power a Principle of Church Division, is to use this Power to the certain and lamentable Division of the Church.

But to enjoy all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not receive kneeling, is to maintain and exercise a Principle of Church Division, (that is, such as is of its own nature fitted to divide it, and will effect it).

Ergo, To enjoy all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not receive kneeling, is to use this Power to the certain and lamentable Division of the Church.

The Minor (which only needs proof) I prove thus:
To maintain and exercise this Principle; That [Things as unnecessary, small and doubtful, as kneeling in the Reception of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, are to be made necessary to the Communion of the Church] is to maintain and exercise a Principle of Church Division.

But to enjoy all Ministers to deny Communion to all that dare not receive kneeling, is to maintain and exercise this Principle, that [Things as unnecessary, small and doubtful, as kneeling in the Reception of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, are to be made necessary to the Communion of the Church].

Ergo, To enjoy all, &c. is to maintain and exercise a Principle of Church-Division.

The Major (which only needs proof) is thus proved.

To maintain and exercise such a Principle as, 1. Never yet was exercised, but it did divide the Church; 2. and by which its Divisions have been caufed or cherished ever since the Roman Unification begun; 3. and which cannot possibly confift with Unity whilst Christians are of such different 1. Educations, 2. and degrees of Natural Understanding, 3. and degrees of Grace, is to maintain and exercise a Principle of Church Division.

But to maintain and exercise this Principle [That Things as unnecessary, small and doubtful as kneeling in the Reception of the Sacrament, are to be made necessary to the Communion of the Church] is to maintain and exercise such a Principle, as 1. never yet was exercised but it did divide, &c. —— Ergo——

And thus our Dispute at the Savoy ended, and with it our Endeavours for Reconciliation upon the Warrant of the King's Commission.

§ 236. Were it not a thing in which an Historian so much concerned in the business is apt to be suspected of partiality, I would here annex a Character of each one that managed this business as they shewed themselves. But because it hath that inconvenience, I will omit it, only telling you what part each of them acted in all this Work.

The Bishop of London (since Archbifhop of Canterbury) only appeared the first day of each Conference (which, besides that before the King, was but twice in all as I remember) and medled not at all in any Disputations: But all Men supposed that he and Bishop Morley (and next Bishop Hinckman) were the doors and dipofer of all such Affairs. The Archbifhop of York spake no more than I have Frewn.

Bishop Morley was oft there, but not constantly, and with free and fluent words, with much earliness, was the chief Speaker of all the Bishops, and the greatest Interrupter of us; vehemently going on with what he thought serviceable to his end, and bearing down Answers by the said fervour and interruptions. Bishop Cofins was there constantly, and had a great deal of talk with so little Logick, Natural or Artificial, that I perceived no one much moved by any thing he said. But two Verues he shewed (though none took him for a Magician): One was, that he was excellently well versed in Canon, Councils, and Fathers, which he remembered, when by citing of any Passages we tried him. The other was, that as he was of a Ruffick Wir and Carriage, to which end two could more freedom of our Discourse with him, and was more affailable and familiar than the reft. Bishop Hinckman (since Bishop of London) was of the mofl gravis, comely, reverenced Aspect, of any of them; and of a good Insight in the Fathers and Councils, Cofins and he and Dr. Gunning being all that shewed any of that Skill among us considerable: in which they are all three of very laudable Understandings, and better than any other of either of the Parties that I met with: And Bishop Hinckman spake calmly and slowly, and not very oft; But was as high in his Principles and Resolutions as any of them.

Bishop Sanderfon of Lincoln was some time there, but never spake that I know of, but what I have told you before: But his great Learning and Worth are known by his Labours *, and his aged Peculifhes not unknown.

* Since, at
his death, he made it
his request that the ejected Ministers might be used again: but his request was rejected by them that had overwitted him, as being too late.

Bishop Gauden was our most constant helper; He and Bishop Cofins seldom were abSENT. And how bitter ever his Pen be, he was the only Moderator of all the Bishops (except our Bishop Reynolds): He shewed no Logick, nor medled in any Dispute, or Point of Learning; but a calm, fluent, Rhetorical Tongue: And if A a a 2 all
all had been of his mind, we had been reconciled: But when by many days Con-
ference in the beginning, we had got some moderating Contentions from him (and
from Bishop Cosins by his means) the rest came in the end and brake them
all.

Bishop Lucie of St. David, spake once or twice a few words calmly, and so did
Bishop Nicholast of Gloucester, and Bishop Griffiths of Ajarph (though no Commission-
ers); and did no more.

Bishop King of Chickefer I never saw there: Bishop Warner of Rochefer was there
once or twice, but medled not that I heard. Bishop Lany of Peterborough was twice
or thrice there, and talked as is before recited; for I remember no more.

Bishop Walton of Chefer was there once or twice, and spake but what is before
recited, that I know of.

Bishop Sterne of Carlifte, since Archbishops of York, was of a most sober, honest,
mortified Aspeft, but spake nothing that I know of; but that weak uncharitable word before mentioned: so that I was never more deceived by a Man's Face.

Bishop Reignolds spake much the firft day for bringing them to Abatements and
Moderation: And afterwards he fate with them, and spake now and then a word
for Moderation. He was a bold honest Man, but through mildness and excess of
timorous reverence to great Men, altogether unfit to contend with them.

Mr. Thorneke spake once a few impertinent passionare words, confuting the O-
pinion which we had received of him from his firft Writings, and confirming that
which his fecond and laft Writings had given us of him.

Dr. Earl, Dr. Heylin, and Dr. Barwick never came. Dr. Hacket (since Bishop
of Coventry and Lichfield) said nothing to make us know any thing of him. Dr. Sparrow laid but little; but that little was with a Spirit enough for the imposing
dividing Caufe.

Dr. Pierfon and Dr. Gunning did all their Work (before Bishop Morley's Discours-
es) but with great difference in the manner. Dr. Pierfon was their true Logician
and Disputant, without whom, as far as I could difcern, we should have had noth-
ing from them, but Dr. Gunning's passionate Invectives mixt with fome Argumenta-
tions: He didput acute and lofty and calmly (being but once in any paffi-
on)breeding in us a great repect for him, and a perfwation that if he had been inde-
pendent, he would have been for Peace, and that if all were in his power, it
would have gone well: He was the Strength and honour of that Caufe which we
doubted whether he heartly maintained.

Dr. Gunning was their forwardleft and greatest Speaker; understanding well
what belonged to a Disputant; a Man of greater Study and Industry than any of
them, well read in Fathers and Councils; and of a ready Tongue; (and I hear
and believe of a very temperate Life, as to all Carnal Excefses whatsoever:) but
fo vehement for his high impofing Principles, and fo over-zealous for Arminia-
nism and Formality and Church Pomp, and fo very eager and fervent in his Dif-
courfe, that I conceive his Prejudice and Paffion much perverted his Judg-
ment, and I am sure they made him lamentably over-run himfelf in his Dif-
courses.

Of Dr. Pierce I will say no more, because he hath laid fo much of me.

On our part, Dr. Bates spake very boldly, judiciously and pertinently when he
spake: And for my felf, the reason why I spake fo much, was because it was the
defire of my Brethren, and I was loft to expofe them to the hatred of the Bifhop,
but was willinger to take it all upon my felf; they themfelues having fo much wit as
to be therein more fparing and caufeous than I: and I thought that the Day and
Caufe commanded me them two things, which then were objected againft me as
my Crimes, viz. speaking too boldly, and too long. And I thought it a Caufe that
I could comfortably fuffer for; and should as willingly be a Martyr for Charity as
for Faith.

§ 237. When this Work was over, the rest of our Brethren met again, and re-
folved to draw up an Account of our Endeavours, and prefent it to his Majesty,
with our Petition for his promiffed help yet for thofe Alterations and Abatements
which we could not procure of the Bifhops: And that firit we should acquaint the
Lord Chancellor withal, and confult with him about it. Which we did; and as
foon as we came to him, according to my expectation, I found him moft offend-
ed at me, and that I had taken off the diftaffe and blame from all the refl. At
our firft entrance he meerily told us. [That if I were but as fat as Dr. Mantone, we
should all do well]. I told him, if his Lordship could teach me the Art of growing
fat, he fhouid not unwilling to learn, by any good means. He grew more
serious,
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

serious, and said, That I was severe and strict, like a Melancholy Man, and made those things Sir which others did not: And I perceived he had been polluted with displeasure towards me upon that account, that I charged the Church and Liturgy with Sir; and had not supposed that the word was but inexpediency. I told him that I had spoken nothing but what I thought, and had given my Reasons for— After other such Discourse, we craved his Favour to procure the King's Declaration yet to be part into an Act, and his Advice what we had further to do. He confented that we should draw up an Address to his Majesty, rendering him an account of all; but defired that we would first shew it him; which we promis-

§ 238. When we shewed our Paper to the Lord Chancellor (which the Brethren had defired me to draw up, and had confented to without any alteration) he was not pleased with some Passages in it, which he thought too pungent or preflingle: but would not bid us put them out. So we went with it to the Lord Chamberlain (who had heard from the Lord Chancellor about it), and I read it to him alfo, and he was earnest with us to blot out some Passages as too vehement, and such as would not well be born. I was very loth to leave them out, but Sir Gilbert Gerard (an ancient godly Man) being with him, and of the same mind, I yielded (having no remedy, and being unmeet to oppose their Wildoms any further): And so what they Scored under we left out, and prefented the rest to his Majesty afterwards. But when we came to prefent it, the Earl of Manchester secretly told the rest, that if Dr. Reignolds, Dr. Bates, and Dr. Manton would deliver it, it would be the more acceptable (intimating that I was grown unacceptable at Court): But they would not go without me, and he profefled he defired not my Exclusion: But when they told me of it, I took my leave of him, and was going away: But he and they came after me to the Stairs, and importuned me to return, and I went with them to take my Farewel of this Service. But I resolv'd that I would not be the Deliverer of any of our Papers (though I had got them transcribed and brought them thither): So we defired Dr. Manton to deliver our Petition, and wish it the fair Copies of all our Papers (which was required of us for the King). And when Bishop Reignolds had spoken a few words, Dr. Manton delivered them to the King; who received them and the Petition, but did not bid us read it at all. At last, in his Speeches, something fell in which Dr. Manton told him that the Petition gave him a full account of, if his Majesty pleased to give him leave to read it; whereupon he had leave to read it out. The occasion was, a short Speech which I made to inform his Majesty how far we were agreed with the Bishops, and wherein the difference did not lye, as in the Points of Loyalty, Obedience, Church-Order, &c. This Dr. Manton also spoke; And the King put the Queltion, [But who shall be judge?] And I answered him, That Judgment is either publick or private: Private Judgment called Difcretion, which is but the fale of my Reason to conduct my Actions, belongeth to every private rational Man: Publick Judgment is Ecclefaftical or Civil, and belongeth accordingly to the Ecclefaftical Governours (or Palliors) and the Civil; and not to any private Man. And this was the end of thefe Affairs.

§ 239. I will give you the Copy of the Petition just as I drew it up, because Mr. Calamy was most of this time in Englund, and was not then at home, but had a hurt which he had received: Here you may fee what thole words were which could not be tolerated; 2: Because it is but supposing the under-scored Lines to be blotted out, and you have it as it was presented without any Alteration. For thole under-scored Lines were all the words that were left out.

To
To the King’s most Excellent Majesty:

The due Account and humble Petition of us Ministers of the Gospel lately Commissioned for the Review and Alteration of the Liturgy.

May it please your Majesty;

When this disterempered Nation, wearied with its own Contentions and Divisions, did groan for Unity and Peace, the wonderful Providence of the most Righteous God appearing for the removal of Impediments, their Eyes were upon your Majesty, as the Person born to be, under God, the Center of their Concord, and taught by Affliction to break the Bonds of the Afflicted, and by Experience of the bad Effects of Mens Uncharitableness and Paffions, to refrain all from Violence and Extremities, and keeping Moderation and Mediocrity, the Oyl of Charity and Peace. And when these your Subjects Desires were accomplished in your Majesty’s peaceable possession of your Throne, it was the Joy and Encouragement of the Sober and Religious, that you began the Exercize of your Government with a Proclamation full of Christian Zeal against Debauchery and Prophaneness, declaring allo your dislike of ‘thole who under pretence of affection to your Majesty and your Service, asume to themselves the liberty of Keviling, Threatening, and Reproaching others, to prevent that Reconciliation and Union of Hearts and Affections, which can only with God’s Blessing make us rejoice in each other. Our Comforts allo were carried on by your Majesty’s early and ready Entertainment of Motions for Accommodation in these Points of Discipline and Worship in which we were diisagreed, and your professed Resolutions to draw us together by Mutual Approaches, and publishing your Healing Declaration, which was received with the Thanks of your House of Commons, and the Applause of the People, and the special Joy of those that longed for Concord and Tranquility in the Church: In which your Majesty declarlest lo much Satisfaction in the Foundations of Agreement already laid, as that you [should think your self very unfortunate, and suspeft that you are defective in the Administration of Government, if any Superstructures should shake these Foundations, and contract or lessen the blessed Gifl of Charity, which is a Vital part of Christian Religion.] And as in the said gracious Declaration, your Majesty resolved to [apoint an equal number of Learned Divines of both Persuasions to review the Liturgy, and to make such Alterations as shall be thought most necessary, and some additional Forms (in the Scripture Phrase as near as may be) suited unto the nature of the several parts of Worship; and that it be left to the Minifters choice, to use one or other at his Discretion]; so in Accomplishment thereof, your Majesty among others, directed your Commission unto us for the review of [the several Directions, Rules, and Forms of Prayer, and things in thesaid Book of Common Prayer contained]; and [if occasion be, to make such reasonable and necessary Alterations, Corrections and Amendments therein, as by and between us shall be agreed upon to be needful or expedient for the giving of Satisfaction to tender Confidences, and the reforming and continuance of Peace and Unity in the Churches under your Protection and Government]—what we [agree upon as needful or expedient to be done, for the altering, diminishing or enlarging the said Book of Common Prayer, or any part thereof, forwith to certify and present it in Writing] to your Majesty.

In Obedience to this your Majesty’s Commission, we met with the Right Reverend Bishops, who required of us, that before any Personal Debates, we should bring in Writing, all our Exceptions against the Book of Common Prayer, and all the Additional Forms which we desired; both which we performed, and received from them an Anwer to the first, and returned them our full Reply: The last Week of our time, being designed to Personal Conference, was at the Will of the Right Reverend Bishops spent in a particular Dispute by three of each part, about the Infuitiveness of one of the Injunctions, from which we desired to be free; and in some other Conference on the by. And though the Account which we are forced to give your Majesty of the Issue of our Contemplations, is that, No Agreements are subscribed by us, to be offered your Majesty, according to your Expectation; and though it be none of our intent to call the least unmeet Reflections...
Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Part II.

Sections upon the Right Reverend Bishops and Learned Brethren who think not meet to yield to any considerate Alterations to the Ends expressed in your Majesty's Commission, yet we must say, that it is some quiet to our Minds that we have not been guilty of your Majesty's and your Subjects disappointments, and that we account not your Majesty's gracious Commission, nor our Labour, lost, having Peace of Conscience in the discharge of our Duties to God and you: that we have been the Seekers and Followers of Peace, and have earnestly pleaded, and humbly petitioned for it; [and offered for it any price below the offence of God Almighty, and the wounding or hazard of our own, or of the Peoples souls; and that we have in season born our testimony against those Extremes, which at last will appear to those that do not now discern it, to have proceeded from uncharitablc mistake, and tended to the division and trouble of the Church: that whatever shall become of Charity, Unity and Concord, our Life, our Beauty, and our Bands, our Conferences tell us we have not deferted them, nor left any probable means unattempted, which we could discern within our power]. And we humbly beseech your Majesty to believe, that we own no Principles of Faction or Disobedi- ence, nor Patronize the Errors or Obliquity of any: It is granted us by all, that nothing should be commanded us by Man, which is contrary to the Word of God: that if it be, and we know it, we are bound not to perform it; God being the Absolute Universal Sovereign; that we must use all just means to discern the Will of God, and whether the Commands of Man be contrary to it: that if the Command be sinful, and any through the neglect of sufficient search, shall judge it lawful, his culpable Error excuseth not his doing of it from being sin: and therefore as a reasonable Creature must needs have a Judgment of discerning, that he may rationally obey, i.e. he is with the greatest care and diligence to exercise it in the greatest things, even the obeying of God and the saving of our Souls; and that where a strong probability of great sin and danger lyeth before us, we must not rashly run on without search; and that to go against Conscience, even where it is mistaken, is sin and danger to him that errth. And on the other side we are agreed, that in things no way against the Laws of God, the Commands of our Governors must be obeyed: that if they command what God forbids, we must patiently submit to Suffering; and every Soul must be subject to the higher Powers, for Conscience fake, and not refit: that Publick Judgment, Civil or Ecclesiatical, belongeth only to publick Persons, and not to any private Man: that no Man must becaulefully and pragmatically inquiritive into the Reason of his Superiors Commands; nor by Pride and Self-conceitedness exalt his own Understanding above its worth and office; but all to be modestly and humbly self-sufficient: that none must erroneously pretend God's Law against the just Command of his Superiour, nor pretend the doing of his Duty to be fin: that he who supposes his Superiors Commands to be against God's Laws, must use all means for full Information, before he settle in a course of disobedying them: and that he who indeed discovereth any thing commanded to be sin, though he must not do it, must manage his Opinion with very great tenderness and care of the Publick Peace, and the Honour of his Governors. These are our Principles: If we are otherwise repre- sented to your Majesty we are misrepresented: If we are accussed of contradistinct them, we humbly crave that we may never be condemned till we are heard. It is the desire of our Souls to contribute our Parts and Interests to the utmost, for the promoting of Holiness, Charity, Unity, and Obedience to Rules in all lawful Things: But if we yield in against God, because we are commanded, who shall answer for us, did we use our Justice? And we humbly crave, that it may be no unjust grievance, if our dissent, that thereby we suppose Superiors to err; seeing it is but happening thine to be Men, not yet in Heaven; and this may be imputed to every one that differeth in Opinion from another. And we beseech your Majesty to believe, that we seek no greater Matters in the World, than our daily bread; with Liberty to preach the Gospel, and Worship God according to his Word, and the practice of the Primitive pure Church, so we hope it is not through puffedamity and overmuch tenderness of Suffering that we have pleaded so much for the avoiding of Suffering to our Selves or others: May none of our Sufferings hinder the Prosperity of the Church, and the good of Souls [of Men! May not our dread Sovereign, the Bread of our Natures, be tempted by mis-representations to destroy such as are faithful, and unawares to wrong the interest of Christ, and put forth his hand to af- flux those that Christ would have him cherish, left their Head should be provoked to jealousy and offence! May not the Land of our Nativity languish in Divisions, nor be filled with the Groans of those that are flung out of the holy Assemblies, and those that want the necessary breaking of the Bread of Life! Nor be disappointed of its expected Peace and Joy! Let not
not those things befall us) and we have enough. And we fuppose those that think
the Persons inconsiderable in number and quality for whom we plead, will not
themselves believe that we have done this for Popular Applause: This were not
to much to seek the Reward of Hypocrites, as to play the Game of Fools; forcing
the Applause of inconsiderable Men can be but inconsiderable; and we know our
selves that we are like thus to offend those that are not inconsiderable. The Lord
that searcheth hearts, doth know that it is not so much the avoiding of Suffering to
ourselves or any particular Persons, that is the end of our Endeavours: (though this
were no ambitious end) as the Peace and Welfare of the Church and Kingdoms
under your Majesty's Government: We know that, supposing them that are for the
Ceremonies to be as pious and charitable as the rest, it cannot be so much offend them
that another Man forbeareth them, as it much offend that other to be forced to use
them: and we know that confficientious Men will not content to the practice of
things in their Judgments unlawful, when those may yield that count the Matters
but indifferent.

And for the management of this Treaty, so being agreed at our first meeting,
that nothing be reported as the Words or Sense of either Part, but what is by them
delivered in writing, we humbly crave that your Majesty receive no more as ours,
and that where is charged on any particular Person, he may be answerable for
himself: And though the Reverend Bishops have not had time to consider of our
Additions to the Liturgy, and of our Reply, that yet they may be considered before
a Determination be made: And though we seem... have laboured in vain, we
shall yet lay this Work of Reconciliation and Peace, at the feet of your Majesty,
befothing you to profane such a blessed Resolution till it attain success. We
must needs believe, that when your Majesty took our Consent to a Liturgy, to be
a Foundation that would inhere our Concord, you meant not that we should
have no Concord, but by confenting to this Liturgy without any considerable Al-
teration. And when you contended us with your Resolution to draw us together,
by yielding on both sides in what we could, you meant not that we should be the
Boat, and they the Bank that must not flirt: And when your Majesty commanded
us by your Letters Patents to treat about such Alterations as were [such] needful or ex-
pedient for giving Satisfaction to tender Consciences, and the restoring and con-
tinuance of Peace and Unity, we rest assured that it was not your sense, that
those tender Consciences were to be forced so practice all which they judged unlawful,
and not to meet as a Ceremony abstained them: Or that our Treaty was only
to convert either part to the Opinion of the other: And that all our Hopes of Con-
cord or Liberty confirmt only in Disputing the Bishops into Nonconformity, or
coming in every Ceremony to their minds.

Finally, as your Majesty under God, is the Protection whereto your People flee,
and as the same Necessaries still remain, which drew forth your gracious Declara-
tion, we most humbly and earnestly beseech your Majesty, that the Benefits of
the said Declaration may be continued to your People, and in particular [That
none be punished or troubled for not using the Common Prayer, till it be effec-
tually reformed] and the Additions made as there expressed.

We crave your Majesty's pardon for the tediousness of this Address, and shall
wait in hope that so great a Calamity of your People, as would follow the loss of
so many able faithful Ministers as rigorous Impostions would call out, shall never
be Recorded in the History of your Reign: but that these Amendments of Con-
cord being forborn, your Kingdoms may flourish in Peace and Peace, and this
may be the Signal Honour of your happy Government, and your Joy in the Day of
your Accounts. Which is the Prayer of

Your Majesty's

Faithful and Obedient

Subjects———

§ 249.
§ 240. And in the Conclusion of this Business, seeing we could prevail with these Prelates and Prelatical Men, (after so many Calamities by Divisions, and when they pretended Desires of Unity), to make no considerable Alterations at all; the Reason of it seeming unsearchable to some, was by others confidently conjectured to be these:

1. They extremly prejudic'd the Persons that sought this Peace, and therefore were glad of means to call them out and ruin them.  
2. The Effects of the Parliament's Conquest had exasperated them to the height.  
3. They would not have any Reformation or Change to occasion Men to think that ever they were in an Error, or that their Adversaries had reasonably defined, or had procured a Reformation.  
4. Some confidently thought that a secret Resolution to unite with the Papists (at least as high as the old Design which Heylin owneth in Land's Life) was the greatest cause of all: And that they would never have lovd to great a Party, as they did but to gain a greater (at home and abroad together.)

§ 241. And here, because they would abate us nothing at all considerable, but made things far harder and heavier than before, I will annex the Concessions of Archbishop Usher, Archbishop Williams, Bishop Morton, Bishop Holdsworth, and many others in a Committee at Westminister (before mentioned) 1641.

A Copy of the Proceedings of some Worthy and Learned Divines touching Innovations in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England: Together with Considerations upon the Common Prayer Book.

Innovations in Doctrine.

1. Quare. Why in the Twentieth Article these Words are not inserted, Habet Ecclesia autoritatem in Controversiis fidei.

2. It appears by Stetford, and the approbation of the Licenfers, that some do teach and preach, That Good Works are necessary with faith in the act of Justification; Dr. Dove also hath given Scandal in that point.

3. Some have preached that these Works of Penance are satisfactory before God.

4. Some have preached that private Confession by particular Enumeration of Sins, is necessary to Salvation, necessitate medii; both these Errors have been questioned at the Consistory at Cambridge.

5. Some have maintained that the Absolution which the Priest pronounceth, is more than Declaratory.

6. Some have published, That there is a proper Sacrifice in the Lord's Supper, to exhibit Christ's Death in the Passaft, as there was a Sacrifice to preside in the Old Law in the Anteafaft, and therefore that we have a true Altar, and therefore not only metaphorically so called, to Dr. Heylin and others in the late Summers Convocation, where also some defended, that the Oblation of the Elements might hold the Nature of the true Sacrifice, others the Consumption of the Elements.

7. Some have introduced Prayer for the Dead, as Mr. Brown in his printed Sermon, and some have coloured the Use of it with Questions in Cambridge, and disputed, that Præces pro Defunctoribus non apponuntur Purgatorio.

8. Divers have oppugned the Certitude of Salvation.

9. Some have maintained the Lawfulness of Monastical Vows.

10. Some have maintained that the Lord's Day is kept meerly by Ecclesiastical Constitution, and that the Day is changeable.

11. Some have taught as new and dangerous Doctrine, that the Subjects are to pay any Sums of Money imposed upon them, though without Law, nay contrary to the Laws of the Realm, as Dr. Sytshorp, and Dr. Manswaring Bishop of St. Davids, in their printed Sermons, whom many have followed of late years.

B b b

r2. Some
12. Some have put Scorns upon the two Books of Homilies, calling them either Popular Discourses, or a Doctrine useful for those Times wherein they were set forth.

13. Some have defended the whole gross Substance of Arminianism, that Elección et ex fide praevia. That the Act of Conversion depends upon the Concurrence of Man's Freewill; That the justified Man may fall finally and totally from Grace.

14. Some have defended Universal Grace, as imparted as much to Reprobates as to the Elect, and have proceeded aequa ad salutem Ethnico-rum, which the Church of England hath Anathematized.

15. Some have absolutely denied Original Sin, and so evacuated the Cross of Christ, as in a Disputation at Oxon.

16. Some have given excessive Cause of Scandal to the Church: as being suspected of Socinianism.

17. Some have defended that Concupiscence is no sin, either in the habit, or first motion.

18. Some have broach out of Socinism a most uncomfortable and desperate Doctrine, That late Repentance, that is, upon the last Bed of Sickness, is unfruitful, at least to reconcile the Penitent to God.

Add unto these, some dangerous and most reprovable Books.

1. The Reconciliation of Sanilia Clara, to knit the Romish and Protestant in one; Memorandum. That he be caused to produce Bishop Watson's Book of the like Reconciliation which he speaks of.

2. A Book called Brevis Disputatio, printed (as it is thought) in London, and vulgarly to be had, which impugneth the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and theverity of Christ's Body (which he took of the Blessed Virgin) in Heaven, and the verity of our Resurrection.

3. A Book called Timotheus Philalethes de Pace Ecclesiae, which holds that every Religion will have a Man, if he holds the Covenant.

Innovations in Discipline.

1. The turning of the holy Table Altar-wife, and most commonly calling it an Altar.

2. Bowing towards it, or towards the East, many times, with three Congeas, but usually in every motion, access, or recefs in the Church.

3. Advancing Candlesticks in many Churches upon the Altar so called.

4. In making Canopies over the Altar so called, with Traverfes and Curtains on each side, and before it.

5. In compelling all Communicants to come up before the Rails, and there to Receive.

6. In advancing Crucifixes and Images upon the Parafront, or Altar-clubs so called.

7. In reading some part of the Morning Prayer at the Holy Table, when there is no Communion celebrated.

8. By the Minister's turning his back to the West, and his face to the East, when he pronounceeth the Creed, or reads Prayers.

9. By reading the Litany in the midst of the Body of the Church in many of the Parochial Churches.

10. By pretending for their Innovations, the Injunctions and Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth, which are not in force, but by way of Commentary and Imposition, and by putting to the Liturgy printed secundo, tertio Edwardsii festi, which the Parliament hath Reformed and laid aside.

11. By offering of Bread and Wine by the hand of the Churchwardens or others, before the Consecration of the Elements.

12. By having a Credentia, or Side-Table, besides the Lord's Table, for divers uses in the Lord's Supper.

13. By introducing an Offertory before the Communion, different from the giving of Alms to the Poor.

14 By
14. By prohibiting the Ministers to expound the Catechism at large to their Parishes.
15. By suppressing of Lectures, partly on Sundays in the Afternoon, partly on Week-days, performed as well by Combination, as some one Man.
17. By singling the Te Deum in Prose after a Cathedral Church way, in divers Parochial Churches, where the People have no skill in such Mufick.
18. By introducing Latin-Service in the Communion of late in Oxford, and in some Colleges in Cambridge, at Morning and Evening Prayer, so that some young Students, and the Servants of the College do not understand their Prayers.
19. By standing up at the Hymns in the Church, and always at Gloria Patri.
20. By carrying Children from the Baptism to the Altar so called, there to offer them up to God.
21. By taking down Galleries in Churches, or restraining the Building of such Galleries where the Parishes are very populous.

Memorandum:
1. That in all the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches two Sermons be preached every Sunday by the Dean and Prebendaries, or by their procurement, and likewise every Holy-day, and one Lecture at the least to be preached on Working-days every Week, all the Year long.
2. That the Musick used in God's Holy Service, in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches be framed with less Curiosity, that it may be more edifying and more intelligible, and that no Hymns or Anthems be used where Ditties are framed by private Men, but such as are contained in the Sacred Canonical Scriptures, or in our Liturgy of Prayers, or have publick allowance.
3. That the Reading-Desk be placed in the Church where Divine Service may best be heard of all the People.

Considerations upon the Book of Common Prayer.

1. Whether the Names of some departed Saints and others should not be quite expunged in the Kalender.
2. Whether the reading of Psalms, Sentences of Scripture, concurring in divers places in the Hymns, Epistles and Gospels, should not be let out in the New Translation.
3. Whether the Rubrick should not be mended, where all Verstes in them of Divine Service are now commanded, which were used, 2 Edw. 6.
4. Whether Leffons of Canonical Scripture should be put into the Kalender instead of Apocrypha.
5. That the Doxology should be always printed at the End of the Lord's Prayer, and be always laid by the Miniffer.
6. Whether the Rubrick should not be mended, where it is, (that the Leffons should be sung in a plain tune) why not read with a distinct voice?)
7. Whether Gloria Patri should be repeated at the end of every Psalm.
8. Whether according to that End of the Preface before the Common Prayer, the Curate should be bound to read Morning and Evening Prayers every day in the Church, if he be at home, and not reasonably letted, and why not only on Wednesday and Friday Morning, and in the Afternoon on Saturday, with Holy-day Eves.
9. Whether the Hymns, Benedicite omnia Opera, &c. may not be left out.
10. In the Prayer for the Clergy, that Phrase Perhaps to be altered, which only worketh great marvels.
11. In the Rubrick for the Administration of the Lords Supper, whether an alteration be not to be made in this, That such as intend to Communicate shall signifie their Names to the Curate over Night, or in the Morning before Prayers.
12. The next Rubrick to be cleared, how far a Minifter may repulse a scandalous and notorious Sinner from the Communion.
13. Whether the Rubrick is not to be mended, where the Churchwardens are strictly charged to gather the Alms for the Poor before the Communion begins; for by experience it is proved to be done better when the People depart.

14. Whether the Rubrick is not to be mended, concerning the Party that is to make his General Confession upon his knees, before the Communion, that it should be said only by the Miniffer, and then at every Office repeated to the People.

15. Thes in words in the Form of the Confection, *This is my Body, This is my Blood of the New Testament,* not to be printed hereafter in great Letters.

16. Whether it will not be fit to insert a Rubrick, touching kneeling at the Communion, that it, to comply in all Humility with the Prayer which the Minifier makes when he delivers the Elements.

17. Whether *Cathedral and Collegiate Churches* shall be strictly bound to Celebrate the Holy Communion every Sunday at the least, and might not it rather be added once in a Month.

18. In the last Rubrick touching the Communion, it is not fit that the Printer make a full Point, and begin with a new Great Letter at these words, *And every Parishioner shall also receive the Sacrament.*

19. Whether in the first Prayer at the Baptism, these words, *Didst thou sanctifie the Blood of Jordan, and all other Waters,* should be thus changed, *Didst thou sanctifie the Element of Water.*

20. Whether it be not fit to have some direct Rubrick made to take away all scandal from signing the Sign of the Cross upon the Infants after Baptism; or if it shall seem more expedient to be quite difused, whether this Reason should be published, That in ancient Liturgies no Cross was confined upon the Party, but where Oyl alfo was used; and therefore Oyl being now omitted, fo may alfo that which was concommitant with it, the Sign of the Cross.

21. In Private Baptism, the Rubrick mentions that which mufT not be done, that the Minifier may dip the Child in Water being at the point of Death.

22. Whether in the last Rubrick of Confirmation, these words be to be left out, and be undoubtedly saved.

23. Whether the Catechifm may not receive a little more Enlargement.

24. Whether the Times prohibited for Marriage are quite to be taken away.

25. Whether none hereafter shall have Licenfes to marry, nor be asked their Banns of Matrimony, that shall not bring with them a Certificate from their Miniflers that they are instructed in their Catechifm.

26. Whether these Words in Matrimony, *With my Body 1 thee worship,* shall not be thus altered, *I give thee power over my body.*

27. Whether the last Rubrick of Marriage should not be mended, that new married Persons should receive the Communion the fame day of their marriage, may not well be (or upon the Sunday following) when the Communion is celebrated.

28. In the Abolition of the Sick, were it not plain to say, *I pronounce thee Absolved.*

29. The Pfalm of Thanksgiving of Women after Child-birth, were it not fit to be composed out of proper Versicles taken from divers Pfalms.

30. May not the Priest rather read the Communion in the Desk, than go up to the Pulpit.

31. The Rubrick in the Commination leave it doubtful, whether the Liturgy may not be read in divers places in the Church.

32. In the Order of the Burial of all Persons, *tis said, We commit his Body to the Ground, in sure and certain hope of Resurrection to Eternal Life;* Why not thus, *Knowing assuredly that the Dead shall rise again.*

33. In the Collect next unto the Collect against the Pestilence, the Clausa perhaps to be mended: *For the honour of Jesus Christ's sake.*

34. In the Litany, instead of Fornication and all other deadly Sin, would it not satisfie thus? *From Fornication and all other grievous Sins.*

35. It is very fit that the Imperfections of the Metre in the singing Pfalms should be mended, and then Lawful Authority added unto them, to have them publicly sung before and after Sermons, and sometimes instead of the Hymns of Morning and Evening Prayer.

§ 242.
§ 242. And now our Calamities began to be much greater than before: We were called all by the Name of Presbyterians (the odious Name); though we never put up one Petition for Presbytery, but pleaded for Primitive Episcopacy. We were represented in the common talk of those who thought it their Interest to be our Adversaries, as the most Seditious People, unworthy to be used like Men, or to enjoy our common Liberty among them. We could not go abroad but we met with daily Reproaches and False Stories of us: Either we were feign'd to be Plotting, or to be Disaffecting the People, &c. And no Sermon that I preached, scarce escaped the Censure of being Seditious, though I preached only for Repentance and Peace, and Morality and Common Virtue, yea, if it were against Disobedience and Sedition, all was one as to my Estimation with those Men. And the great Increase of all this was, that there were a multitude of Students that studied for Preferment, and many Gentlemen that aimed at their Rising in the World, who found out quickly what was most pleasing to those whole Favour they must rise by, and to let themselves industriously to Reviling, Calumniating and Cruelty, against all those whom they perceived to be odious. And he that can but convince a Worldly Generation of any thing that's the ready way to their Preferment, shall be sure to have it diligently followed, and thoroughly done with all their might.

§ 243. Before and about this time many Books, (if so they may be called) were written against me. One by Mr. Naufton (forementioned) a Justice of Peace in Worceftershire, who being a great Friend of the Papifts, had spoken against me on the Bench at the Sessions behind my back, as the Author of a Petition against Popyery heretofore: and was angry with me for evincing to him, his mistake, temerity and injustice: And when he knew his time, he had nothing else to be the Jewel of his Revenge, but that very Book which I wrote against the Papifts: and therein against the killing of the King, which I aggravated against the Army and the Papift Inftrigators and Actors: But because in Answer to the Papifts, I made their Doctrine and Practice of King killing to be worse than these Sectaries were guilty of, and thereupon recited what the Sectaries said for themselves, which the Juries have not to lay: he took up all these Reasons of the Sectaries, and answered them as if they had been my own, and I had pleaded for that, which I condemned by writing in a time when it might have off me my Life, when the Gentlemen that thus would have proved me a Traitor, did himself set under the Ulcers, and took their Impositions, which we abhorred and refused.

§ 244. And here I shall infer a Passage not contemptible concerning the Papifts, because I am fall'n into the mention of them. In Cromwell's days, when I was writing that very Book, and my Holy Commonwealth, and was charging their Treasons and Rebels on the Army; one Mr. James Stanfield, a Reverend Minifter of Glouceftershire, called on me, and told me a Story; which afterwards he sent me under his Hand, and warranted me to publish it; which was this.

One Mr. Atkins of Glouceftershire, Brother to Judge Atkins, being beyond Sea, with others that had served the late King, fell into intimate acquaintance with a Priest, that had been (or then was) Governour of one of their Colledges in Flanders: They agreed, not to meddle with each other about Religion, and to continued their Friendship long. A little after the King was beheaded, Mr. Atkins met this Priest in London, and going into a Tavern with him, said to him in his familiar way, [What business have you here? I warrant you come about some Regency or other]. Whereupon the Priest told him it was a great secret, [That there were Thirty of them here in London, who by Instructions from Cardinal Mazarine, did take care of such Affairs, and had state in Council, and debated the Question, Whether the King should be put to death or not: and that it was carried in the Affirmative, and there were but two Voices for the Negative, which was his own and another's: And that for his part he could not concur with them, as foreseeing what mischief this would bring upon his Country]. That Mr. Atkins stood to the Truth of this, but thought it a Violation of the Laws of Friendship, to name the Man.

I would not print it without fuller Attestation, left it should be a wrong to the Papifts. But when the King was restored and lasted in Peace, I told it occasionly to a Privy Councillor, who not advising me to meddle any further in it, because the King knew enough of Mazarine's Desigins already, I let it alone. But about this time I met with Dr. Thomas Good, and occasionally mentioning such a thing, he told me that he was familiarly acquainted with Mr. Atkins, and would know the certainty of him, whether it were true: And not long after meeting him again, he told me that he spoke with Mr. Atkins, and that he assured him that it was true:
but he was loth to meddle in the publication of it. Nor did I think it prudent my self to do it, as knowing the Malice and Power of the Papists.

Since this, Dr. Peter Martyr hath in his Answer to Philanax Anglicus, declared that he is ready to prove, when Authority will call him to it, that the King's Death and the Change of the Government, was first proposed both to the Serbome, and to the Pope with his Conclave, and confenited to and concluded for by both.

§ 245. Another Book wrote against me was (as was thought) by one Tompkins, a young Man of All-Souls, Son to Mr. Tompkins of Worcefter, and a School-boy there when I lived in that County: He called it The Rebel's Plot; being a Conflatation of such Passages in my Holy Commonwealth, as he feaft underfond and could make miff odious. All thefe Men made me think, what one advised the Papists to do for the effectual Conflation of the Protestants; viz. Not to difpute or talk with them at all, but to preach every day against them in the Pulpits; for there they may speak without any Contradiction, and need not fear an Anwer.

§ 246. Shortly after our Disputation at the Savoy, I went to Rickmers府ur in Harfforthhire, and preached there but once, upon Math. 22. 12. [And he was free-lee]: where I spake not a word that was any nearer kin to Sedition, or that had any greater tendency to provoke them, than by fhewing (that wicked men, and the refufers of grace, however they may now have many things to Say to excuse their fire, will at last be fhrieked, and dare not stand to their wickedity before God.) Yet did the Bishop of Worcefter tell me, when he silenced me, that the Bishop of London had fhewed him Letters from one of the Hearers, affuring him that I preached feditiously: So little Security was any Man's Innocency (that displeased the Bishops) to his Reputation with that Party, who had but one Auditor that defired to get favour by accusing him. So that a multitude of fuch Experiences made me perceive, when I was silenced, that there was fome Mercy in it, in the middle of Judgment: For I should scarce have preached a Sermon, nor put up a Prayer to God, which one or other (through Malice, or hope of Favour) would not have been tempted to accuse as guilty of fome heinous Crime: And as, Seneca, He that hath an Uter crief Oh, if he do but think you touched him.

§ 247. Shortly after my return to London, I went into Worceftershire, to try whether it were poible to have any honest Terms from the Reading Vicar there, that I might preach to my former Flock: But when I had preached twice or thrice, he denied me liberty to preach any more: I offered him to take my Lecture, which he was bound to allow me (under a Bond of 500 l.). but he refufed it: I next offered him to be his Curate, and he refufed it: I next offered him to preach for nothing, and he refufed it: And lafly, I defired leave but once to Adminifter the Sacrament to the People, and preach my Farewel Sermon to them; but he would not confeft. At laft I underftood that he was directed by his Superiors to do what he did: But Mr. Baldwin (an able Preacher whom I left there) was yet permitted.

§ 248. At that time, my aged Father lying in great pain of the Stone and Strangury, I went to visit him. (Twenty miles further): And while I was there, Mr. Baldwin came to me, and told me that he also was forbidden to preach. We returned both to Kidderminster, and having a Lecture at Sheffnul in the way, I preached there, and flayed not to hear the Evening Sermon, because I would make haffe to the Bifhop. It fell out that my turn at another Lecture was on the fame day with that at Sheffnul (viz. at Clelibury in Shropshire 46). And many were there met in expectation to hear me: But a Company of Soldiers were there (as the Country thought, to have apprehended me); who put the Doors against the Minifters that would have preached in my stead (bringing a Command to the Churchwarden to hinder any one that had not a Licence from the Bifhop); and the poor People that had come from far were fain to go home with grievous hearts.

§ 249. The next day it was confidently reported that a certain Knight offered the Bifhop his Troop to apprehend me, if I offered to preach: And the People diffufed me from going to the Bifhop, fupposing my Liberty in danger. But I went that Morning with Mr. Baldwin, and in the hearing of him and Dr. Warmby, then Dean of Worcefter, I remembered the Bifhop of his Promife to grant me his Licence, &c. but he refufed me liberty to preach in his Diocefs, though I offered him to preach only on the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments, Catechifical Principles, and only to fuch as had no preaching. But the Difcourfe: between him and me at that time, I have had occasion since particu-
larily to recite in my Answer to him, according as I noted it down when I came home; and therefore I shall here pass it by. And since then I never preached in his Diocese.

§ 250. When he Silenced me, he told me that he marvelled that I should think of my own preaching fo necessary, as to offer to preach for nothing, as if other Men could not do as much good as I? I told him, That when they and I had all done our best, there would be many Places unsupplyed; and asked him, Whether he thought that such an one as I were not better than none! He told me, That he thought not meanly of my Abilities; but till I was better affected, he thought they were better that had none. I urged him to tell me what he thought was the Error of my Mind or Affections, and what he would have me do towards the Cure? My Errors he would not tell me (fave the ridiculous recital of that Sentence at the Savoy, of Sin per accidens, which I have spoken of in my Answer to him at large); but for my Cure (of I know not what) he would have me read Bilfon and Hooker. I told him that was not now to do: But when, at his parliation, I revised them, I admired at their Infratation, that ever they suffer'd such Books as Hooker's Eighth Book, and Bilfon Bilfon of Obedience, to be the Light: When Hooker goeth so much further than the Long Parliament went, as to affirm that the Legislative Power is so naturally belonging to the whole Body; that it is Tyranny for a single Person to exercise it, (Lib. 1.) And that the King is singular Major, and receives his Power from the People, with many more Antimonarchical Principles, which I have confuted in the Fourth Part of my Christian Directory particularly, as judging them unfound. And Bilfon, in that excellent Book of Christian Obedience, hath this passagge, which methinks should make them burn it, and not commend it to us for our Cure, [Pag. 520. If a Prince should go about to subject his Kingdom to a Foreign Realmen change the Form of the Commonwealth, or negleet the Laws established by common Consent of Prince and People, to execute his own pleasures: In these, and other Cases which might be named, if the Nobles and the Commons join together to defend their ancient and accustomed Liberty, Regiment, and Laws, they may not well be counted Rebels]—-I never deny'd that the People might preserve the Foundation, Freedom and Form of their Commonwealth, which they are so highly prize'd when they first confuted to have a King———I say, the Law of God giveth no Man leave to refi his Prince: but I never said, that Kingdoms and Commonwealths might not proportion their States as they thought beft, by their publick Laws; which afterwards the Princes themselves may not violate. By [Superior Powers ordained of God:] we understand, not only Princes, but all Politick States and Regiments: somewhere the People, somewhere the Nobles, having the same Interest to the Sword that Princes have in their Kingdoms. And in Kingdoms where Princes bear rule, by [the Sword], we do not mean the Princes private Will, against his Laws; but his Precept derived from his Laws, and agreeing with his Laws: which though it be wicked, yet may it be resi'd by any Subject with armed violence. Marry, when Princes offer their Subjefts, not Justice, but Force, and defi' in all Laws to practise their Lusts, not every nor any private Man, may take the Sword and redrefs the Prince; but if the Laws of the Land appoint the Nobles, as next the King, to effi him in doing right, and withold him from doing wrong, then be they licend by Man's Law, and fo not prohibited by God's, to interpose themselves for the Safety of Equity and Innocency, and by all lawful and needful means, to procure the Prince to be reformed, but in no case depriv'd, where the Scepter is inherited. So far Bilfon Bilfon to whom I was fent.

§ 251. To return to Bilfon Monley; He told me when he Silenced me, that he would take care that the People should be no lofers, but should be taught as well as they were by me. And when I was gone, he got awhile a few scandalous Men, with some that were more civil, to keep up the Lecture, till the paucity of their Auditors gave them a pretence to put it down. And he came himself one day and preach'd to them, a long Inveotive against them and me, as Presbyterians, and I know not what; fo that the People wondered that ever a Man would venture to come up into a Pulpit, and speake so confidently to a People, that he knew not, the things which they commonly knew to be untrue. And this Sermon was so far from winning any of them to the estilimation of their New Bilfon, or curing that which he called the Admiratio of my Perfon, (which was his great endeavours) that they were much confirmed in their former Judgments. But still the Bilfon looked at Kidderminster as a Factive, Schimaatical, Presbyterian People, that must be cured of their over-valuing of me, and then they would be cured of all the rest: Whereas if he had lived with them the twentieth part so long as I had done, he would have known that they were neither Presbyterians, nor Factive nor Schi-
Shifmantical, nor Sediuougus; but a People that quietly followed their hard Labour, and learned the Holy Scriptures, and lived a holy, blameless Life, in Humility and Peace with all Men, and never had any Sect or Separated Party among them, but abhorréd all Faction and Siding in Religion, and lived in Love and Christian Unity. Yet when the Bishop was gone, the Dean came and preached about three hours or near, to cure them of the Admiration of my Perfon; and a month after came again and preached over the same, persuading the People that they were Presbyterians and Schismatical, and were led to it by their over-valuing of me. The People admired at the temerity of these Men, and really thought that they were scarce well in their Wits, that would go on to speak things so far from truth of Men whom they never knew, and that to their own faces. Many have gone about by backbiring to make People believe a false report of others: but few will think to persuade any to believe it of themselves, who know themselves much better than the Reprover doth. Yet besides all this, their Lecturers were to go on in the same train, and one Mr. Pitt (who lived in Sir John Packington's Houle, with Dr. Hammond) was often at this work (being of the Judgment and Spirit of Dr. Gunning and Dr. Pierce) calling them Presbyterians, Rebellious, Serpents, and Generation of Vipers, unlikely to scape the Damnation of Hell, yet knowing not his Accusation to be true of one Man of them (For there was but one, if one Presbyterian in the Town, but plain honest People, that minded nothing but Piety, Unity, Charity, and their Callings). This dealing (instead of winning them to the Preacher) drove them from the Lecture, and then (as I said) they accused the People as deferting it, and put it down.

§ 252. For this ordinary Preacher they set up one of the best parts they could get (was far from what his Patrons spoke him to be) who was quickly a weary and went away. And next they set up a poor dry Man that had been a School-mater near us, and after a little time he died: and since they have taken another Courte, and set up a young Man (the best they can get) who taketh the contrary way to the first, and over-applaudeth me in the Pulpit to them, and speaketh well of them, and uethem kindly: And they are glad of one that hath done Charity. And thus the Bishop hath sued that Flock, who say that till then they never knew so well what a Bishop was, nor were before so guilty of that dislike of Episcopally, of which they were so frequently and vehemently accused. I hear not of one person among them, who is won to the Love of Prelacy or Formality since my removal.

§ 253. Having parted with my dear Flock (I need not say, with mutual Senfe and care) I left Mr. Baldwin to live privately among them, and oversee them in my stead, and visit them from Houle to Houle; advising them, notwithstanding all the Injuries they had received, and all the Failings of the Ministers that preached to them, and the Defects of the present Way of Worship, that yet they should keep to the Publick Assemblies, and make use of such Helps as might be had in Publick, together with their private Helps: Only in three Cafes to absent themselves; 1. When the Minister was one that was utterly insufficient, as not being able to teach them the Articles of the Faith and Essentials of true Religion (such as alas, they had known to their sorrow). 2. When the Minister preached any Heresie, or Doctrine which was directly contrary to any Article of the Faith, or necessary part of Godliness. 3. When in the Application he set himself gainst the Ends of his Office, to make a holy Life seem odious, and to keep Men from it, and to promote the Interest of Satan: Yet not to take every bitter Reflection upon themselves or others, occasioned by difference of Opinion or Interest, to be a sufficient Cause to say that the Minister preacheth against Godliness, or to withdraw themselves.

§ 254. When I was gone from them, I wrote not a Letter to them past once in a year, lest it should bring Suffering upon them (the Cause also why I removed my Dwelling from them was, because they apprehended themselves that my presence would have been their ruines, as to Liberty and Elates): For had they but received a Letter from me, any displeasing thing that they had done, would have been imputed to that. As for instance, not long after, there came out the Act that all that had any Place of Trust in Cities, Corporations or Countrie, should be put out, unleas they declared that they held [That there is no Obligation lying upon them, or any other person, from the Oath called The Solemn League and Covenant]: Hereupon all the Thirteen Capital Burgesseis, Bailiff, Justice, and all, five one that had been an Officer in the King's Army, were turned out (though I suppose never any more than two or three of them took the Oath and Covenant themselves); and almost all the 25 inferior Burgesseis were turned out with them. Whereupon it
it was charged upon them that I had perverted them to refuse this Declaration; till it was manifest that I had never once spoke a word to them about it, nor written one Line to them about that or any thing else, of a long time: At such a distance were we forced to remain.

§ 255. After a short time the Lord Windsor, who was Lord Lieutenant of the County (and Governor of Jamaica), bought a House in the Town, and lived among them; (as most thought, to watch over them as a dangerous People) which turned to their great Relief: For before his coming, they were many of them imprisoned, and hardly used; but when he lived among them, and saw their honestly and innocency, they have had Three years of so great quietness and liberty, as any place I know in the Land. When he first came thither I was there, and went to wait upon him, and told him (truly) that I was glad of his coming for my Neighbour's sake: for an innocent People are never to live as under their Governor's Eye; seeing Slunders have their power most on strangers that are unacquainted with the persons or the things.

§ 256. Just at the time that the Bishop was Silencing me, it was famed at London that I was in the North, in the Head of a Rebellion! And at Kidderminster I was accused, because there was a Meeting of many Ministers at my Houfe; which was no more than they knew had been their confiant Custom many a year, to visit me, or dine with me. And while we were at Dinner, it fell out that by publick Order, the Covenant was to be burnt in the Market-place, and it was done under my Window: and the Attendance was so small, that we knew not of it till afterwards: Yet because I had preached the Morning before (which as I remember was my last Sermon there) upon Christ's words on the Cross [Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do] I was accused of it as a heinous Crime, as having preached against the burning of the Covenant: which I never medled with, nor was it done till after the Sermon, nor did I know when it was done, nor mind it; nor did I apply the Text to any Matters of those present Times; but only in general to persuade the Hearsers to the forgiving of Injuries, and maintaining Charity, in the midst of the greatest Temptations to the contrary: and to remember that it was the Tempter's Design, by every wrong which they received, to get advantage for the weakening of their Love to thols that did it; which they should with double care maintain. This was the true scope of that Sermon which deserved Death or Banishment, as all my Pacificatory Endavour had done.

§ 257. When I came back to London, my Book called [The Mifchief of Self-ignorance and Benefits of Self-acquaintance] was coming out of the Press: And my affectation to my People of Kidderminster caused me, by a short Epistle to direct it to them, and because I could never after tell them publicly (being Silenced) I told them here the occasion of my removal from them, and my silencing; for brevity summing up the principal things in my Charge. And because I said [This was the Cave!] the Bishop took advantage, as if I had said, This was the whole Cave when the Conference between him and me was half an hour long, and not fit to be wholly inferred in a short Epistle, where I intended nothing but the lum. But the Bishop took occasion hereupon to gather up all that ever he could say to make me odious, and especially out of my Holy Commonwealth, and our Conference at the Savoy; where he gathered up a scrap of an Affection which he did not duly understand, and made it little less than Hereof; and this he published in a Book called A Letter; which I truly profess, is the fulllest of palpable Untruths in Matter of Fact, that ever I saw Paper, to my remembrance in all my Life. The words which he would render me so abhorred for, are our denial of Dr. Pusey's and Dr. Gunning's, &c. Propositions, about the innocence of Laws which command Things evil by Accident only; where the Bishop never discerned (unless he differrn it) the Reasons of our Denial, nor the Proposition denied: The very words of the Dispute being printed before, and I having fully opened the Bishops Miftakes, in an Answer to him, I shall not here put the Reader with it again.

§ 258. But this vehement Invective of the Bishop's presently taught all that desired his Favour, and the improvement of his very great Interest for their Ends, to talk in all Companies at the lame rates as he had done, and to speak of me as he had spoken, and those that thought more was necessary to their hopes, prevailed the Service of their Pens. Dr. Boveman of Trinity College wrote a Book, without his Name, and had no other design in it than to make me odious; nor any better occasion for his writing than this: There had many years before palt divers Papers between
between Dr. Thomas Hill, then Master of Trinity College, in Cambridge, and me, about the Point of *Physical Efficient Predetermination at necessity to every Action natural and free*; I had written largely and earnestly against Predetermination, and he a little for it: In the end of it, the Calamities of the Sartorians, and some Sichnesses among my Friends, had occasioned me to vent my mean to him as my Friend; and therein to speak of the doubtfulness of the Cause of the former War, and what reason there was to be diligent in search and prayer about it. When Dr. Hill was dead, Dr. Boreman came to see the Papers: Both the Subjects he mull needs know were such, as tended rather to my Life, than to my Disparagement with the Men of these Times. Certainly the *Arminians* will be angry with no Man for being against Predetermination; and I think they will pardon him for questioning the Parliaments Wars: Yet did this ingenious Dr. make a Book on this occasion, to seek Preferment by reproofing me, for he knew not what: But to make up the matter, he writeth that it is reported, *That I kill'd a Man in cold blood with my own hands in the Wars*: Whereas God knoweth, that I never hurt a Man in my Life, no never gave a Man a stroke (save one Man, when I was a Boy, whose Leg I broke with wrangling in jilt; which almost broke my heart with grief, though he was quickly cured). But the Dr. knowing that this might be soon disapproved, cautiously gave me some Lenitives to persuade me to bear it patiently, telling me that if it be not true, I am not the first that have been thus abused: but for ought I know, he is the first that *thus* abused me. I began to write an Anwer to this Book; but when I saw that Men did but laugh at it, and those that knew the Man defiled it, and diffus'd me from answering such a one, I laid it by.

§ 259. When the Bishop's Invective was read, many Men were of many minds, about the answering of it: Those at a distance all cried out upon me to answer it: Those at hand did all diffuse me, and told me that it would be Imprisonment at least to me, I did it with the greatest truth and mildness possible. Both Gentlemen and all the City Minifters told me, that it would not do half so much good, as my Suffering would do hurt: and that none believed it but the engaged Party, and that to others an Anwer was not necessary, and to them it was unprofitable, for they would never read it. And I thought that the Judgment of Men that were upon the place, and knew how things went, was most to be regarded. But yet I wrote a full Anwer to his Book, (except about the words in my *Holy Cowmnwealth*, which were not to be spoke to) and kept it by me, that I might use it as there was occasion. At that time Mr. Joseph Glarowle lent me the offer of his Service to write in my Defence, (He that wrote the Vanity of Dignitizing, and a Treatise for the Preexistence of Souls, being a Platouf, of free Judgment, and of admired Parts, and now one of the Royal Society of Philosophers, and one that had a too excessively estimation of me, as far above my desert, as the malicious Party erred on the other side): But I diffus'd him from bringing himself into Suffering, and making himself unavizable for so low an end: Only I gave him (and no Man else) my own Anwer to peruse, which he returned with his Approbation of it.

§ 260. But Mr. Edward Bagshaw (Son to Mr. Bagshaw the Lawyer, that wrote Mr. Bolton's Life), without my knowledge wrote a Book in Anwer to the Bishop: I could have willed he had let it alone: For the Man hath no great disputing Faculty, but only a florid Epifioral Style, and was wholly a Stranger to me, and to the Matters of Fact, and therefore could say nothing to them: But only being of a Bold and Roman Spirit, he thought that no Suffering should deter a Man from the Smallest Duty, or cause him to silence any useful Truth. And I had formerly been a Latin Discourser of his against Monarchy, which no whit pleased me, being a weak Argumentation for a bad Cause. So that I desired no such Champion: shortly after he went over with the Eod of Anglesey, whose Houthold Chaplain he was, into Ireland, and having preached there some times, and returning back, was apprehended, and sent Prisoner to the Tower: where he continued long till his Means was all spent, and how he had force procured Bread I know not. When he had been Prisoner about a year, it seems he was acquainted with Mr. Davus, who was also a Prisoner in the Tower: This Mr. Davus having been very serviceable in the Reformation of the King, and having laid out much of his Etate for his Service, thought he might be the better with his Tongue and Pen, and being of a Spirit which some called undaunted, but others, furious, or indifferent at best, did give an unman'llerly liberty to his Tongue, to accuse the Court of such Crimes, with such Aggravations, as being a Subject, I think it not meet to name. At last, he talkt to freely
freely in the Tower also, that he was seized away Prisoner to Tangier in Africa. Mr. Baglaw being surprized by L'Estrange, and his Chamber searched, there was found with him a Paper called Mr. Dave's Cafe: Whereupon he was brought out to speak with the King, who examined him of whom he had that Paper, and he denied to confess, and spake so boldly to the King as much offended him; whereupon he was sent back to the Tower, and laid in a deep, dark, dreadful Dungeon: When he had lain there three or four Days and Nights, without Candle, Fire, Bed or Straw, he fell into a terrible fit of the Hemorrhoids which the Physicians thought did save his Life: for the pain was so vehement, that it kept him in a sweat, which call out the Infection of the Damp. At last, by the solicitation of his Brother (who was a Conformist, and dearly loved him) he was taken up, and after that was sent away to Southwaste-Castle, an unholestone place in the Sea by Portsmouth, where (if he be alive) he remaineth close Prisoner to this day, with Vavasour Powel (a Preacher of North-Wales) and others; speeding worse than Mr. Crofton, who was at last relea-

§ 261. While I was in Shropshire and Worcestershire, it fell out that some one printed one of our Papers given into the Bishops: And though I was above an hundred miles off, yet was it all imputed to me, and Roger L'Estrange put it in the News Book; that it was supposed to be my doing. Indeed, when Dr. Gunning had asked me, Whether we would keep ours from the Presbs, if they would do the same by theirs, I would not promise him; but told him, though I supposed that none of us intend-
ed to be so prelumptuous as to publish them without Authority, yet I could promise nothing for all them that were absent; nor could any one promise it, when so many Scriveneres were intrusted to transcribe them, that the King and Bishops might have Copies: and whether any of those Scriveneres might keep a Copy for themselves I knew not. And after this Moff of the other Papers were printed, by I know not whom, to this day: But I conjectured that a poor Man that I paid for writing me a Copy (Dr. Beignold's Curate) was likewise to do it, to get some-
what to supply his very great wants; but I am utterly uncertain: But I had in-
telligence that the second Papers were in the Presbs, and that Malice might impute it to me more; I went to Secretary Morris, and acquainted him with it, that he might send a Messenger to surprize them: But he told me, that if I could assure him that the Bishops had not given content, I should have a warrant to search for them. I told him that I knew not what the Bishops had done, but he might easi-
ly conjecture: Nor would I search for them; but having told him, left him to do what he thought meet.

§ 262. And here I must give notice, That whereas there are then printed, 1. Our first Proposals for Concord in Discipline. 2. Our Papers upon the light of the first Draught of the King's Declaration. 3. Our Petition and Reasons to the Bishops, for Peace. 4. Our Reformed Liturgy. 5. Our Exceptions against the Faults of the Common Prayer Book. 6. Our Reply to the Bishops Anfw. to these Exceptions, with the Answer it self verbatim inserted. 7. Our last Account and Petition to the King. 8. A Copy of all their Disputation for the Liturgy, with our An-
swers j; all these being surreptitiously printed (save the first piece) by some poor Men for gain, without our Knowledge and Correction, are so fully printed, that our wrong by it is very great: Whole Lines are left out; the most significant words are perverted by Alterations; and this so frequently, that some parts of the Papers (especially our large Reply, and our last Account to the King) are made Nonence, and not intelligible. But the last Paper (Dr. Pierfon's and Dr. Gunning's Disputation) I confess was not printed without my knowledge: For Bishop Morly's impartial 
reports with so great confidence uttered had made it of some necessity: But I added not one Syllable by way of Commentary, the words themselves being sufficient for his Confutation. If I remember, I will give you in the end of this Book the Errata of them all, that they that have the printed Copies may know how to correct them.

§ 263. The coming forth of these Papers had various effects: It increased the
burning indignation which below was kindled against me on one side, and it some-
what mitigated the Cerufures that were taken up against me on the other side. For you must know that the Chief of the Congregational (or Independent) Party, took it ill that we took not them with us in our Treaty, and to did a few of the Presbyterian Divines; all whom we so far passed by as not to invite them to our Councils, (though they were as free as we to have done the like) because we knew that it would be but a hinderance to us, partly because their Perfoins were unaccept-
able, and partly because it might have delayed the Work: And molt of the Inde-
pendents,
pendents, and some few Presbyterians, raised it as a common Censure against us, that if we had not been so forward to meet the Bishops with the offers of so much at first, and to enter a Treaty with them without just caulis, we had all had better Terms, and standing off would have done more good: so that, though my Person and Intentions had a more favourable Censure from them than some others, yet for the Atten, I was commonly censured by them, as one that had granted them too much, and wronged my Brethren by entering into this Treaty, out of too earnest a desire of Concord with them. Thus were Men on both extremes offended with me; and I found what Enmity, Charity and Peace are like to meet with in the World. But when these Papers were printed, the Independents confessed that we had dealt faithfully, and satisfactorily: And indifferent men said that Reaflon had overwhelmed the Cauli of the Diocesans, and that we had offered them so much as left them utterly without Excuse: And the moderate Episcopal Men said the same: But the engaged Prelatifs were vehemently displeased, that these Papers should thus come abroad. (Though many of them here published were never before printed, because none had Copies of them but my self.).

§ 264. Bishop Morley told me when he Silenced me, that our Papers would be answered e're long: But no Man to this day (that ever we could hear of) hath answered them which were unanswered; Either our Reasons for Peace, or our Liturgy, or our large Reply, or our Answers to Dr. Pierfs Argument, &c. only Roger L'Estrange the writer of the News Book, hath railed out a great many words against some of them: And a nameless Author (thought to be Dr. Wommeck) hath answered one part of one Subject in our Reply, which is about excluding all Prayers from the Pulpit, besides Common Prayer; and in very plausible Language, he faith as much as can be said for to bad a Caule, ut for the prohibiting all Extempoary Prayer in the Church. And when he cometh to the chief Strength of our Reasons, he puffeth it by, and faith, that in answering so much as he did, the Answer to the rest may be gathered. And to all the rest of the Subjects he faith nothing: much left to all our other Papers.

§ 265. Alto another nameless Author (commonly said to be Sir Henry Veleston) wrote a Book for Bishop Morley against me: But neither he, nor Bovmann, nor Wommeck ever saw me, for ought I know; and I am sure he is as strange to the Caule as to me: For he taketh it out of Bishop Morley's Book, and supposing what he hath written to be true, he findeth some words of Conflorous Application, to make a Book of.

§ 266. And about the same time Sir Robert Holt a Knight of Warwickshire near Bromehe, Repke in the Parliament House against Mr. Calamy and me by name, as preaching or praying seditionly; but not one syllable named that we faid: And another time he named me for my Holy Commonwealth.

§ 267. And about that time, Bishop Morley having preferred a young Man, named Mr. Stodd (Orator of the University of Oxford, a fluent witty Satyrift, and one that was sometime motioned to me to be my Carate at Kidderminster) this Man being Houbliff Chaplain to the Lord Chancellour, was appointed to preach before the King; where the Crowid had high Expectations of some vehement Satyr: But when he had preached a quarter of an hour, he was utterly at a loss, and so unable to recollect himself, that he could go no further; but crr ed [The Lord be merciful to our Inftrimitie] and so came down. But about a Month after, they were refolved yet that Mr. S— should preach the same Sermon before the King, and not lose his expected Applaus: And preach it he did (little more than half an hour, with no admiration at all of the Hearers): And for his Encouragement the Sermon was printed. And when it was printed, many defir'd to see what words they were that he was stopped at the first time: And they found in the printed Copy all that he had fkt first, and one of the next Paffages which he was to have delivered, was againft me for my Holy Commonwealth.

§ 268. And so vehement was the Endeavour in Court, City, and Country to make me contemptible and odious, as if the Authors had thought that the Safety either of Church or State did lie upon it, and all would have been safe if I were but vilified and hated. Infomuch that Duwel the French Miniffir that turned to them, and wrote for them, had a fenfible fnauch at me in his Book; and Mr. Stoope the Pallor of the French Church was banifh'd (or forbidden this Land) as Fame faid, for carrying over our Debates into France. So that any Stranger that had but heard and read all this, would have asked, What Monfler of Villany is this Man? and
P A R T II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter. 381

and what is the Wickedness that he is guilty of? Yet was I never questioned to this day before a Magistrate. Nor do my Adversaries charge me with any personal wrong to them; nor did they ever Accuse me of any Heretick, nor much condemn my Judgment, nor ever Accuse my Life (but for preaching where another had been sequestred that was an infinitive Reader, and for preaching to the Soldiers of the Parliament, though none of them knew my Business, nor the service that I did them). There are all the Crimes, besides my Writings, that I ever knew they charged my Life with. But Envy and Carnal Interest was to deliterate of a Mask, that they every where openly confided the Caufe for which they endeavored my Difmation and Diftruction; especially the Bishops that for all on work: 4. As one Caufe was their own over-valuing of my Parts, which they made account I would employ against them. 2. Another was that they thought the Reputation of my blamefuls Life, would add to my ability to deserve them. 3. Another was, that they thought my Interest in the People to be far greater than indeed it was. 4. But the principal of all was, my Conference before the King and at the Savoy; in both which it fell out that Bishop Morley and I were the chief Talkers (except Dr. Gating), and that it was my lot to contradict him, who was not fo able either to bear, or seem to bear it as I thought at least his favour would have instructed him to be. 5. And my refuting a Bishoprick increas'd the indignation: And Colonel Birch that first came to offer it me, told me, that they would ruine us, if we refused it. Yet did I purposefully forbear ever mentioning it, on all occasions. 6. And it was not the least Caufe, that my being for Primitive Epifcopacy, and not for Presbytery, and being not so far from them in some other Points of Doctrine and Worfehip, as many Nonconformists are, they thought I was the able to undermine them. 7. And another Caufe was, that they judged of the rest of my Talk and Life, by my Conference at the Savoy, not knowing that I took that to be my present Duty, which Fidelity to the King and Church commanded me, faithfully to do, whoever was displeas'd by it; and that when that time was over, I took it to be my Duty, to live as peaceably as any Subject in the Land, and not to use my Tongue or Pen against the Government which the King was pleas'd to appoint, however I disallow'd it. Thus have I found the old laying true, That Reconcilers use to be hated on both sides, and to put their hand in the Clit, which cloath upon them and finisheth them.

§ 269. The next time I went to the Lord Chancellour (about the New-England Corporation) after the Bishop of Worester's Anger and Inverse Book he entertained me with his usual Confedreation and Councell, but with some chiding Language that I would meddle with Dr. Morley to provoke him: which when I had briefly spoke to, he followed on his Reprehension thus, [Was it a bad thing for Mr. Baxter, to speak so to a mild Man as Dr. Earles, Clerk of the King's Clofe, when he offered you a Tippet when you preached before the King, to turn away in scorn, and say, Plc none of your Tonges? Would not a faireer Answer have been better?] I replied to him, That I still perceived more and more the truth of what I told the Bishops, what Conquents would follow the Continuance of unhealed Faction: and what ulage we must expect however we lived, and how little Innocency would do to our vindication: I told him that I never spake any such word as he mentioned, nor ever had such a thought in my heart, nor no more scrupled to wear a Tippet than to sit on a Cuffion: But I thanked his Lordship, that by the benefit of his free Reprehension I came to understand how much I had been wronged by this Report to his Majesty, above a year before I heard of it; and might never have heard of it but by him; and told him that it was just thus in other Matters: And I truly told him, that I was uneigningly thankful to his Lordship, that would reprove me for that to my face, which others only whispered behind my back, where I had opportunity to defend my self.

§ 270. Hereupon I wrote this following Letter to Dr. Earles (a mild and quiet Man) who was since Bishop of Worester, and afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

Reverend
Reverend Sir!

By the great Favours of my Lord Chancellor's Restorations, I came to understand how long a time I have suffered in my Reputation and my Superiors by your misunderstanding me, and misinforming others, as if I was so ignorant in these matters, as to think that a Tippet had been the proper Insignia of a Dr. of Divinity*; and I verily thought you offered it me as such: And I had so much pride as to be somewhat ashamed when you offered it, that I must tell you my want of such Degrees, and therefore gave you no Answer to your first offer; but to your second was forced to say, 'It belongeth not to me, Sir.' And I said not to you any more; nor had any other thought in my heart, than with some shame to tell you that I had no Degrees; imagining I should have offended others, and made myself the laughter or scorn of many; if I should have used which did not belong to me. For I must profess I do more scruple to wear a Tippet than a Gown, or any comely Garment. Sir, Though the best one of the smallest of all the Miftakes which of late have turned to my wrong, and I must confess that my ignorance gave you the occasion, and I am far from imputing it to any ill will in you, having frequently heard that in Charity, and gentleness and peaceableness of Mind you are very eminent; yet because I must not consent my Esteem with my Superiors, I humbly crave that favour and justice of you (which I am confident you will readily grant me) as to acquit those with the truth of this Business, whom upon misake you have misinformed; whereby in relieving my Innocency of your Brother, you will do a work of Charity and Justice, and therefore not displeasing unto God, and will much oblige.

June 20. 1662.

Sir,

Your humble Servant,

Richard Baxter.

I have the more need of your Justice in this Case, because my distance denieth me access to those that have received those misreports, and because any publick Vindication of my self, whatever is said of me, is taken as an unsufferable Crime, and therefore I am utterly incapable of vindicating my Innocency or remedying their Misdiges.

To the Reverend and much Honour'd Dr. Earles Dean of Westminster, &c. Thefe.

To this the Dr. returned this Civil peaceable Answere.

Hampton-Court, June 23.

Sir,

I received your Letter, which I would have answered sooner if the Messenger that brought it had returned. I must confess I was a little surprized with the beginning of it, as I was with your Name: but when I read further I was to be so. Sir, I should be heartily sorry and ashamed to be guilty of any thing like Malignity, or Uncharitableness, especially to one of your Condition; with whom though I concur not perhaps in point of Judgment in some particulars, yet I cannot but esteem for your personal worth and abilities: And indeed your Expressions in your Letter are so civil and ingenuous, that I am obliged thereby the more to give you all the satisfaction I can. As I remember then when you came to me to the Closet, and I told you I would furnish you with a Tippet; you answered me something to that purpose as you write; but whether the same Numerical words, or but once, I cannot positively say from my own Memory, and therefore I believe yours: Only this I am sure of, that I said to you at my Second Spreaking, That some others of your Persuasion had not scrupled at it, which might suppose (if you had not affirmed the contrary) that you had made me a former Refusal: Of which giving me then no other reason, than [that it belonged not to you].
§ 271: Before this, in November, many worthy Ministers and others were imprisoned in many Counties; and among others, divers of my Old Neighbours in Worcestershire: And that you may see what Crimes were the occasion, I will tell you the story of it. One Mr. Ambrose Sparry, (a sober, learned Minister, that had never owned the Parliament's Causè of Wars, and was in his Judgment for moderate Episcopacy) had a wicked Neighbour, whom he reproved for Adultery, who bearing him a grudge, thought now he had found a time to fhev it: He (or his Confederates for him) framed a Letter as from I know not whom, directed to Mr. Sparry: [That he and Captain Tarrington, should be ready with Money and Arms at the time appointed, and that they should acquaint Mr. Osland and Mr. Baxter with it.] This Letter he pretended that a Man left behind him under a Hedge, who fuct down and pull'd out many Letters, and put them all up again five this, and went his ways, (he knew not what he was, nor whether he went). This Letter he bringeth to Sir John P—— (the Man that hotly followed such works), who fent Mr. Sparry, Mr. Osland, and Captain Tarrington to Prison! (This Mr. Osland was Minister in Bewsly, a fervent laborious Preacher, who had done abundance of good in converting ignorant ungodly People). And he had offended Sir Ralph Clave in being against his Election as Burgif in Parliament for that Town. But who that Mr. Baxter was that the Letter named, they could not resolve; there being another of the name nearer, and I being in London: But the Men, especially Mr. Sparry, lay long in Prison, and when the Forgery and Injury was detected, he had much ado to get out.

§ 272. Mr. Henry Jackson also our Physician at Kidderminster, and many of my Neighbours were imprisoned, and were never told for what to this day: But Mr. Jackson was so merry a Man, and they were all fo cheifful there, that I think they were released the sooner, because it appeared to fmall a Suffering to them.

§ 273. Though no one accused me of any thing, nor fpeak a word to me of it, (being they knew I had long been near a Hundred miles off) yet did they defame me all over the Land, as guilty of a Plot: and when Men were taken up and fent to Prison, in other Counties, it was faid to be for Baxter's Plot; so eafe was it, and fo neceffary a thing it femed then, to call each fhirf upon my Name.

§ 274. And though through the great Mercy of God, I had long been learning not to overvalue the thoughts of Men, no not fo much as the Reputation of Honesty or Inocency, yet I was somewhat wearied with this kind of Life, to be every day calumniated, and hear new Standards railed of me, and Court and Country ring of that, which no Man ever mentioned to my face; and I was oft thinking to go beyond Sea, that I might find some place in retir'd privacy to live and end my days in quietnes, out of the noise of a Peace-hating Generation: But my Acquaintance thought I might be more serviceable here, though there I might live more in quietnes; and having not the Vulgar Language of any Country, to ena-
ble me to preach to them, or converse with them, and being so inform'd, to be like to bear the Voyage and change of Air; Thefe, with other Impediments which God laid in my way, hindered me from putting my Thoughts in Execution.

§ 275. About this time also it was fam'd at the Court that I was married, which went as the matter of a moft heinous Crime, which I never heard charged on me on any Man but on me. Bishop Morley divulged it with all the Oidium he could possibly put upon it: telling them that one in Conference with him, I laid that Minifter's marriage is lawful, and but lawful as if I were now contradicting my fel'. And it every where rung about, partly as a Wonder, and partly as a Crime, whilft they cried, [This is the Man of Charity]: little knowing what they talk'd of. Infomuch that at laft the Lord Chancellour told me, I hear'd I was married, and wondered at it, when I told him it was not true: For they had affirmed it near a year before it came to pafs. And I think the King's Marriage was scarce more talked of than mine.

§ 276. All this while Mr. Calamy and some other Minifters had been endeavouring with tho' that they had interfert, in, and to try if the Parliament would pafs the King's Declaration into a Law; and sometimes they had come hopes from the Lord Chancellour and others: but when it came to the trial, their hopes all failed them; and the Conformity imposed was made ten times more burdensome than it ever was before. For besides that, the Convocation had made the Common Prayer Book more grievous than before, the Parliament made a new Act of Uniformity, with a new Form of Subscription, and a new Declaration to be made against the Obligation of the Covenant; of which more anon. So that the King's Declaration did not only die before it came to Execution, and all Hopes and Treaties and Petitions were not only disappointed, but a weight more grievous than a Thousand Ceremonies was added to the old Conformity, with a grievous Penalty.

§ 277. By this means there was a great Unanimity in the Minifters, and the greater Number were call'd out: And as far as I could perceive, it was by some design'd that it might be so. Many a time did we felcheon them that they would have no much regard to the Souls of Men, and to the Honour of England, and of the Protestant Religion, as that without any necessity at all, they would not impose feared Perjury upon them, nor that which Conscience, and Common Esteem, and Peop'ht Adventuraries would all call Perjury; that Papills might not have this to call in our Teeth, and call the Protelfants a Perjured People, nor England or Scotland Perjured Lands. Oft have we proved to them that their Caufe and Intereft required no fuch thing: But all was but calling Oyl upon the Flames, and forcing us to think of that Monster of Millen, that made his Enemy renounce God to fave his Life, before he stab'd him, that he might murder Soul and Body at a Stroke. It feemed to be accounted the one thing necessary, which no Reafon must be heard against, that the Presbyterian must be forced to do that which they accounted Publick Perjury, or to be call'd out of Truth and Office, in Church and Commonwealth. And by this means a far greater Number were laid by, than otherwife would have been; and the few that yielded to Conformity they thought would be defpicable and contemptible as long as they lived. A Noble Revenge, and worthy of the Actors.

§ 278. When the Act of Uniformity was paffed, it gav'e all the Minifters that could not Conform, no longer time than till Bartholomew-day, Augl.' 24, 1662, and then they must be all call'd out: (This fatal Day called to rememberance the French Maffacre, when on the fame Day 30,000 or 40,000 Protelfants perifh'd by Religious Roman Zcal and Charity). I had no place, but only that I preached twice a Week by Requell in other Men's Congregations (at Milchfret and Blackfrets), and the laft Sermon that ever I preach'd in Publick was on May 25. The Reafons why I gave over sooner than moft others was, 1. Because Lawyers did interpret a doubtful Clause in the Act, as ending the Liberty of Lecturers at that time. 2. Because I would let Authority soon know, that I intended to obey them in all that was lawful. 3. Because I would let all Minifters in England underhand in time, whether I intended to Conform or not: For had I stay'd to the laft day, some would have Conformed the sooner, upon a Suppofition that I intended it. Thofe, with other Reafons, moved me to ceafe three Months before Bartholomew-day, which many cenfur'd me for a while, but after, better faw the Reafons of it.

§ 279.
§ 279. When Bartholomew-day came, about One thousand eight hundred or Two thousand Ministers were Silenced and Call out: And the Affections of most Men thereupon were such as made me fear it was a Prophecy of our further Sufferings: For when Pastors and People should have been humbled for their Sins, and lamented their former Negligence and Unfruitfulness, most of them were filled with Dildain and Indignation against the Prelates, and were ready with Confinement to Lay, [ God will not long suffer so wicked and cruel a Generation of Men: It will be but a little while till God will pull them down: ] And thus Men were put up by other Mens finfulness, and kept from a kindly humbling of themselves.

§ 280. And now came in the great Inundation of Calamities, which in many Streams overwhelmed Thousands of godly Chilhians, together with their Pastors. As for Example, 1. Hundreds of able Ministers, with their Wives and Children, had neither House nor Bread: For their former Maintenance freed them but for the time, and few of them laid up any thing for the future: For many of them had not past 50 or 40 l. per Annum, and most but about 60 or 80 l. per Annum, and very few above 100 l. and few had any considerable Estates of their own.

2. The Peoples Poverty was so great, that they were not able much to relieve their Ministers. 3. The Jealousie of the State, and the Malice of their Enemies were so great, that People that were willing durft not be known to give to their ejected Pastors, leat it should be said that they maintained Schism, or were making Collections for some Plot or Infreradation. 4. The Hearts of the People were grieved for the los of their Pastors. 5. Many places had such fet over them in their Heads, as they could not with Conscience or Comfort commit the Conduct of their Souls to. And they were forced to own all these, and all others that were thrust upon them against their Wills, and to own also the undisciplined Churches, by receiving the Sacrament in their several Parishes whether they would or not. 6. Thos that did thus were to be Excommunicated, and then to have a Writ fued out against them de Excommunicatio capiendo, to lay them in the Jail, and seize on their Estates. 7. The People were hereupon unavoidably divided among themselves: For some would have nothing to do with these impol'd Pastors, but would in private attend their former Pastors only: Others would do both, and take all that they thought good of both: Some would only hear the Publick Sermons: Others would also go to Common Prayer where the Minifter was tolerable: Some would join in the Sacrament with them, where the Minifter was honest, and others would not. And this Division they long forefaw, but could not possibly prevent. 8. And the Ministers themselves were thus all divided, who before seemed all one; for some would go to Church, to Common Prayer, to Sacraments, and others would not: Some of them thought that it was their Duty to preach publicly in the Streets or Fields while the People desired it, and not to cease their Work through fear of Men, till they lay in Jails, or were all banished; Others thought that a continued Endeavour to benefit their People privately, would be more serviceable to the Church, than one or two Sermons and a Jail, at such a time, when the Multitudes of Sufferers, and the odious Titles put upon them obscured and clost the benefit of Sufferings. And some thought that the Covenant bound all to separate from Common Prayer, and Prelates, and Parifi Communion: And others thought that it rather bound them to this Communion and Worship in case they could have no better; and that to reach from House to House in private, and bring the People to attend in publick, was the most righteous and edifying way, where the impol'd Minifter was tolerable. 9. Hereupon those Ministers that would not cease preaching were thrust into Prisons, and Confined (some of them) the rest that did not as they, 10. The rest that preached only secretly to a few, were lookt on as discontented and disaffected to the Government, and on every rumour of a new Plot or Conspiracy, taken up, and many of them laid in Prison. 11. The Prelates and they were hereby let at a further distance, and Charity more destroyed, and Reconciliation made more hopeless, and almost any thing believed that was said against a Nonconformist. 12. The Conforming Part of the Old Ministry, was also divided from the rest, and Centuries let them further at a distance: (But yet where watchful Godlines appeared, it kept up some Charity and Respect, and united them in the main). All these Calamities brought another: 13. That the People were tempted to murmur at their Superiors, and call them cruel Perfucutors, and secretly rejoice if any hurt befell them, and many forgot that they are to Honour their Governors, even when they suffer by them, and not only to forbear evil Thoughts and Words against them, but to endeavour to keep up their Honour with their Subjects. 14. By all these Sins, these Mururings and these Violations...
of the Interest of the Church and Cause of Christ, the Land was prepared for that further Indulgence of Calamities (by War and Plague and Scarcity) which hath since brought it near to Destitution.

§ 281. It fell out one day in Mr. Calamy's Church at Alderschurch, that the Preacher failed, and the People desired Mr. Calamy to preach: Which he did upon confidence, that the Act did not extend to such an Occasional Sermon (some Lawyers had told him so). But for this he was sent to Newgate Jail, where he continued in the Keeper's Lodgings, many daily flocking to visit him, till the Lord Bridgeman (as is said) had given it as his Judgment, That his Sermon was not within that Penalty of the Act. And O what infulting there was by that Party, in the Newsbook, and in their Discourses, That Calamy that would not be a Bishop was in jail! And when his Sermon was printed, an Inveotive against him came out, in Language like an Inquisitor, that shewed a vehement thirst for Blood. But precious in the fight of the Lord, is the Blood of his holy Ones.

§ 282. Abundance more were laid in Jails in many Counties for preaching, and the vexation of the Peoples Souls was increased. At St. Albans, Mr. Partridge the ejected Minister, being desired to preach a Funeral Sermon, a Captain or Lieutenant came in with his Pistol charged, and shot one of the hearers dead, and the Preacher was sent to Prison.

§ 283. There were many Citizens of London, who had then a great Compassion on the Ministers, whose Families were utterly destitute of Maintenance, and many would have relieved them, and had such a Method, that the Citizens of each County should help the Ministers of that County: But they durst not do it, lest it were called a Conspiracy: Wherefore I went for them to the Lord Chancellor, and told him plainly of it, that Compassion moved them, but the Suspicions of these Diftempered Times deterred them, and I desired to have his Lordship's Judgment, Whether they might venture to be so charitable without misinterpretation or danger? And he answered, [Aye, God forbid but Men should give their own according as their Charity leads them]. And so having his preconient, I gave it them for Encouragement. But they would not believe that it was Cordial, and would be any Security to them, and so they never durft venture upon such a Method which might have made their Charity effectual; but a few that were most willing, did much more than all the rest, and solicited some of their own Acquaintance, for their Counties Relief.

§ 284. And here I think it meet before I proceed, to open the true State of the Conformists and Nonconformists in England at this time.

I. The Conformists were of three sorts:

1. Some of the old Ministers called Presbyterians formerly, that Conformed at Bartholomew Tide, or after, who had been in possession before the King came in: and these were also of several sorts: some of them were very able worthy Men, who Conformed and Subscribed upon this Inducement, that the Bishop bid them [Do it in their own Jace]: And so they Subscribed to the Parliament's words, and put their own lence upon them only by word of mouth, or in some by paper. Some of them read Mr. Fulwood's and Stileman's Book, and could not answer them, and therefore Conformed: For no Man ventured to put forth a full and satisfactory Answer to them for fear of ruine (Though somewhat was written before by Mr. Crofton, and after by Mr. Gawdrey and others): Some were young raw Men that were never verfed in such kind of Controversies: Some were perverted of the sinuliu of the Parliaments War, and hence gathered that the Covenant, being in order to it, was a Rebellious Covenant, and therefore not obligatory: And other things they thought were small. Some had Wives and Children and Poverty, which were great Temptations to them: And most that I knew, when once they inclined to Conformity, did avoid the Company of their Brethren, and never ask them what their Reasons were against Conformity.

2. A second sort of Conformists were those called Laudavarians, who were mostly Cambridge-men, Platonists or Cartesians, and many of them Arminians with some Additions, having more charitable Thoughts than others of the Salvation of Heathens and Infidels, and some of them holding the Opinions of Origen, about the Preexcellence of Souls, &c. These were ingenious Men and Scholars, and of Universal Principles, and Fee: abhorring at first the Imposture of these little things, but thinking them not great enough to flinch at when imposed. Of these, some (with Mr. More their Leader) lived privately in Colleges, and bought not any Preference in the World: and others set themselves to rise.

These
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

These two forementioned Parties were laudable Preachers, and were the honour of the Conformists, though not heartily theirs, and their profitable Preaching is used by God's Providence, to keep up the Publick Interest of Religion, and retrell the discoursing of Auditors.

3. The third fort of Conformists, was of those that were heartily such throughout: And there were also of these three sorts: 1. Those that were zealous for the Diocesan Party and the Cause, and desirous to extirpate or destroy the Nonconformists: And there were suppos'd to be the high and flattering Party. 2. Those that were zealous for the Party and the Cause material; but yet were more moderate (in their private wishes) to the Nonconformists, and did profess themselves that they could not subscribe and declare, if they did not put a more favourable fence on the words than that which the Nonconformists supposed to be the plain fence. 3. Those that were raw, or ignorant Readers, or unlearned Men, or /ealful, Scandalous Ones, who would be hot for any thing by which they might rise or be maintained.

This Composition made up the Body of the Conformists in this Land, and all this Difference there was among them.

II. (§ 285.) The Nonconformists also were of divers sorts. 1. There were some few (ot my Acquaintance) who were for the old Conformity; for Bishops, Common Prayer Book, Ceremonies, and the old Subscription, and against the imposing and taking of the Covenant, (which they never took) and against the Parliaments Wars: But they could not subscribe that they Assent and Consent to all things now imposed; nor could they Absole all others in the three Kingdoms from being obliged by the Vow and Covenant to endeavour Church Reformation, though they would not have had them take the Vow.

2. A greater Number of the Nonconformists, or Reconcilers, of no Sect or Party, but abhorring the very Name of Parties; who like Ignatius's Episcopacy; but not the English Diocesan Frame; and like what is good in Episcopal, Presbyterians, or Independents; but reject somewhat as evil in them all: being of the Judgment which I have described my self to be in the beginning of this Book; that can endure a Liturgy, and like not the imposition of the Covenant; but cannot Assent and Consent to all things required in the Act, nor Absole three Kingdoms from all obligation by their Vows, to endeavour in their Places the alteration of the English Diocesan Form of Government: Though they doubt not but Sedition and Rebellion should be abhorred of all, whether for Reformation or any other Pretence.

3. A third sort of Nonconformists are the Presbyterians, whose Judgment is fore-described, and manifested in their Writings to all the World. Of these two sort forts (if I be not taken for a partial Witness) are the soberest, and most judicious, unanimous, peaceable, faithful, able, constant Ministers in this Land, or that I have heard or read of, in the Christian World: Which I am able to say, I speak without respect of Persons, in Obedience to my Conscience, upon my long Experience.

4. The fourth sort are the Independents, who are for the most part a serious godly People, some of them moderate, going with Mr. Norton and the New-England Synod, and little differing from the moderate Presbyterians, and as well ordered as any Party that I know: But others of them, more raw, and self-conceited, and addicted to Separations and Divisions, their Zeal being greater than their Knowledge; who have opened the Door to Anabaptists first, and then to all the other Sects.

These Sects are numerous, some tolerable, and some intolerable, and being never incorporated with the rest, are not to be reckoned with them. Many of them (the Rebenenists, Fifh-Monarchy-men, Quakers, and some Anabaptists) are proper Fanatics, looking too much to Revelations within, instead of the Holy Scriptures. And thus have I truly told you of all the Sorts among us, except the Papists, who are sufficiently known, and are no more of us than the other Sects are. Tho Atheists and Infidels I name not, because as such, they have no Pallors.

§ 286. Next it will not be amiss if I briefly give you the Sum of their several Causes, and the Reasons of their several Ways.

1. The Conformists go several Ways, according to their forementioned Differences.

D a d 2

2. Tho
1. Those that are high Prelatifs say, 1. For Episcopacy, it is of Divine Institution, and perpetual Usage in the Church, and necessary to Order among the Clergy and People, and of experienced Benefit to this Land, and most congruous to Civil Monarchy; and therefore not to be altered by any; no not by the King and Parliament, if they should swear it: Therefore the Oath called the Et cetera Oath was formed before the War, to Swear all Men to be true to this Prelacy, and not to Change it.

2. Those that are called Conforming Presbyterians, and Latitudinarians, both say that our Prelacy is lawful, though not necessary; and that Mr. Edward Stillingfleet's Remonstrance hath well proved, That no Form of Church Government is of Divine Institution. And therefore when the Magistrate commandeth any, he is to be obeyed. But since they grew up to Preferment, they grow to be hot for the Prelacy.

§ 287. And therefore as to the Covenant, they all say, 1. That the end of it was Evil, viz. To Change the Government of the Church, without Law, which was fetted by Law. 2. That the Efficient Cause was Evil or NULL, viz. That the Impolders had no Authority to do it. 3. That the Matter was Evil, viz. to extirpate, and change the Government of the Church by Rebellion and Combination against the King. 4. That the Sworn All in taking it was finfull, for the forefaid Reasons. 5. That the King's Prohibition and disowning it did nullifie all the Subjects' Obligations, if any were upon them, by virtue of Numbr. 36. That the People being all Subjects, cannot endeavour the Change of Church Government without the King. 7. That King Charles took not that same Covenant, but another. 8. That he was virtuallly pre-engaged to the contrary Matter, in that he was Heir of the Crown, and bound to take the Constitution Oath. 9. That to call to many Men as the Bishops out of all their Honours and Possesions, is Injustice, which none can be obliged to do. 11. That if it were lawful before to endeavour an Alteration of the Government of the Church, yet now it is not, when King and Parliament have made a Law against it. These are Mr. Fullwood's and Mr. Stileman's Pleas, and the Sum of all that I have heard as to that Point.

§ 288. But further, as to the Interpretation of the Words of the Declaration hereabouts, the Latitudinarians, and Conforming Presbyterians, and some of the Prelatifs say as followeth: 1. That the Declaration includes not the King, when it saith, 'There is no obligation on me or any other person': which they prove, because that Laws are made only for Subjects, and therefore are to be interpreted as speaking only of Subjects. 2. Because the King is meant in the Counterpart, or Object, viz. the Government of the State, which is not to be altered. 2. They say that it is only Rebellions, or other unlawful Endeavors, that are meant by the words ['to Endeavour']. 3. They say that by ['any Alteration'] is meant only ['any Essential Alteration'] and not ['any Integral or Accidental Alteration'] of the Government. 4. And the leading Independents have taught them also to say, that this Covenant was essentially a League, between two Nations upon a certain occasion, which therefore (if ever it did bind) is now like an Almanack out of date, Et cetera obligatio efferintibus personis, materia & fine. 5. They principally argue that all Mens words are to be taken chartaissive, in the most honell and favourable sense that they will bear: much more the King's and Parliament's: Therefore Charity permitte us not to judge them to inhuman, irrational, irreligious, and cruel, as to command Men to be perjured, and to change the constituted Government, by prohibiting King, Parliament, or People, to do any thing which belonged to them in their places. These are the Reasons for the lawulnes of declaring against the Obligation of the Covenant.

§ 289. 3. In the same Declaration it is professed, That ['it is not lawful, on any presence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King, or any Commissioned by him'] &c. Concerning this, they are also divided among themselves. One Party say, That this is true universally in the proper sense of the words. The other say, That it is to be understood of such as are legally Commissioned by him only; and that if he should Commission two or three Men, or more, to kill the Parliament, or burn the City, or to dispossess Men of their Freeholds, it would be lawfull forcibly to refiilt. Or if the Sheriffs be to raise the Poife Comitatis in obedience to a Decree of a Court of Justice, to put a Man into possession of his House, he may do it forcibly, though the Defendant be Commissioned by the King to keep it. Because they say that the Law is to be taken sensissens, and not as may lay the Law-givers under so heavy an Accusation, as the literal unlimited sense would do.

§ 290.
§ 290. 4. The fourth Matter of Difference, being the Oath of Canonical Obedience, they here also differ among themselves. 1. Some of them think that as the Necessity of Monarchy and our Relation to the King, doth make the Oath of Allegiance necessary, or very meet, so the Necessity of Prelacy and our Relation to the Prelates, doth make the Oath of Obedience to them justifiable and meet: For that which must be done, may be promised and sworn. 2. Others of them say, That it is only to the Bishops as Magistrates, or Officers of the King, that we swear to them. 3. And others say, That as we may be subject to any Man, in humility, so we may promise or swear it to any Man. And it being but in lecita & benevis, that we may lawfully do, we may swear to do.

§ 291. 5. The fifth Controversie is about Re-ordination of such as were not Ordained by Diocesanis, but by the Presbyteries which then were (at home or abroad) And here they are also of two minds among themselves. The one say, That Ordination without Diocesanis is a Nullity, and those that are so Ordained, are no Ministers but Laymen; and therefore their Churches, no true Churches (in senis politico) : And therefore that such must needs be Re-ordained. The other say, That their Ordination was valid before in foro spirituali; but not in foro oecul; and that the repeating of it, is but an ascertaining or a confirming Act, as publick Marriage again would be, after one is privately married, in cale the Law would bastardize or dilinherit his Children elle.

§ 292. 6. The sixth Controversie is about the lawfulness of the Affent and Consent to be declared, which is to all contained in the Book of Articles, the Book of Ordination, and the Book of Common Prayer. These comprehend abundance of Particulars; some Doctrinal, some about the Offices and Discipline of the Church, and some about the Matter, the Order and Manner, and Ceremonies of Worship. Here they are also divided among themselves: some few of them take the words plainly and properly, (viz. the willing Conformists) and think that indeed there is nothing in these Books which is not to be assented and confirmed to: And indeed all the Convocation must needs be of that mind (or the Major part) and also the Parliament; because they had the Books before them to be perused, and did examine the Liturgy and Book of Ordination, and make great Alterations in them, and therefore if they had thought there had been any thing not to be assented and confirmed to, they would have altered it by correction, before they had imposed it on the Church. But for all that, the other Party is now so numerous, that I could yet never speak with any of them, but went that way, viz. with the Latitudinarians to expound the words [all things contained in the Books] which they assent and consent to [All things which they are to use]: and their [Affent and Consent] they limit only to the use: q.e.d. I do assent, that there is nothing in these Books which may not lawfully be used, and I do consent to the use of so much as belonging some: Though yet they think (or will not deny but) that there may be something that may be ill framed and ill imposed: The reason of this Expidition they fetch from the word [use] which is found after the Act of Uniformity, though it be not in the words of the Declaration. And for the Books, they say, It is lawful to use the Common Prayer, and the Ceremonies, Crosses, Surplices, Copes, and Kneeling at the Sacrament, and all that is in that or the other Books to be used, and therefore to declare so much.

§ 293. More particularly, 1. Concerning the Kalendar imposing the use of so many Apocryphal Leffons, they say that they are read but upon Week-days, and that not as Scripture, but as edifying Leffons, as the Homilies are; and as many Churches have long used them. And that the Church sufficiently avoids the Scandal by calling them Apocrypha.

§ 294. And 2. for the parceling and ordering of the Prayers and Responses as they are, some of them say that it is the best Form and Order, and it's only Fancy and Error which misliketh them: Others say that they are disorderly indeed, but that is not the Sin of the Users (when they are imposed) but of the Framers and Impoters.

§ 295. And 3. as for the Doctrine of the Salvation of Baptist Infants in the Rubrick of Baptism, and all the rest in that Book; and in the Nine and thirty Articles, some of them say that they are all found (viz. the willing Conformists) but the unwilling Conformists say that these are not things to be used by them, and therefore not within the Compas of the declared Affent or Consent in the Act.
§ 296. And 4. as to the Charitable Applications excepted against in Baptism, Confirmation, the Lord's Supper, Abolition of the Sick and Burial, they say they are but such as according to the Judgment of Charity we may use: And if there be any fault, it is not in the Common Prayer Book, which useth but such words as are fit to be used by the Members of the Church; but it is in the Canons and Discipline of the Church, which sufficeth until Persons to be Church-Members.

§ 297. And 5. as for the Ceremonies, they say, 1. That Kneeling is fixed from all suspicion of Idolatry, by the annexing of the Rubrick out of King Edward the Sixth's Common Prayer Book: which though the Convocation refused, yet the Parliament annexed; and they are the Imposers, and it is their fence that we must stand to. And as it is lawful to Kneel in accepting a sealed Pardon from the King, by his Messenger, so is it in accepting a sealed Pardon from God, with the Inheritance of our Privileges.

§ 298. And 2. they say that the Surplice is as lawful as a Gown, it being not imposed primarily because significant, but because decent, and secondarily as significant (say some): Or as others say, It is the better and fitter to be imposed, because it is significant: and that God hath no where forbidden such Ceremonies.

§ 299. And 3. for the Crofs in Baptism, they say that it is no part of the Sacrament of Baptism, but an appendant Ceremony: that it is the better for being significant: that it is but a transient Image, and not a fixed, much less a graven Image; and is not adored: that it is but a professing sign, as words are, or as standing, or holding up the hand; and not any Seal of God's part of the Covenant: and though it be called in the Canons a Dedicated Sign, it is but as it signifies the Action of the Person or the Church, and not as it signifies the Action of God receiving the dedicated Person: And some say, That it cannot be de denied but that according to the old and common use of the word [Sacrament] as a Military Engagement, it is a Sacrament; yet it is not pretended to be a Divine, but a Humane Sacrament, and such are lawful: it being in our definition of a Church Sacrament that it is [Ordained by Christ himself]: And though Man may not invent New Sacraments, as God's Sealing or Investing Signs, and so pretend that to be Divine which is not; yet man may invent New Human Sacraments, which go no further than the signifying of their own Minds and Actions. And they say, That if such mystical Signs as there had been unlawful, it is a thing incredible that the Universal Church should use such, as far as can be found, from the Apostles days; even the Milk and Honey and Chrysol and White Garment at Baptism, and the Station on the Lord's Days, and the oil use of the Crofs; and that Christ should have no one Witness that would ever erump or contradict them, either among the Orthodox, or the Heretics, as far as any Records of Antiquity do make known.

§ 300. 7. The seventh Controversy is about their own practice in Administrations and Church Discipline. And 1. that they must Ministerially deny the Sacrament of Baptism to all Children, whose Parents will not have them use the Crofs, they say that it is the Church that refuseth them by Law, and not they, who are by the Law disabled from receiving them. 2. The same they say of their refusing to give the Lord's Supper to any that will not kneel in the Reception of it. They say that it is better to Administer the Sacraments to none, than to none at all: which they must do if they refuse not them that kneel not. 3. And for the giving of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper to the unworthy (for all are forced to use them), they say, that the Infants of all in the Church have right to Baptism, at least for their Ancestors's sake, and for the Godfathers and Godmothers, or the Churches sake: And for the Lord's Supper, they have power to put away all that are proved impenitent in notorious Scandal.

§ 301. Having told you what the Conformists say for themselves (as faithfull as will stand with brevity) before I proceed, I think it best to set down here the words, 1. Of the Covenant: 2. Of the Subscription and Declaration: 3. Of the Oath of Canonical Obedience, before your Eyes: that while the Subject of the Controversy is before you, the Controversy itself may be the better understood. And I suppose the Reader to have all the Books before him to which we are required to Allude.
The Solemn League and Covenant.

WE Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgesses, Ministers of the Gospel, and Commons of all ages in the Kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, by the providence of God living under one King, and being of one Reformed Religion, having before our Eyes the Glory of God, and the advancement of the Kingdoms of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the King’s Majesty, and his People, and the true publick Liberty, Safety, and Peace of the Kingdoms, whereby our common private Condition is included: And calling to mind the treacherous and bloody Plots, Conspiracies, Attempts and Practices of the Enemies of God against the true Religion and Professors thereof in places, especially in these three Kingdoms ever since the Reformation of Religion, and how much their rage, power, and presumption are of late years at this time increased and exercised, whereas the deportable Estate of the Church and Kingdom of Ireland, the distressed Estate of the Church and Kingdom of England, and the dangerous Estate of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland, are present and publick Reckoning: We have now at last (after other means of Supplication, Remonstrance, Petitions and Sufferings) for the preservation of our selves and our Religion from utter Ruine and Destruction, according to the commendable Practice of these Kingdoms in former times, and the Example of God’s People in other Nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a Mutual and Solemn League and Covenant: Wherein we all Sublicesse, and each one of us for himself, with our Hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear:

1. That we shall sincerely, really and constanly, through the Grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of Scotland, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, against our common enemies: The Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government according to the Word of God, and the Example of the best Reformed Churches, and shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms, to the nearest Conformity and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church Government, Directory for Worship and Catechising: That we and our Posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in Faith and Love, the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

2. That we shall in like manner, without respect of Persons, endeavour the erecting of Popery, Prelacy (that is, Church Government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-bishops, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers depending on that Hierarchy) Superstition, Veneration, Schism, Popish Romishness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctrine and the power of Godliness, lest we partake in other mens sins, and thereby be in danger to receive at their plagues: And that the Lord may be one, and his Name one in the three Kingdoms.

3. We shall with the same sincerity, reality and constancy in our severalocations, endeavour with our Estates and Lives, mutually to preserve the Rights and Priviledges of this Parliament, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the King’s Majesty, Person and Authority, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms: That the world may bear witness with our Consciences of our Loyalty, and that we have no thoughts of intentions to diminish his Majesty’s just power and estates.
4. We shall also with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, as one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any Faction, or Parties, amongst the People contrary to this League and Covenant, That they may be brought to publick Trial, and receive Condemnation Punishment, as the degree of their Sinses shall require or deserve, the Supreme Judicators of both Kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

5. And whereas the happiness of a blessed Peace between these Kingdoms, denied in former times to our Progenitors, is by the good Providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded, and settled by both Parliaments. We shall each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour that they may remain composed in a firm Peace and Union to all Posterity; and that Justice may be done upon the wilful Opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent Article.

6. We shall also according to our Places and Callings, in this common Cause of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer our selves directly or indirectly, by whatsoever Combination, Perversion or Terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed Union and Covenant, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give our selves to a detestable indifference, or neutrality in this Cause, which so much concerneth the Glory of God, the Good of the Kingdoms, and honour of the King. But shall all the days of our Lives zealously and constantly continue therein, against all Opposition, and promote the same according to our power, against all Lets and Hindrances whatsoever; and that we are not able our selves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed: All which we shall do as in the sight of God.

And because these Kingdoms are guilty of many Sins and Provocations against God, and his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present Discontents and Dangers, the Fruits thereof, We profess and declare before God and the World; our unrighteous desire to be humbled to our own Sins and to the Sins of these Kingdoms, especially that we have not, as we ought, varied the inestimable benefit of the Gospel, that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, not to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the Causes of other Sins and Transgressions so much abounding amongst us. And our true and unrighteous purpose, desire, and endeavoured for our selves, and all others under our power and charge, both in publick and in private, in all Duties we owe to God and Man, to amend our Lives, and each one to go before another in the Example of a real Reformation, That the Lord may turn away his Wrath and heavy Inquisition, and establish these Churches and Kingdoms in Truth and Peace. And this Covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great Day when the Secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed. Most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our Desires and Proceedings with such Success, as may be Deliverance and Safety to his People, and encouragement to other Christian Churches groaning under, or in danger of the Pole of Antichristian Tyranny to own in the same, as like Association and Covenant, to the Glory of God, the Inlargement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the Peace and Tranquility of Christian Kingdoms and Common-wealths.

The
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

The Oath and Declaration imposed upon the Lay-Conformists in the Corporation Act, the Vestry Act, &c. are as followeth:

The Oath to be taken.

I A. B. do declare and believe, That it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that Traitorous Plotting of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are Commissioned by him; So help me God.

The Declaration to be Subscribed.

I A. B. do declare, That I hold there lies no Obligation upon me, or any other Person, from the Oath commonly called, The Solemn League and Covenant; and that the same was in it self an unlawful Oath, and imposed upon the Subjects of this Realm against the known Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.

All Vestry Men to make and Subscribe the Declaration following.

I A. B. do declare, That it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that Traitorous Plotting of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are Commissioned by him; And that I will Conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England, as it is now by Law established; And I do declare, That I do hold there lies no Obligation upon me, or any other Person, from the Oath commonly called, The Solemn League and Covenant, to endeavour any Change or Alteration of Government either in Church or State; and that the same was in it self an unlawful Oath, and imposed upon the Subjects of this Realm against the known Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.

The Declaration: thus Prefaced in the Act of Uniformity; [Every Minister after each reading thereof shall openly and publicly before the Congregation there assembled, declare his unsealed Assent and Consent to the use of all things in the said Book contained and preferred, in these words and no other.

I A. B. do hereby declare my unsealed Assent and Consent to all and every thing contained and preferred in and by the Book, Intituled, The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England; together with the Psalter or Psalms of David; pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches; and the Form or Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests and Deacons.

The Declaration to be Subscribed.

I A. B. do declare, That it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that Traitorous Plotting of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are Commissioned by him; And that I will Conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England as it is now by Law established; And I do declare that I do hold there lies no Obligation upon me, or any other Person, from the Oath commonly called, The Solemn League and Covenant, to endeavour any Change or Alteration of Government, either in Church or State; and that the same was in it self an unlawful Oath, and imposed upon the Subjects of this Realm, against the known Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.
The Oath of Canonical Obedience.

§ 302. II. The Nonconformists, who take not this Declaration, Oath, Subscription, &c. are of divers sorts, some being further distant from Conformity than others; some thinking that some of the aforementioned things are lawful, and some that none of them are lawful: and all have not the same Reasons for their different. But all are agreed that it is not lawful to do all that is required, and therefore they are all call out of the Exercise of the Sacred Ministry, and forbidden to preach the Word of God.

§ 303. The Reasons commonly given by them are either, 1. Against the Imposing of the things forementioned; or, 2. Against the Using of them being imposed. Those of the former sort were given into the King and Bishops before the Paffing of the Act of Uniformity, and are laid down in the beginning of this Book; and the Opportunity being now past, the Nonconformists now meddle not with that part of the Caufe, it having seemed good to their Superiors to go against their Reasons. But this is worthy the noting by the way, that all that I can speak with of the Conforming Party, do now justify only the Using and Obeying, and not the Imposing of these things with the Penalty by which they are Imposed: From whence it is evident, that most of their own Party do now justify our Caufe which we maintained at the Savoy, which was against this Imposition (whilst it might have been prevented), and for which such an intemperate Fury hath pursued me to this very day. 2. But it is the Reasons against our full Obedience to the Imposition of this Conformity, which I am now to rehearse: but I must desire the Reader to remember, that my bare Recital is no sign of my Approbation of all that I recite, though I be one of those that dare not Conform.

§ 304. And first there are divers general Reasons which keep some of them more than others from Conformity, and drive them further, even from joyning with them in Liturgy or Sacrament.

1. Some of them look upon the Principles and Lives of many of those who fall in with the establishit Church, as furnishing them with a sufficient Plea against Conformity: For, say they, it's eafe to observe how the Prophane and Vicious and Dehaucht and Scandalous (which makes up but too great a part of the Nation), fall in with that Party in the Church that are for Prelacy and Liturgy, &c. and for oppreffing those who differ in their Sentiments from them about these Matters. Now how say they, can we safely joyn in with that Body of Men, that harbours so many open Enemies to all Religion, as the prophan part of the Nation comprehends? But some who are more confiderate, reply, That this is no other than what is the usual Attendant of a National Establishment: it being a common thing for all thole in a State, who are really of no Religion, in appearance to fall in with that Mode of Religion that is favour'd by the Law, and most encouraged by the Prince.

§ 305. 2. The same Persons say, That by Conforming they shall own and strengthen Usurpation; who have made a New Office which Christ never made, and to the great wrong of Christ, and the peril of the Church, have made themselves Lords of God's Heritage: And as he that obeyeth the Pope's Law, is guilty of his Usurpation, so is he that obeyeth the Prelates Laws, though the Matter commanded were lawful in it self.

But the moderater Nonconformists are not for this Reason; because, say they, it is but Counsel as it cometh from the Convocation; and it is the King and Parliament that make a Law of it, whom we must obey in lawful things. And they say further, That we must not forbear a Duty, for fear of Encouraging Men's Usurpations.

§ 306. They say also, 3. That these Impositions are done by the Prelates in meer design to root out godly Minifters and Chrifitians: And that when they feared that the old Conformity would not ferve any thing, they have added such new Materials of yet purpofe, which keep out a Thousand at leaft that would have yielded to the
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

the Old Conformity: And what they aim at further, when they have thus driven our all the able, faithful Ministers, God knoweth. But if we set in with them, and use the very means which they have fabricated for this very end, to destroy the Interest of Godliness, though the Act commanded were indifferent, we are made guilty of their Sin.

But the moderate Nonconformists say, That such Reasons as these are good Seconds where the Matter is first proved evil: but 1. That Mens Designs areLatent in their hearts, and the strongest Conjectures will not serve instead of Proof. 2. If that it were known to any one of us, not by the Evidence of the thing but by some other Discovery, that a lawful thing is Commanded with a pernicious design, that will not excuse us from our Obedience, unless it be probable that the Church, is like to be saved from ruin, by our forbearance to obey: And we may do, the thing commanded without any participation of the Guilt of Mens private malicious Intentions.

§ 507. 4. Also they say, That we have Covenanted to endeavour a Reformation, and had begun it, and therefore shall be Covenant-breakers and Backsliders, if we yield to any thing which was to be reformed.

But here the more moderate have many Distinctions, between things unlawful and things only inconvenient, and between those that have opportunity to do better, and those that have not, and between Fidelity Communion, and most ordinary. And they say that things unlawful must not be done, whether we have covenanted against them, or not: But for things only inexpedient or evil by a temperate Accident, they become our Duties, and no Covenant disobliges us from our Duty: and that the Covenant never was intended to oblige us to prefer no Worship before that which is defectible, but only to prefer that which is better before it: And that it may be a duty to Communicate sometime with a very faulty Church, in order to our Catholic Communion with the whole, to be in our ordinary particular Communion be in the purest Church and Order (ceteris paribus) that we can have.

§ 508. 5. And another Reason given is, That the Aggravation of the Sin of these Impoters is very great, that they have been Persecutors here before, and seem and felt God's Judgments for it, and have been convinced and intreated to return to Charity, and yet they have, with renewed Malice, set themselves to the debauching of the Consciences of the Kingdom, and to the extirpation of Natural Honesty, and have branded all their Party with the Mark of Perjury, Perfidiousness, and Persecution, while theybrand the Consciences with the Name of Puritans: And therefore they are a Generation ready for perdition, and certainly near some heavy Curse: And for us to join with them that are in the way to Wrath, is the way to be partakers of their Plagues.

But the moderate say to this, 1. That the Extermination as well as the Aggravation of their Sin must be considered: And that it must be remembered, that among the Nonconformists there is a Party of Sectaries, that Rebelled against all the Governors that were over them, and cut off the King's Head, when they had conquered those that are now against them, in the Field, and intreated their Estates: And that such great Provocation may not only inflame Malice where it findeth it, but greatly exasperate even temperate Men. 2. That it's true that we must partake with no Men in their Sins, as ever we would escape their Plagues: but when that which is the Impoters Sin, is become the Subject's Duty, God will not plague us with them for doing our Duties. 3. That it is dangerous to presume to forecast on whom God will bring his Judgments in this Life, and to presume that we are safe, and they are near perdition; while all things come alike to all, and the differingDay of Judgment is not yet come. Therefore it is dangerous on such Prophecies, or Presumptions, or Fears to go out of the way of any Duty, or to avoid any lawful Communion with the Church.

§ 509. 6. Again it is said, That these Impositions being the Engines of Division in the Church (as Mr. Hall himself affirmeth), we shall be partakers of the Schism if we use them.

But the moderate say, That indeed if we partake in the Impostion, we partake in the Guilt of the Division caused by it: But when they are Imposed, we may do that which in it fell is lawful, without any content to the Impostion at all: Yea, and that which as imposed tendeth to Division, may, upon supposition that it will be, and is imposed, be practised sometimes as the way to Unity, and to avoid Division.
§ 310. 7. Lately it is said, That the Necessity which is pretended for this Conformity, is none at all: For, 1. As to a Necessity of Communion with the Church Catholic, it requireth not Personal, Local Communion with each particular Congregation, but that at a distance we own them so far as they are to be owned, 2. And for the Escaping of Punishment from Men, there is no necessity of it, nor yet of our Personal Liberty to preach the Gospel, when we cannot do it upon lawful Terms.

But to this the moderate Nonconformists say, That 1. our Catholic Communion requireth that we in Judgment or Practice separate from no Church of Christ which forseeth us not to sin, but hold Communion with them as we have a Call and Opportunity. And that we must not separate from one, upon a Cause that is common to almost all. 2. That though there be no Necessity of our escaping Persecution, nor any absolute Necessity of our Personal Preaching, yet there is of this last an ordinate Hypothetical Necessity laid upon us by God himself; and wo to us if we preach not when we may. So that you fee that these general Reasons which some Nonconformists extend to all, the moderate allow only as Seconds against thofe things which first are proved unlawful.

§ 311. 1. For the particular Controversie about Diocesanis: 1. Some of the Nonconformists are against all Bishops, as distant from Presbyters, by any other than a Temporary Preidency or Moderatorship. But the most of them of my Acquaintance are for the Lawfulness of some stated Episcopacy; that is, that there be fixed Presidents or Bishops in every particular Church they take to be lawful, as of Human Constitution and Ecclesiastical Custom, contrary to no Law of God. 2. That there be more general Overseers of many of these Bishops and Churches, as the Apostles were (though without their extraordinary Call and Privileg’d) they think also lawful, if not in some sort of Divine Institution: 1. Because Church-Government being an ordinary standing work, in that the Apostles were to have Successors. 2. Because they think it incredible if the Apostles had been against particular Primitive Episcopacy, that no Church or Perfon would have been found on Record to have been born witness against it, till it had been fo universally received by all the Churches

But they are all agreed that the English Diocesan Frame of Government, and fo the Popish Prelacy, is unlawful, and of dangerous tendency in the Churches. And that this Controversie may be understood, the English Frame must here be opened.

§ 312. There are in England two Archbishops, and under one of them four Bishops, and under the other One and twenty Bishops: In all Five and twenty Bishops, with Two Archbishops. Every Bishop hath a Cathedral Church which is no Parish Church, nor hath any People appropriated to it as Parishioners: But a Dean with a Chapter of Prelords or Canons, are the Preachers to it, and Governors of —— I know not whom. In some Bishopspricks are Three hundred, some Four hundred, some Five hundred, some One thousand, some Twelve hundred Parishes, and some more. In the greatest Parishes of London are about Three score thousand Souls (as Martyrs, Stentin, Giles Cripplegate): in others about Thirty thousand (as Giles in the Fields, Sepulchres): in others about Twenty thousand, and in the lesser Parishes fewer. Usually the greater Country Parishes in Market Towns have about Four thousand, or Three thousand, or Two thousand Souls: and the ordinary Rural Parishes about One thousand in the bigger, and two hundred or three hundred in the lesser; some more, and some less. In these Parishes the Minifhers, who have watched over them, (and of late times instructed and catechized every Family and Perfon, young and old, apart in many places) do find that the number of thofe that are ignorant of the Perfon and Office of Christ, and the Essentials of Christianity, and of all Religion, and of thofe that are ordinary Drunkards, Whoremongers, Prophan Sweares, Curlers, Railers, or otherwise notoriously Scandalous or Ungodly, is not small. For the Government of thofe (besides preaching to them, and exhorting them, and giving them the Sacraments), the Parish Minifter hath no power: He hath no power of judging whole Children he shall baptize; but must refuse none, though the Parents be profess’d Heathens or Infidels, if Godfathers and Godmothers bring them to be baptized (who yet never adopt them, nor meddle more as Owners of them with their Education, and perhaps know not what Baptism or Christianity is themselves). They have no power to judge what Persons of their Parish shall be confirmed, or admitted into the number of Adult Communicants: so that all their Flocks are imposed on them. They have no more power than any private Man, to admonish the Scandalous before Witness, or to admonish them before the Church, or pray for
their Repentance by Name, or to judge who is to be cast out of the Communion of the Church, or to be Aboloved, nor to deny the Sacrament to any, unless for a particular time, when he is just going to Administer it, he lets any there that are notoriously guilty, and he take them then aside, and they will not so much as stay. We will do better: And it is uncertain whether he may Suspend any of theirs, but the Malicious that will not be reconciled: So that the Minifters may read Prayers and Preach, and may read an Excommunication or Abolition when it is lent them, and may, if they please, joyn with the Churchwardens as Informers, to preuent some Men to the Bishops Court, but Church-Government is denied them.

The Government then of all the Churches, and Exercise of Holy Discipline, belongeth to the Bishops in Title; but the Bishops do and must Exercise it in their Courts or Conftituents. In every Diocess there is one of these Courts, where the Ordinary Judge is the Bishop's Chancellour, a Lay-man, and a Civil Lawyer (though in many Cafes the Bishop may fit himself if he pleafe): The Court hath also a Regifter, and Proctors to plead Mens Caufes, as Counfellers in Civil Courts; and they have some Fellows called Apparators, who are their Meflengers for Citation, besides the Churchwardens Prelentments, who bring them in Custum. This Court is to hear all considerable Caufes, and determine them by Excommunications or Ablutions, and to fend their Excommunications or Ablutions written to the Parish Prieft, who is to read them. But pro forma when the Lay-Chancellour hath resolved who shall be Excommunicated, they have a Clergy-Presbyter prefeit to fpake the Sentence in the Court, who yet hath no power, but of meer Pronunciation, but is a Ceremony to put of the Odium from the Lay Judge: And if he have power as a Presbyter, why do the Bishops appropriate it to themselves? If one that is no Bishop may exercise it when a Bishop bids him, then is it not a thing appropriate to the Bishops Office. Besides these there are Arch Deacons, who by themselves, or their Officials, hold some kind of Inferior Court, which deal in lefier Matters: Some Diocesses have one Arch-Deacon, some two, some few three or four. The Bishops should go visit once a year, and the Arch-Deacon ofte: When they visit they go to some chief Town in the Countrie, and call all the Minifters to meet them, where they hear a Sermon, and Dine together usually. They yearly compile a Book of Articles which Churchwardens are sworn to enquire after, and to prefent the Names of the Offenders accordingly to the Bishop's Court. In brief, this is the Frame of our Diocesan Government. To which I only add, That Fees and Money for Commutation of Penance are much of their Officers Maintenance; and that fuch as they Excommunicate in moth Cafes, are by a Writ De Excommunicato Capiendo to be laid in the Jall, till upon their Repentance they have made their Peace, and are aboloved.

§ 313. Having told you what our Government is, let me tell you what the Execution of it is. The Books of Articles are fitted somewhat to the Canons, by those Bishops that are most moderate and caufelous; and therefore by the English Canons they are known: some of them usually are againft Drunkards and Fornicators; but the main bent of them is againft thofe that wear not the Surplice, that Baptize without the Crof, that omit the Common Prayer, that refufe to Baptize any Infant; or that deliver the Lord's Supper to any that kneel not in receiving it; or that receive it without kneeling; that fland not up at the Gol-Fel, that bow not at the Name Jesu, (though they may fit when the fame words are read in the Chapter, and are not required to bow at the Name of Christ, God, &c.) Also about the Repair of the Church, the Surplice, the Books; that none pin up to the Church-wall, &c. with many fuch things. It is a rare thing for the Churchwardens to prefent any, except Nonconformifts, that use not Ceremonies, &c. Swearers, Drunkards, and Woremongers are feldom prefent, left Neigh- bours be displeased: but Puritans have fome one or other that is more eager in looking after them. When any Scandalous Person is prefentified, he hath no other Spiritual Conviction or Exhortation to Repentance, tending to Convert his Soul, than at any Civil Court: But telling them that he is Sorry, and paying his Fees or Com- munication Money, he comes home: But when Confcentious Nonconformifts are before them, whole Conferences will not let them lay that they are Sorry (wiz. for praying or exhorting others in their Houfe, for giving the Sacrament to them that fland or fit, &c.) they are usually Excommunicated. I have been in molt parts of England, and in Fifty years time I never saw one do Penance, or confefs his Sin in publick, for any Scandalous Crime; nor ever heard but of two in the Coun- try where I lived (that flood in a White-sheet for Adultery) except in the place when Bishops were down, and then I have heard many that have penitently con- fessed
fessed their Sin, and begged the Prayers of the Congregation, and been prayed for: In a word, their Courts are meerly as Civil Courts, for Terrour, but not at all to convince Men of Sin, and bring them to Repentance and Salvation, further than such Terrour is fit to do it. And note here, That the Discipline of the Church is not to be judged of by the King's Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, which was never executed before it was void, in these respects: Nor yet by some of our Reformers or Chroniclers, who tell you how it was exercised quickly after the Reformation in King Edward's or Queen Elizabeth's days: As Hollingshead, e. g. who rel eth you of many Suffragans, and of the Piety and Diligence of their Courts, and of Exercises called Prophecying held up at the Arch-Deacons Visitations (against the Subverters of which it thundereth): But as it is in England at this day, and hath been this Sixty or Seventy years by-past.

§ 314. Now concerning this Diocesan Frame of Government, the Non-Subscribers (called Partisans by many) do judge that it is sinful and contrary to the Word of God, both in the Constitution and in the Administration of it. And they lay upon it these heavy Charges, the least of which is proved, is of intolerable weight.

§ 315. 1. They say, That quantum in se it destroyeth the pastoral Office, which is of Divine Injunction, and was known in the Primitive Church; for it doth deprive the Presbyters of the third essential part of their Office; for it is clear in Scripture, that Christ appointed no Presbyters, that were not subject to him in all the three parts of his Office, as Prophet, Priest and King, to stand between the People and him in Teaching, Worshipping and Governing: And though the Actual Exercise of any one part, may be suspended without the Destruction of the Office, yet to the Office itself (which is nothing but Power and Obligation to exercise) one part as essential as the other: so then they say, that [That which destroyeth an essential part of the Pafrors or Presbyters Office, destroyeth the Office as instituted by Christ.] But the Diocesan State of Government destroyeth, &c.

Ergo

The Major will not be denied: The Minor hath two parts; 1. That governing Power and Obligation (over the Flock) is essential to the Office of a Pastor or Presbyter as instituted by Christ. Which they prove thus: 1. The very Name of Presbyter and Pastor denoteth the Governing Power, and was then used in that sense (as * Dr. Hammond hath well proved). 2. There is no such thing found in all the New Testament as a Presbyter that had not the Power of Governing his Flock as well as Teaching it. He that can find it, let him: Dr. Hammond hath gone over all the Texts in proving it. 3. The Church long after knew no such Presbyters as had not the Spiritual Government of the Flock. 4. The Papists confess that they have the Power of the Keys in foro interiori to this day; which is the Spiritual Government.

2. The second part of the Minor, That the Diocesan Form denieth this Governing Power to the Presbyters, appeareth 1. By their own Confessions; 2. By the Actual Constitutions, disabling them, and placing the Power elsewhere; 3. By the instance of the formentioned Particulars, and many more: They have not the power of judging who shall be taken into their Churches as Members by Baptism, or Confirmed, or who shall Communicate, or who is to be publicly Admonished, Confined, Excommunicated, Abolished; buried as a Brother; dying in Christ, &c. no nor what Chapter to read in the Church, nor what Garment to wear, nor what words of Prayer to put up to God: in all which they are mere Executioners of other Mens Judgments, as a Crier or such other Mellengers.

§ 316. 2. The second Charge against this Diocesan Prelacy is, That it introduceth a New Humane Species of Presbyters or Spiritual Officers, instead of Christ's, which it destroyeth: that is, a sort of mere Subject Prebys, that have no power of Government but meerly to Teach and Worship. That this is a distinct Species, is proved in that 1. It wanteth an essential part which the other Species hath. 2. From the Bishop's own profession, who in the beginning of the Book of Ordination (Subscribed to) do declare it plainly determined in Scripture, &c. That Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are three distinct Orders: which word Orders is the common term to signify a Species of Church Officers distinct from a meer degree in the same Order or Species.

That this Office is New, is proved 1. In that Scripture or Antiquity never knew it. 2. Dr. Hammond Annot. in Al. LV. and in his Latin Book against Blandell (Differtat.) protesteth that it cannot be proved that the word Bishop, Presbyter, or Puer, signifieth in all the Scripture any other than a proper Bishop; or that there was any such
such as we now call Presbyters in Scripture times. And in his Answer, to the London Ministers, he faith, That for ought he kneweth, all his Brethren of the Church of England are of his mind: So that Presbyters that had no Governing Power, were not in Scripture times. And though he lays that the other fort came in before Ignatius's time, yet 1. He faith not that this fort had no Government of the Flock; but that they were under the Bishop in Government; so that yet they are not the fort that we are speaking of. 2. And he doth not prove any more.

§ 317. 3. A third Charge which they bring against our Prelacy is, That it destroys the Species or Form of particular Churches instituted by Christ: The Churches which Christ instituted are [Holy Societies associated for Personal holy Communion under their particular Pastor]. But all such Societies are destroyed by the Diocesan Frame——— Ergo it is destructive of the Form of particular Churches instituted by Christ.

They distinguish between [Personal Local Communion of Saints, by Pastors and their Flocks] and Communion of hearts only; and Communion by Delegation or Deputies: 1. We have Heart-Communion with all the Catholick Church through the World. 2. Particular Churches have Communion for Concord and mutual Strength, in Synods by their Pastors or Deputies. 3. But [a holy] Communion of Souls or Individual Persons, as Members of the fame particular Church, for publick Worship and a holy Life] is specifically distinct from both the former, as is apparent, 1. By the distinct end; 2. The distinct manner of Communion, yet and the matter of it.

And that this Form of Churches (or Species) is overthrown by this Prelacy, they prove: [The Churches of Christ's institution were constituted of Governing Pastors, and a Flock governed by them in Personal holy Communion, every Church having its proper Pastor, or Pastors]. But such Churches as are thus constituted are destroyed by our Frame of Prelacy: Ergo———

The Major is contended de fideo by Dr. Hammond (ubi supra) as to Scripture times, and sufficiently cleared in my Treatise of Episcopacy. Ignatius's Testimony alone might suffice, who faith, That [so every Church there was one Altar, and one Bishop, with the Presbyters and Deacons be Fellow Servants]. A Church of one Altar, and of a thousand Altars; A Church that is for Personal Communion, and a Church that hath no Personal Communion with her Pastor or Bishop, or with one of a hundred of her Fellow-Members, a Church which is a Church indeed, and that which is no Church, but only a part of a Church, are more than specifically distinct; for indeed the Name is but equivocally applied to them as distinct Natures or Societies. Every Church (univocally so called in sensu politico, as a governed Society) hath its pars gubernans and pars gubernata to constitute it: But so have not our Parochial Churches as such: indeed, as Oratories and Schools (as instructed and worshipping Societies) they have their Parochial Heads; but as governed Societies they have no Heads proper to themselves, nor any at all as Churches, but as parts of a Church: For the Diocesan is Head of the Diocesan Church as such, and not of a Parochial Church as such, but only as a part of the Diocesan Church. And as it is no Kingdom which hath no King, so it is no Political Church which hath no Governor or Pastor. So that Diocesans destroy particular Churches, as much as in them lyeth. Unless any will lay, that as one King, as he is persona naturalis, may be three, or twenty Kings, as persona civilis, as related to several Kingdoms; and so one Bishop, as persona naturalis, may yet be a thousand Ecclesiastical Persons, as Pastor of so many Churches: But this being ridiculous, and yet said by none that I have heard of, I shall not hand to confute it.

But were it so, yet a Pastor that never teach or speaketh to his People, nor hath any personal Communion in Worship with them, and this according to the Constitution it fell, is not of the same sort with a Scripture Pastor; 1 Thess. 5. 12, 13. Hebr. 13. 17, &c. which labour among them, and preach to them the Word of God, and watch for their Souls, &c. And consequently the Churches constituted by them are not of the same Species. It is one Office personally to Teach, Oversee, Rule and Worship with them; and another to do none of these to one of a thousand, but to lend the Churchwardens a Book of Articles.

§ 318. 4. A fourth Charge is, That it fetth up a New Church-Form which is unlawful, instead of that of Christ's institution; that is, a Diocesan Church conflicting of many hundred Parishes (which none of them are Churches according to the Diocesan Frame, but parts of one Church): It hath been shewed that this Diocesan Church is of another Species than the Parochial, one being for personal Communion, which
which the other is incapable of; the far greatest part of the Members never see-
ing their Pastor, nor knowing one another any more than if they lived in several parts of the World. And that this Church Form is new, is proved already; that is, that there was no Diocesan Church having many flated Congregations and Altars, (much left many hundreds) and all under one only Bishop or Governor, either in Scripture time, or two hundred years after, excepting only that in Alexandria and Rome, some few of more Assemblies than one under one Bishop, appeared a little sooner.

Here note, That it is not an Archbishops Church that we are speaking of; who is but the General Pastor or Bishop, having other Bishops and Churches under him; but it is a Church in its Species, commonly called a particular Church, which hath no other Churches or Bishops under it. And that none such was in Scripture times. Dr. Hammond hath manifested (there being then no Presbyters different from Bishops, as he faith on Act. 11.) And that there was none such of long time after, is abundantly proved in my Treatise of Episcopacy.

§ 319. 5. The fifth Charge against the Diocesan Form is, That it extirpatesthe ancient Episcopacy: which they prove, by what is laid already: The ancient Bishops were the Heads of the Presbyters and People of one single Church only: To every Church, faith Ignatius, there is one Altar and one Bishop with the Presbyters, and the Deacons my Fellow Servants. There was then no Bishop in any other Species as distinct from an Archbishops, that had more than one Altar and Church: But now all these Bishops of particular Churches are put down, and no Church of one Altar hath a Bishop of its own, but only a Church consisting of many hundred Worshipping Churches. In the ancient times every City that had a Congregation of Christians had a Bishop: But now every Bishop hath many Cities under him, which have all but one Bishop. For all our Corporations, called Oppida, Towns, or Boroughs, were then such as the word was signified, though we have appropriated the English word [City] to some few, that have that Title as honorary in favour from the Prince.

§ 320. 6. The sixth Charge is, That instead of the ancient Bishops, a later sort of Bishops is introduced, of a distinct Species from all the ancient Bishops: for then there were none but more Bishops of particular Churches, and the Archbishops, Metropolitans, and Patriarchs that had the general oversight of these. But ours are of neither of these sorts: They are not Bishops of particular worshipping Churches that have one Altar; but have hundreds of such: Nor are they Archbishops; for they have no Bishops under them: But they are just such as the Archbishops or Metropolitans in these days would have been, if they had put down all the Bishops that were under them, and taken all the Charge of Government on themselves, leaving only Teaching Priests with the People: Even as the Papiists feign Gregory to have meant, when he vehemently denied the Title of Universal Bishop, as putting down the Inferior Bishops: Now any Man that thinketh the Species of Episcopacy described by Ignatius, and used in the Primitive times, to be of Divine, or Apostolical Institution, must needs think that a Species which having deposited them all, doth stand in their stead, is utterly unlawful. And therefore this Argument against Diocesans is not managed by the Presbyterians as such, but by those that are for the Primitive Episcopacy.

§ 321. 7. The seventh Charge against the Diocesan Form, (and that which flicketh more than all the rest) is, That it maketh the Church Government or Discipline which Christ hath commanded, and all the ancient Churches practised, to be a thing impossible to be done, and so excluded it; and therefore is unlawful: For to dispute Who shall be the Governors of the Church, when the meaning is, Whether there shall be any Government at all (of that sort which Christ commanded) is the present practice. For the clearing of this, these Questions are to be debated.

Quell 1. Whether Christ hath instituted any Church Discipline?
2. What that Discipline is which he hath instituted?
3. How many Parishes there be in a Diocese, and Persons in a Parish, who are to be the Objects of this Discipline?
4. Who they be that in England are to execute this Discipline?

§ 322. 1. And for the first Question, It is agreed on by all Protestants that I know of, except some of those that are called Erastians; I say, some of them: for I think there are very few even of the Erastians that deny it. Dr. Hammond hath written a Treatise for it, Entitled, Of the Power of the Keys: yea the Papists differ not from the Protestants in this point. It will therefore be labour in vain to prove it.
2. And as to the second Question, [What this Discipline is?] It is considerable, 1. As to the Matter; 2. As to the Person; 3. As to the Place; 4. As to the Manner; and 5. As to the End. 

1. As to the Matter; We are agreed that it consists in receiving Persons into the Church; in preparing and healing those that are in the Church, and in calling out those from the Communion of the Church which are unfit for it, and in Absolving and Reforcing the Excommunica when they are penitent. And therefore it is called, The Power and Exercise of the Keys: By these Keys, the Door is first opened to believers and their Seed, and the Bishops who are fit to be let in by Baptism. When any are lapsed into scandalous sin, they are to be proceeded with as Christ hath directed, Matt. 18.4,15,16, 17. We must first tell men privately of their private faults, and if they hear us not, we must take with us two or three; if they hear not them, we must tell the Church; and finally, if they hear not the Church, they must be told us as Heathens and Publicans. And whatsoever is thus bound on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever is loosed on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven, ver. 18. The Church is the Body of Christ, his Spoufe, his Family, his Garden; it is a Communion of Saints which is to be held in it: It is commanded to put away wicked Persons from among them, and not to keep company, if any that is called a Brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a drunkard, or an extorter, with such a one we are not to eat, 1 Cor. 5.11,13. And we are to withdraw from every Brother that walketh disorderly, and to note them, and to have no company with them, that they may be punished, 2 Thess. 3.6,11. If any come to us, and bring not sound Doctrine, we must not receive him into our houses, nor bid him good speed, lest we be partakers of his evil deeds, 2 John 10,11. A Man that is an Heretic, must, after the first and second Admonition, be avoided, as Self-condemned, Tit. 3.10,11. And the penitent must be restored and re-admitted. All this is agreed on.

§ 324. 2. And as to the Persons who are Parties in this Transaction, we are agreed 1. That it is such Persons as defirr Communion with us, that are to be admitted, (being fit,) and such as having Communion with us, become unmeet for it that are to be call out, &c. so that it is to be exercised on Persons, so far as they are to have Communion with us, and not on those that are uncapable of that Communion. 2. That essentially it must be done by the Pastor or Governor of that particular Church, which the Person is to be admitted into, or call out of: And by the judgment of the Pastors of other neighbour Churches, when they also, as Neighbours, are to refuse Communion with him. 3. That execratively it is to be done by every one in their places, the Pastors giving or denying the sacraments, &c. and the People holding or refusing Communion or Company with Men according as they are judged by the Church. I think there is no Controversy among us about these.

§ 325. 1. And therefore the Work will resolve us of the place; viz. That the Execution must be in that place where he had or defirr Communion, or was capable of it: And therefore that the Judgment should be by thofe that being upon the place, have fullest opportunity to know the Persons and the Case: Even by thofe Pastors who labour amongst the People that are over them in the Lord, 1 Thess. 5.12,13. who have the rule over them, and preach to them the Word of God, Heb. 13.7,17,24. and not by thofe that are strangers to them.

§ 326. 4. And as to the Manner, all Divines are agreed, That it is not to be like the proceedings of a Civil Court, where there is no more to be done, but examine the Caufe and pass the Sentence, and execute it by Corporal Penalties and Multes: But, 1. That it is to be managed by grave Divines, the Physicians of Souls, for the saving of the Sinner, if it may be, with great ferviousnefs, and light, and weight of Scripture Argument, convincing the Errouneous, terrifying the Secure with the terrous of the Lord, reproving and admonishing and persuading the penitent Offender, and all this with Love and Compassion and due Patience; and restoring the Penitent with Tendernefs and Confolation and necessary Caution. From all which it is evident, That one single Perfon thus dealt with in cafe of Hereſie, may hold the Pastor or Bishop many days time, and one gross Sinner may hold him many hours time, before this Work can be done as the Nature and Ends of it do require. 2. And it is to be done by the meer Keys of the Kingdom of Christ, by managing God’s Word by particular Application to the Cafe and Conſcience of the Sinner, and not by outward Force or Penalties.
§ 327. 5. And this all is apparent in the Ends of it; which is, 1. That Church-Communion may be a Communion of Saints, 2. That the Sinner may be saved, and converted to that end; 3. Or however, that others may be warned by his sad Example. 4. And that the unbelieving and ungodly World, may see the Excellency of Christian Religion, and not be hardened in their Infidelity and Impiety.

5. And so that Christ, and the Father by him, may be honoured in his holiness among the Sons of Men: These are the Ends of Church-Discipline.

§ 328. 2. And as you see what the Discipline is that is to be Exercised, so the Number of Persons on whom it is to be exercised, may be gathered from what is laid in the beginning: where is shewed, 1. How many hundred Parishes are in a Diocese. 2. How many hundred or thousand Souls in a Parish: (unless the very finallest). 3. And how many Heretics, Atheists, Papists, Infidels, or Swearers, Curfers, Railers, Drunkards, Fortunicators, and other scandalous Sinners there are proportionably in most Parishes, I leave to the judgment of every faithful Pastor that ever tried it by a particular knowledge of his Flock.

§ 329. 4. And lastly, who they be that are to Exercise all this Discipline, I have shewed before; even one Court or Confillory in a whole Diocese, with the inconsiderable Suberience of the Arch-Deacon’s Court: (For the Rural Deans do nothing in it, and are themselves scarce known: and the Pastor and Churchwardens do nothing but present Men to the Courts, and execute part of their Sentences.)

§ 330. All this being laid together, the impossibility of Christ’s Discipline in our Churches is undeniable: 1. Because by this Computation there must stand at once before the Court many thousand Persons to be at once examined, convinced, reproved, exhorited, or a great Multitude at least: whenas they can speak but to one at once. 2. Because the second Admonition which should be before two or three, is there before an open Judicature; which is not suited to the appointed End: so that really our Controversie with the Diocesan’s is the fame in effect, as if it were controverted, whether a thousand or six hundred Schools shall have as many governments School-masters; or whether one only shall govern all these Schools, and the rest of the School-masters have only power to teach, and not to govern? (were it only whether one should have a general Inspection over the rest, that they may be punished for Male-administration, we should not be so far disfaggred: for though we might question whether Christ ever made or allowed any such Officer, besides the Magistrate, yet if the Work were but done by any, we should judge it more tolerable.) Or the Controversie is as if it were questioned, whether all the Diocesan’s should have any more than one Physician, that should have any power to prescribe any Government to the Patients, and all the rest should only read general Lectures of Physick to them, and be his Apothecaries, to carry them his Precripts and Medicines; which were to question, whether all three of one Man that would be their only Physician. Shifting may deceive the unexperienced, but let any Minister in England be but so faithful as to know all his Flock, and regard their Souls, and he can never deny that this is the true Cafe. For my own part, the Lord knoweth that I did with too much remissness exercise some Discipline a few years (when I had liberty) in one Country Parish, upon one of the most Reformed People in the Land, and that with the help of many Fellow-Ministers, and of many of the People in their places, and the censure and presence of three Judges of the Peace; and yet I found the burden too great for me, and that one half of that Parish would have been enough. It is in this, as in Military Discipline, or Navigation: The Judgment of that Man that never tried it, is of very little value in the Cafe. Do but try the Government of one Parish, in the Scripture way, and we shall not differ.

§ 331. And the Nonconformists further prove, that our Prelacy maketh this Discipline morally impossible, thus: Were it not morally impossible, some one godly Bishop in England would have executed it, as Christ appointed: But no one godly Bishop in England doth, or ever did, so execute it: Ergo—

The Major will not be denied, of a Moral Impossibility, or at least of a difficulty next it: That which no one Man, no not the wiftest or the best ever did, may well be called morally impossible, or neer it. And that England hath had some such Bishops, we are not so uncharitable as to question, when we remember Hooper, Farrar, Latimer, Cranmer, Ridley, Jewel, Grindall, Hall, and many more. And I never met with the Man that would affect, or did believe, that the fore-said Discipline was ever exercised by any Man of them throughout his Dioces, no nor
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

in any three Parishes in it, if in one: Bishop Edward Reynolds of Norwich was one that went along with us to the last in our Defence, and Treaties for Discipline and Reformation: And who heareth of any such Discipline executed by him? who doubted would do it if he could. Nay, I am confident that he will try himself, that he hath not executed it on a tenth part that are the due Objects of it, in any two Parishes in his Diocese: Nay, in his Diocese there are as many hundreds of godly People Excommunicated or troubled (by Sentence at least) for Nonconformity, as in any Diocese that I hear of in England; and the poor Bishop looks on, and cannot hinder it. Could it be done, some one would do it: But none doth it. ErGo——

§ 332. 8. The eighth Charge against our Prelacy is, That having call our Church’s Church-Discipline, prescribed in the Gospel, it letteeth up, instead of it, an unlawful kind of Church-Discipline: And the unlawfulness they shew in these Particulars.

§ 333. 1. In that the Judges of the Courts, as well as the rest, are mere Lay-men (the Bishops’ Chancellors) who ordinarily Admonieth, Excommunicate and Absolve: For though the King’s Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, did speak against this, yet that was dead before it took place, and the old Court is now taken in all their Courts: And what the Tongue of Man can rationally say, for Lay-men executing the Power of the Keys, most essential to the Sacred Priestly Office, it is beyond my reach to know. The common Answer is, that Lay-Elders are as bad: As if one Man’s Sin would justify another, and warrant all Men to subscribe to it. But yet they know, That Church-Elders are not accounted Lay-men, but Sacred Officers, by those that are for them. 2. That they meddle but with one Parish, and that but as Assistants to the Parson; whereas the Chancellors meddle with many hundred Parishes, and that as the sole Judges in the Court (when the Bishop is not there, which is the ordinary Cafe). Indeed, I hear that pro forma they use to get some Priest or other, to pass the Sentence in Court, when the Lay-Chancellor hath determined it. But this a mere juggling mockery: And if they were serious, it would confound themselves: who Lay, That a Presbyter hath not the power of Excommunication: And they justify the Cause of the Presbyterians who claim it (as is aforesaid).

§ 334. 2. As to the Matter of the English Discipline, it consists not in the fore-described Convictions, Reproofs, Exhortations to Repentance, praying for the Sinner’s Repentance, telling him before two or three, or telling the Church; but in a Citation, and such a Court of Proceeds as is in Civil Sequestral Courts.

§ 335. 3. And for the Manner; it is not with holy Seriouness and Patience as may tend to the melting of a Sinner’s heart into true Contrition, nor as may tend to awake him from his Security with the Terrours of the Lord, nor is it at all fitted to work upon the Confidence: (who can expect that Lay-men, and such Men, in a Publick Court, and such a Court, should do it): Nor do I believe that any Subscribing conscienceable Minister will say that he ever heard a Chancellor convert a Sinner, or lay that which was like or apt to bring him to true Repentance. But on the contrary, they work on them by Terrour of Corporal Penalties and Mudlets, and harden them into a hatred of that which vex them: so that a Parson that ever hopeth to do good on his Parishioners, will take heed how he preventeth them to one of these Courts, left by so much he seem to be their Enemy, and they never regard his Doctrine more: whereas Christ’s Discipline is Paternal, by Love and convincing Reason, and to the very last extremity, is to be done with so much Fatherly Kindness and Compassion, as tendeth to melt and win the Sinner.

§ 336. 4. And for the Adjunct; your Discipline of Excommunication is all enforced with Imprisonment and the utter ruine of the Excommunicate, upon a Writ de Excommunicato capiendo: If you say that it is the Magistrate’s Action, and not ours, I answer, 1. You are the Judges, and make the Magistrate your Executioners. 2. You take the very Life of your Discipline to lie in it! How ordinarily do you try, That were it not for the Sword and Corporal Penalty, who would care for Excommunication? And your Confiession hath in it much of Truth, as to your Excommunications: But hereby you corrupt the Discipline of the Church, and lamentably corrupt the Church it fell. It is a great Truth which the Churches worship hath on, That no Man is fit for the Communion of the Church, that so far despiseth it, as not to be moved by a mere Excommunication. Shall he have the Communion of the Church, who will rather be cut out of it than repent? when, of old, Penitents long begged the Churches Communion profitear, or at the Church
Door, before they were re-admitted: And now if Ten thousand Men forsorn the Churches Communion, and will stand out a bare Excommunication, you will drive them into the Church, and to a feigned Repentance by the fear of a Jail: And so all Men shall be Members of your Churches, that do but so far love their Skins, as rather to endure the Church than the Prison: (of this also the Scots Presbytery hath been guilty in part): And what Churches these are, it is ease to judge. And you cannot say that this is only Male-administration; for it is the very Constitution of your Government.

§ 337. 5. And your Discipline is exercised by Strangers upon Strangers, at many Miles distance, where the Church that the Sinner is to hold Communion with, heareth not the Proces, nor knoweth of the Matter, nor perhaps the Minister that should be his Governor, but only they receive a Paper from the Court, containing the Sentence; which the Parson must read, and then in despite of him must admit the vilest to the Churches Communion, and read his Abolition if the Court require it, let him never so well know the Sinner to be impetinent.

§ 338. 6. Lastly, Let any Man of Charity, free from Faction, judge by the Canons, Whether the Discipline of Excommunication be not exercised upon many godly upright Persons (for fasting, and praying together, and such like) who are unfit for such Severity. And let him that readeth both Liturgy and Canons judge, Whether the Communion of the Sacrament be not denied to holy Persons, if they do but bear Idolatry in kneeling before the Bread; who are not worthy of so great a Penalty. So that in a word, a kind of Secular Courts are set up instead of the Discipline of Christ, and the edge of their Severity is turned against those conscientious People, that be not of their Opinions in Ceremonies, or such things. If it be said that the Magistrate may set up Civil Courts who may judge Circum Sacra: I answer, but 1. These judge de Sacris, and Excommunicate and Aholve. 2. They do it under the Name of Church-Discipline, and the Power of the Keys, 3. And instead of Christ's deposed Discipline.

§ 339. 9. The ninth Charge against our Prelacy is consequent, That it bringeth on us a multitude of grievous Calamities, and ill Consequences, by this abolition of true Discipline, and the aforesaid Corruptions. As for instance—

1. That it giveth up our Caufe to the Brownists, quantum in se, who say that our Churches are no true Churches, and our Ministry is no true Ministry: For if we have true Churches and Ministers, it is either the Parochial, the Diocesan, or the National. But 1. for the Parochial, they say that they are no true Churches or Ministers: for a true Church, in seipsum politico, is constituted of the Governing part and the Governed part: But a Parish Church hath no Governing part (as such): For the Diocesan is not the Head of it as a Parish Church, but as a part of his Diocesan Church. (Otherwise one Man should be a Thouland Heads and Political persons.) And the Parson or Vicar, though perhaps called Rector, is only the Teacher and Priest, and denied all Government: Ergo he is no Pastor, as wanting an essential part of that Office, nor the Church a true Church. And for my part, I know not how to confute these Men, but by telling them, that the Pastor of that Parish-Church must be judged of by God's description, and not by the Bilhop's: which I doubt not is a true and satisfactory Answer.

And for a Diocesan Church, the Brownists say that it is not only no Church of Christ's institution, but contrary to it: and therefore not to be acknowledged.

And for the National Church, unless you speak equivocally, they know no such thing: for what is it that is the Constituitive Head of it? The King is the Civil Head; But the Constituitive Head of a Church must be an Ecclesiastical Head, or a Clergy-man, or Society of Men: It cannot be an Archbishops, nor of the Archbishops pretendeth to it, having but a priority of place, and not any Government over one another (Canterbury over York) or in each others Provinces. And the Convocation it cannot be, because the Canon Anathematizeth them that take it not for the Representative Church of England: And if it be but the Representative, it cannot be the Constitutive Head: For either it representeth the Governing part of the Church, which is indeed the Head, or the Governed part, which is the Body: If it represent the latter only, then as such it can have no Governing power at all! For as Representative it can have no more power than those that are represented: But the Governed party as such have no Governing power: Ergo neither have their Representatives as such. If they represent any higher power, What is it? It must be either in a single Person, or a Collective Body, which is one Political Person: But the former is not at all pretended, nor can be: If it be said that they represent all the Pastors of England, I answer, no doubt that is the meaning of the Can-
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

non: and yet no Man affirmeth that the real Body of all those Paifors in conjufition is one Collective Political Head of this Church: For Paifh-Miiniflers are only Heads of their ferveral Paifhies (if too much) but not of all the rest of the Paifhies in the Nation, any otherwife than of those in other Lands: Wherefore it is moif evident that there is no fuch thing as a Church of England in a Political Formal fence, as it hath one Conffituutive and Ecclefaftical Head: but only in an improper larger fence, either as the Paifors of many Churches, met in a Synod, do make binding Agreement by way of voluntary Concord and Conrert (as many Kings may do in a voluntary Meeting, which doth not confiitute a Political Society): Or elle as they have one accidental Civil Head (the King: who is Head of all Religious Societies in his Dominions, Papifts, Anabapifts, &e.) But these are none of them Denominations à formâ. But hence it may be noted, 1. That as Bifhop Uther faid, Synods are not properly a Superior Governing power over the particular Bifhops, but only for voluntary Concord. 2. That the Bifhops muft, againft their wills, grant that all Paifh-Miiniflers are able Church Governors: or elle how come their Repræfentatifs to be part of the Governing Church, even in Canon-making for common Government (as they judge). As for the Demoftatical conceit of them that fay that the Parliament hath their Governing power as they are the Peoples Repræfentatives, and fo have the Members of the Convoca- tion, though they repreffent have no Governing power themfelves, it is fo palpably Self-contradifting, that I need not confute it.

§ 340. 2. A fecond evil Conquence is, that by neglet of Diwife (or exclud- ing it) the Vicious want that remedy which God hath provided to bring them to Repenance and Salvation: That God hath appointed Diiverse, is proved from Lev. 19. 17. Matth. 18. 15, 16, 17, 18. Cor. 5. Tit. 1. 13. & 2. 15. & 3. 10. Tim. 3. 5. 15. & 5. 19. 20. 21. 22. 24. 2 Tim. 3. 5. & 4. 2. Thifl. 2. 6. 14. And as neglet of Preaching, fo neglet of Diiverse tendeth to the hardening of Sinners in their fins. And when in the Application of Baptifm, Confirmation, the Lord's Supper, Abfolution, and all Church Conflations to them, they are all ufed by the Church as pardoned Sinners, and judged to be fuch (how vicious lower) they will the eafier believe they are fuch indeed, and rejeft all pallages in Sermons that would convince them, and all that would perfofle them of the Necelfity of a Change. So that no doubt but many Thoufands are hindered from Conversion and Salvation for want of Diiverse.

§ 341. 3. And it tendeth to propagate the Sin, as Impunity from Magiftrates or Parents would do: which made the Aphiile fay, 1 Cor. 5. A little leaues leaueneth the whole fump: many will be encouraged to do that which undergoeth no more cenfure.

§ 342. 4. I: keepeth up the Credit of Sin it felf, and gratifieth Satan, while the Church is deprived of the Publick Means appointed by God, for putting Sin to open flame, and bruifing the Serpent's Head, by a folemn Condemnation of his Works of Darknefs.

§ 343. 5. It depriveth Holines and Obedience of the honour which God hath appointed for it, by this publick differing Judgment of the Church, which being, as Tortulam he calleth it, prajudicium futuri judicii, doth repreff the Jufification and Condemnation of that Day; and wonderfull ly tend to the publick honour of Godlines and Honesty, and confequently to the Conversion and Estabishment of Mens Souls.

§ 344. 6. It greatly tendeth to the dihonour of the Church by its pollution: when Chriftian Societies shall be confuftruated with thofe Vices which are the fame of Infidels and Heathens; and thofe of our Communion are in their Lives no better than the Unbelieving World! All Men will think that that is the fett Society which hath the fett People, and will judge rather by Mens Lives than their Opinion.

§ 345. 7. And hereby it greatly dihonoureth Chriftianny it felf; and when the Church is as full of Vices as the Mahomitan Societies are, or the Heathen, it is a publick perfoifing the World that our Religion is as fmall: or bad as theirs.

§ 346. 8. And hereby God himself and our bleffed Redeemer are greatly dihonoured in the World: As his Saints are his honour, fo when the Communion of Atheifts and Prophanes Perfons, and Oppreffors and Deceivers, and Formicators and Drunkards, is called by us, The Communion of Saints, it tendeth to make the Church a Scorn, and to the great dihonour of the Head of fuch a Body, and the Author of the Chriftian Faith.
§ 347. 9. And it lamentably conduceth to the hardening of the Heathens and Infidels of the World, and hindering their Conversion to the Christian Faith: it would make a Believer's heart to bleed (if anything in all the World will do it) to think that five parts in six of the World are still Heathens, Mahometans and Infidels, and that the wicked Lives of Christians (with Popgeries, Ignorance and Divisions) is the great Impediment to their Conversion! To read and hear Travellers and Merchants tell, that the Bantians and other Heathens in India, Cambay, and many other Lands, and the Mahometans adjoining to the Greeks, and the Abiffines, &c. do commonly fly from Christianity, as the Separatists among us do from Prelacy, and say, God will not love us if we be Christians; for Christians are Drunkards, and proud, and Deceivers, &c. And that the Mahometans, and many Heathens have more, both of Devotion and Honestly, than the common sort of Christians have that live among them! O wretched Christians! that are not content to damn themselves, but thus lay stumbling blocks before the World! It were better for these men that they had never been born! But if all these notorious ones were disowned by the Churches, it would quit our Profession much from the dishonour, and shew poor Infidels that our Religion is good, though their Lives be bad.

§ 348. 10. Lately, it galleth the Conferences of the Ministers in their administrations of the Sacraments to the openly ungodly and grossly ignorant: It hindereth the Comfort of the Church in its Communion: It filleth the Heads of poor Christians with Scruples, and their Hearts with Fears; and is the great cause of unavoidable Separations among us, and consequently of all the Confursions on one side, and wrathful Penalties on the other, and uncharitableness on both sides, which follow thereupon. If the Pfalms will not differ between the precious and the vile, by necessary regular Discipline; tender Christians will be tempted to difference by irregular Separations; and to think, as Cyprian Faith, That it belongeth to the People to forsake a sinful Pastor: They will separate further than they ought; and will take our Churches as Sinks of Pollution, and fly from the noifomness of them; and come out from among us, for fear of partaking in our Plagues, as men run out of a ruinous House left it fall upon their Heads. And then they will fall into Sects among themselves, and fall under the hot displeasure of the Bishops, and then they will be reproached and vexed as Schelmatics, while they reproach our Churches as Hypocritical and Prophanes, that call such Societies, the Communion of Saints: This hath been, and this is, and this will be the Cause of Separations, Sects, Persecutions, Malice and Ruins in the Christian World: And it will never be cured, till some tolerable Discipline cure the Churches.

§ 349. 10. The tenth and last Charge against our Frames of Prelacy is, That by his use of Civil or Coercive Power, it at once breaketh the Command of Christ, and greatly injureth the Civil Government. Both which are thus proved by the Nonconformists.

§ 350. 1. It violateth all these Laws of Christ: Luke 22. 24, 25. And there was a strife among them which of them should be accounted the greatest: And he said unto them, the Kings of the Gentiles exercise Lordsliup over them, and they that exercise Authority upon them, are called Benefactors: but ye shall not so; but be that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger, and he that is chief, as he that doth serve. That is, it is a Ministerial Dignity, and not a Magistratical, which you are called to: that which is allowed to Kings here, is denied to Ministers, even Apostles: But it is not Tyranny or Atule of Power, but Secular Magistratical Power it self, which is all owed to Kings: Ergo it is this which is forbidden Ministers. This is the very fence of the Text which is given by Protestant Episcopal Divines themselves, when they reject the Presbyterian fence, who say that it forbiddenth Ecclesiastical Superiority and Power of one Minister over another, as well as Coercive. Therefore the old Rhymer laid against the Prelates,

Christi dixit quodam loco
[For non se] nec dixit jaco :
Dixit satis : Ergo sibi :
Cujus satis? non cedit Christi.

So 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2, 3. Feed the Flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint but willingly; Not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; Neither as being Lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the Flock. But our Bishops take the oversight of those that are not among them, and whom they feed not; and they rule
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

rule them by constraint and not as voluntary Subjects, not by Enample (for one of an hundred never teach or knoweth them) but as Lords by Secular Force. Dr. Hammond taketh the word [constraint] here Actively, not Passively; not as forbidding them to be Bishops against their own Wills, but to Rule the People by constraint against the Peoples wills.

It would be tedious to recite all those Texts, which command the People to imitate the Apostles as they imitated Christ, (who never used Magistratical force; nor did any of his Apostles) and say that the Weapons of our warfare are not carnal; and that he that warreth entangleth not himself with the Affairs of this Life, and that the Servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle, &c.

§ 351. 2. And that this Coercive Church Government is an heinous Injury to Christian Magistrates, even where it seemeth to be subordinate to them, appeareth thus.

1. Though they do mostly confels that they can exercise no Power of Coercion of themselves, but by the Magistrates confent, yet do they take it to be the Magistrates duty to consent to it, as if he were not eile a tender Nursing Father to the Church: and so they lay his Conscience in Prision, till he truff them with his Sword, or serve them by it.

2. They call their Magistratical Government by the Name of Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Government; And so by the Name, they feude Mens minds, to think that this is indeed the use of the Keys, which God hath put into the Churches Hands.

3. Hereby they greatly encourage the Usurpation of the Pope and his Clergy, who set up fuch Courts, for probate of Wills, and Causes of Matrimony, and rule the Church in a Secular manner (though many of them confes that directly the Church hath no forcing Power): And this they call the Churchs Power, and Spiritual Government, and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; and say that it belongeth to Kings, and that no King can in Conscience refrain them of it; but must proteft them in it: And so let they set up Imperium in Imperio, and, as Bishop Bedle faid of Ireland, The Pope hath a Kingdom the Kingdom, greater than the Kings: (Against which Ludov. Molinas hath written at large, in two or three Treatifes): So that when the Papal Power in England was call'd down, and their Courts subjected to the King, and the Oath of Supremacy formed, it was under the Name of Ecclesiastical and Spiritual Power that it was acknowledged to be in the King (who yet claimeth no proper Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Power): so greatly were those Terms abused; and so are they still as applied to our Bishops Courts: so that the King is faid by us to be Chief Governour in all Causes Ecclesiastical, because Coercive Power in Church Matters (which is proper to the Magistrate) was posfessed and claimed by the Clergy. And in all Popish Kingdoms, the Kings are but half Kings, through these Usurpations of the Clergy. And for us to Exercise the fame kind of Power, mixt with the Exercice of the Keys, and that by the fame Name, is greatly to countenance the Usurpers.

§ 352. If it be faid, That the Church claimeth no Coercive Power, but as granted them by the King, or that it is the Magistrate that annexeth Mullets and Penalties, and not the Church: I answer, 1. They perfwaded the Magistrate that he ought to do fo. 2. Force is not a meer Accident, but confessed by them to be the very Life of their Government: It is that which bringeth People to their Courts, and enforceth all their Precepts, and caufeth Obedience to them: So that it is part of the very Conftitution of their Government: And as to Fees and Commutation of Penance, Pecuniary Mullets are thus imployed by themselves. 3. Their very Courts and Officers are of a Secular Form. 4. The Magistrate is but the Executioner of their Sentence: He must grant out a Writ, and imprison a Man quatenus excommunicate, without sitting in Judgment upon the Caufe himself, and trying the Perfon according to his Acquittal. And what a difhonour do thefe Men put on Magistrates, that make them their Executioners, to imprison thofe whom they condemn, inaudita caufa, at a venture, be it right or wrong.

So much of the Nonconformifts Charges againft the English Prelacy.

§ 353. By this you may fee what they Anfwer to the Reafons of the Conformifts. As,

1. To the willing Conformifts, who plead a Jus Divinum, they fay, That if all that Gerflom, Bucer, Didelovius, Bloudel, Sabastius, Parker, Baines, &c. have faid againft Episcopacy it fell were certainly confufed, yet it is quite another thing that is called Episcopacy, by them that plead it Jus Divinum: If r. Bishops of single Churches
Churches with a Presbytery under them, 2. and General Bishops over these Bishops, were both proved *jure Divino*, yet our Diocesan are proved to be contra *ius Divinum*.

2. To the Latitudinarians and involuntary Conformists, who plead that no Church-Government, as to the form, is of Divine Institution, they answer; 1. This is to condemn themselves, and say, [Because no Form is of God's Institution, therefore I will declare that the Episcopal Form is of Divine Institution]; for this is part of their Subcription, or Declaration, when they Profess, Affirm, and Confect to all things in the Book of Common Prayer and Ordination: And one thing in it is in these words, (with which the Book begins,) [It is evident to all Men, diligently reading holy Scripture, and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons: which Offices were evermore had in such reverence estimation, &c.] So that here they declare that Bishops and Priests are not only distinct Degrees, but distinct Orders and Offices, and that since the Apostles time, as evident by Scripture, &c. (when yet many of the very Papists Schoolmen do deny it). And the Collect in the Ordering of Priests runs thus, [Almighty God, giver of all good things, who by thy holy Spirit hast appointed divers Orders of Ministers in the Church.]

§ 535. § 2. That which Mr. Stillingfleet calleth [A Form] is none of the Subsistence of the Government it self, nor the Offices in the Church: He granteth that 1. Worshipping Assemblies are of Divine appointment; 2. That every one of these must have one or more Pastors who have power in their Order to teach them, and go before them in Worship, and spiritually guide or govern them. But 1. Whether a Church shall have one Pastor or more; 2. Whether one of them shall be in some things subject to another; 3. Whether constant Synods shall be held for concord of Associated Churches; 4. Whether in these Synods one shall be Moderator? and how long? and with what Authority? (not unreasonable), these he thinks are left under-determined: And I am of his mind; supposing General Rules to guide them by as he doth.

but the Matter (and Manner) of Church-Discipline being of God's appointment, and the Nature and Ends of a particular Church, and the Office of Pastors (as well as the Form of the Church Universal), it is pult doubt that nothing which subverts any of these is lawful. And indeed, if properly no Form of Government be instituted by God, then no Form of a Church neither: for the Form of Government is the Form of a Church (considered in Sophia politica, and not as a meer Community). And then the Church of England is not of God's making; 

*Queft. Who then made it? Either another Church made this Church (and then, what was that Church, and who made its Form, and so ad Originem) or no Church made it: If no Church made the Church of England, quo jure? or what is its Authority and Honour? If the King made it, was he a Member of a Church or not? If yes, 1. There was then a Church-Form before the Church of England; And who made that Church *jure ad Originem*? If the King that made it was no Member of a Church, then he that is no Member of a Church, may institute a Church-Form; but quo jure? and with what Honour to that Church? But it is certain that a particular Congregation with its proper Bishop or Pastors is a Church-Form of Christ's Institution.
§ 354. 1. That Perjury is confessedly, one of the most heinous sins that can be committed by Man: and if this Subscription should prove perjeurious or a justifying of Perjury, it would bring upon them the Guilt and Mility following.

1. It is an Atheistical Denial of the Omnipotence of God, and a taking of his Name in vain, and making him the Favourer of a Lie.

2. It is a treacherous Breach of Promise to him.

3. It is a Sin that deeply woundeth an awakened Conscience, and may drive it to despair.

4. It overthrew Human Societies, and maketh a Man unfit for Human Converse. For mutual Trust is the Foundation or Bond of Societies: And he whole Oath is not to be trusted, is not at all to be trusted any further than his Interest commandeth it.

5. It expelith Kings to the Fury of all that dare venture to do them hurt; nor if once Subjects be taught that Oaths oblige not, what is there to keep them from Treasons and Rebellions, but their Carnal Interests! And if they be once taught that Princes take not themselves to be obliged by their Oaths and Covenants, such Teachers tempt them to think that they are bound no more to their Princes, as being uncapable of Trust. So that the Doctrine of Perjury, that disobeitcollect Men from under Vows and Covenants, is the most traitorous pernicious Doctrine.

6. It expeloth the Kingdom, Church and Religion, which is guilty of it to reproach; yea, the greatest reproach of all his Adversaries; making them work more than many Heathens.

6. It bringeth the Judgments of God on a Nation: For God will not hold them guiltless that taketh his Name in vain. Saul's Pottlety must he hanged before the Fa- mine could be stayed, because Saul had broken the Vow made to the Gibemites by Jehovah. 2 Sam. 21. And this heavy Judgment on England at this day, which fall-eth on London and many Corporations, terrifying many that read the Corporations on Act, which ca~eth all out of Trust and Power, who disclaim not absolutely an obligation of the Vow or Covenant as on themselves or any other.

7. And how can one that entereth into the Ministry by publick owning Perjury and Falsehood, ever look for any acceptance of his Ministry by Men, or blessing on it (or himself in it at all) from God? Hath God need of Lies and Perjury to his Service? Shall we offer such a Sacrifice to him that is most Holy, and this under pretense that we desire to serve him by the preaching of his Gospel? What face can we preach against any to the People, when our Declaration, Subscriptions, and Publick Actions have first told them that Perjury it self may be committed? Nay, if this should prove to be perjeurious, the Covenant being obligatory, then would their terrible Consequences follow.

§ 357. 2. And then they say, That such enormous Crimes as these should be avoided with much more fear than lesser sins: as a Man will less venture upon the danger of the Plague, than of the Measles; or upon a desperate Precipice than an easy Fall; and will avoid more a wound at the Heart, than a prick of the Finger. And therefore a Rational Man can expect that here they should be ven- mous.

§ 358. 3. And they add, That seeing Affirmatives bind not ad memer, and Posi- tive Duties are not Duties at all times, therefore to a Man that is rationally fearful and in doubt of so great a sin as Perjury, the preaching of the Gospel can be no Duty, till those Doubts be sufficiently removed: And therefore they wonder to perceive that abundance are brought to Conformity by this Argument, [I am sure it is a Duty to preach the Gospel; but I am not sure that it is a sin to conform: therefore Uncertainties must give place to Certainties]. For it is not a Duty to one of many hundreds to preach the Gospel: but only of Ministers; Nor is it any more a Minis- ter's Duty that cannot do it without sinful Conditions, than it is a Women's Dut- y. To be so free as any Man doth right whether the Terms be lawful, he must needs doubt whether it is his Duty. (yea, or lawful) for him to preach: No Man can be sure that it is his Duty to preach; than he is sure that the Conditions of his preaching are lawful. But on the other side, a Man may for some time well judge that preaching is no Duty to him, though he be not sure that the Condition is sinful, if he have but rational cause of doubting: especially when it is no less than Perjury that he feareth.

§ 359. 4. But they say, If it should prove that the Covenant is obligatory, it would prove such a sin as is hard to be matched. 1. For a Minister of the Gospel to be so guilty: 2. And this upon pretense of Serv- ing God: 3. And this upon delibera- tion. 4. And to declare the justification of three Kingdoms from so great a guilt,
guilt, even from the highest to the lowest: and so to bind them all from repenting; and to Subscribe to it, that their Vows oblige them not, and the violation of them is no sin. And if Perjury be a damning sin, thereby to endeavour the damnation of so many thousands, and all the Plagues and Miseries on the Land that Perjury may bring. And to declare against its needful a Reformation, that it is no Duty at all for Rulers or Subjects to endeavour it; no not if they have sworn to do it. And to put down all this under my Hand, as some Conjurers have done that have covenanted with the Devil, and given him their Hands to it. All this is exceeding terrible, if this Vow prove obligatory.

§ 360. 5 In this Case they suppose that it is dangerous for Men to go against the concurrent Judgments of Cursiufts, yea, of their own Cursiufts, in the Case of Vows: And they know not how to live Subscription, from the enmity of the determinations of Dr. Sanderon, and all other ordinary Cursiufts. And these are the general Reasons of their fear.

§ 361. But I shall hear you what they grant about the obligation of the Covenant.

1. They assert that it can bind no Man to any thing that is sinful.
2. No nor to any thing that may hereafter be sinful, nor from any thing that may be a Duty, when it cometh to be such: though it were neither Sin nor Duty at the making of the Vow.
3. That it bindeth no Man therefore against Obedience to the King, though the thing be in it fell indifferent, and was not commanded by the King when they vowed: For if a Man might prevent the Commands of Prince or Parents by his own Vows, he might free himself from his Obedience. The Command of God, to obey Kings and Rulers is antecedent to our Vows, and above our Vows, and cannot be evacuated or avoided by them. Therefore if there be any indifferent thing in the Covenant, I will obey the King if he command or forbid it, contrary to the Covenant.
4. That we take our selves bound by the Covenant to nothing, but what is our Duty if there were not such Covenant: Not that a Vow doth not bind a Man to things before indifferent: We confess it doth; but because this Vow included and intended nothing meerly indifferent: For it is the Judgment of Protestants, and so both of the Formers and the Takers of it, that the use of a Vow is not to make new Duties to our selves which God never made, but to bind us to that which God had made our Duty before. Else it is a taking of the Name of God in vain. All the doubt therefore is but whether it be a secondary Obligation to that which God had before obliged us to. So that there is no one Action materially, whoso doing or not doing we take to depend upon the Covenant's obligation primarily or alone; nor do we imagine any thing to be our Duty, which would not be so, if the Covenant had never had a being.
5. That if the Covenanters did then suppose that they were bound to defend and obey the Parliament in that War, and to bring a contrary Party to punishment, yet now there can be no place for any such Imagination; because the Parliament is not in being, the War and Difference of Parties is ended; Cessante materia cessa obligation, & ceffantes perfons & rerum statu: It is now past doubt that we are bound to obey the King, and that there is none to stand in competition for our Obedience; so that as a League with those persons it ceaseth with the persons.
6. That if we had been allowed but to Subscribe, That [there is no Obligation to endeavour unlawfully] or [by any unlawful means] We had not scrupled to disclaiming any Obligation, as on our selves or any other Subjects. Thus far there is no Controversie among us about the Covenant.

§ 362. I come now to the Non-Subscribers particular Scruples, which are such as these.

1. They say, That all Men confessing that an Oath or Vow is obligatory, they must fee good proof that this particular Vow is not so before they can exempt it from the common force of Vows: But such proof they have never seen, from Mr. Richwood, Mr. Stilman, Dr. Gauden, or any that hath attempted it, and on whom it is incumbent: but rather admire that Men of so great Judgment and Tenderness of Conscience should ever be satisfied with such hasting Arguments; which they had long ago more fully confuted, if the Law had not forbidden them. They herein argue as the Bishops in another Case: Uncertainties must give place to Certainties, ceteris paribus: But they are certain in general that Vows are obligatory, if materially lawful: and they are uncertain that this Vow is materially unlawful, and so not obligatory. Ergo they dare not say that no Man is obliged by it.

§ 363.
§ 363. 2. They say, That all the World confesteth that a Vow obligeth in ne-
cessitate, to that which is antecedently a Duty: but they propound it to confe-
ideration, whether all these things following, which are in the Covenant are cer-
nainly no Duties antecedently.

1. [To endeavour in our several Places and Callings, the preservation of the Reformed
Religion.]

2. [The Reformation of Worship, Discipline, and Church-Government according to the Word
of God, in England.]

3. [To bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and
uniformity in Religion.]

4. [To endeavour the extirpation of (not Episcopacy, but) Prelacy, that is, Church-
Government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, Commissaries, &c.] that is, the
fore described Frame: Whether that Frame be so blameless as to be allowable, I
leave to their Judgments who have weighed what is before said.

5. [The Extermination of Popery.]

6. To endeavour [the Extermination of Superstition]

7. And [of Herself]

8. And [of Prophaneness]

9. And of [whatsoever shall be found contrary to found Declame and the Power of God-
lines]

10. [To endeavour with our Estates and Lives to defend the King's Majesty's Person and
Authority, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the King-
doms; and [not to diminish his Majesty's just Power and Greatnes.']

11. [To be humbled for our own sins and the sins of the Kingdoms.]

12. [To amend our Lives, and each one to go before another in the Example of a real Re-
formation.]

If all these be not Duties, let the question be, Whether any one of them be a Du-
ity? And then, Whether that which is antecedently a Duty by Divine Obligation,
be not further fo by Self-obligation, when it is vowed with an Oath? Or whether a
Vow bind not to a Duty? But this is but by the by, about the fence of the Impoers
of Subcription exprest in the Corporation Act. But it is only [the Alteration of
Church Government] which the present Controversie is about: And if all that was
said against our Prelacy on the first Controversie prove it a Duty to endeavour an
alteration of the Church-Government, then the Controversie is at an end.

§ 364. 3. They say, That all Men confest that an Oath and Vow is obligatory in a
lawful matter, though it were not antecedently necessary: But whether [in their
Places and Callings] to endeavour an alteration of the Church-Government be not
lawful, is the question. Here 1. let it be observed, what the matter of the Vow is:

2. Who be the Persons whose Obligations are in question. 1. The matter of the
Vow was not to extirpate Episcopacy in general, nor the Primitive Episcopacy in
particular, but only the fore described English Diocefan Prelacy, in Specie: which
I prove beyond all denial: 1. Because that which was not in being in England could
not be extirpated out of England: But it was not the Primitive Episcopacy, or any
other fort, but the present Diocefan Prelacy which was in being in England: Ergo
no other could be extirpated. 2. Because when the Covenant was debated first in the
Synod at Westminster, abundance of Divines who Subscribed the Covenant, did
openly profess that they were not against Episcopacy; and would not content to it
in any fuch fence. 3. Because the said Divines upon that profession, caufed the
Description of the word [Prelacy] to be exprest in a Parenthesis, which is only the
Description of our Diocefan Frame: which is to be seen in the words of the Co-
vent. 4. Because when the House of Lords (who imposed it) did conjunctly and
solemnly take the Covenant, Mr. Tho. Coleman who preached and gave it them,
did openly declare at the giving and taking of it, that it was not all Episcopacy
that they renounced or vowed by this Covenant to extirpate, but only the Dioce-
fan Prelacy there described. All this, with the words themselves, I think is fuf-
cient Evidence of the matter of that Clause.

§ 365. 2. And for the Persons, here are especially three forts in question: 1. The
King, 2. The Parliament, 3. The People. The firit question is, Whether the People
(in the number allowed by the Act) may not by humble petition endeavour a re-
formation Alteration of the Prelacy? 2. Whether Parliament Men may not law-
fully speak and vote for it? 3. Whether King and Parliament may not alter it, by
altering the Laws? If all these Actions be the endeavouring of a Duty, or of a
lawful Thing in their several Places and Callings, and that be the very thing which
the Vow obligeth them to, then the question is, Whether heretof and not bind them?
§ 366. 1. To say that the People may not go much as petition for a Thing so much concerning their Felicity, is to take away, not only that Liberty which the King hath in many of his Declarations against the Parliament, professed to maintain, but also such Liberty as Lawyers say is woven into the Constitution of the Kingdom by the Fundamental Laws, and cannot be taken from them but by changing the Constitution, yea, and reducing them to a state below that of a Subject.

§ 367. 2. To say that a Parliament Man may not speak or vote for such an alteration, seemeth to be against the old unquestioned Privilege of Parliaments, which was never denied by the King who opposed them in other things. And this Opinion also by such an Alteration of Parliaments, would alter the Coneluted Government of the Land.

§ 368. 3. To say that the King and Parliament may not alter Prelacy by altering the Law, doth seem to be the heightest Injury to Sovereignty, by denying the Legis- lative Power.

§ 369. If it be a thing which the People may not petition for, nor Parliament vote for, nor speak for, nor King and Parliament alter, then either because the Law of God disables them, or the Common Good forbiddeth them, or the Laws of the Land restraineth them from: But it is none of these: Ergo——

1. It is before shewed, That no Law of God hath established the English Form of Prelacy; may, that the Law of God is repugnant to it.

2. And that the Common Good forbiddeth not the Alteration, but requireth it.

3. And that no Law restraineth in any of the three formentioned Cases is plain, in that there is no Law against the Peoples Petitionings as afoaid, nor can be without alteration of the Government: And the King with his Parliament are above Laws, and have power to make them, and to abrogate them. So that it seemeth a thing that may be done; and a Vow turneth a may be into a must be, where it is of force. And thus far they think that there is no great difficulty in the Con- troverse.

§ 370. Before I tell you their Answers to the contrary Reasons, I may tell you that not only Dr. Sanderson granted, but all Conformists that ever I talkt with hereabout, do agree with us in these following Points.

1. That we must here distinguish between the Actum Imperantis, the Actum Jurantis, and the Materiam Juramenti: the Act of the Parliament imposing it; the Act of the Persons taking it; and the Matter of the Oath or Vow.

2. And also between the Sinfulness of an Oath (the Act of the Swearer) and the Nullity of it.

3. And that if the Imposers Act be sinful, and the Taking Act be sinful, yet the Oath is obligatory if the Matter vowed be not unlawful, and the Actum Jurandi were not a Nulity as well as a Sin.

4. That if there be six Articles in a Vow, and four of them be unlawful, this doth not oblige the Swearer from the lawful part: Otherwise an unlawful Clause put in, may free a Man from a Vow for the most necessary Duties.

5. That if a Nation take a Vow, it is a personal Vow to every individual Person in that Nation who took it.

6. That if there be in it a mixture of a Vow to God, and a League, Covenant or Promise to Men, the Obligation of the Vow to God may remain, when as a League or Covenant with Man ceaseth: unleas when the Vow is not co-ordinate, but subordinate to the Leaguer or Covenant, as being only a Vow or Oath that it shall be faithfully performed.

7. That if a Vow be imposed in lawful proper Terms, it is not any unexpressed Opinion of the Imposers, that maketh the Matter unlawful to the Taker.

8. That if the Imposers be many Persons naturally making one collective Body, no fence of theirs is to be taken as explicatory, but what is in the words or otherwise publicly declared to the Takers: Because they are supposed to be of different minds among themselves, when they agree not in any Exposition.

9. That though a Subject ought to take an Oath in the fence of his Rulers who impose it, as far as he can understand it; yet a Man that taketh an Oath from a Robber to save his Life, is not always bound to take it in the Imposers fence, if he take it not against the proper fence of the words.

10. That though a Subject should do his best to understand the Imposers fence, for the right taking of it, yet as to the keeping of it, he is bound much to the fence in which he himself took it, though possibly he misunderstand the Imposers.

§ 371.
§ 277. Now to their Answer to the Reasons of the Conformists.

Object. 1. The End was evil; to change the Government of Church and State without Law, which was settled by Law: The Bishops were a part of the House of Lords, and therefore could not be cast out by their own consent, and the whole Parliament with the King.

Answ. 1. It is not the ill ends of the Persons imploying that can disoblige the Taker, unless it had been the finis proximus ipsius juramenti essential to the Vow it fell, and insepable from it. The Ends of Parliaments may be manifold and unknown, which the People cannot know, nor are bound to search after. The words of the Vow itself are [in our several Places and Callings we shall endeavour]: And this was the expressed work and end: And this was not doing any thing against Law. If a discontented Person now should say, that the Parliaments End in the Act of Uniformity, and that against Conventicles, was Persecution and the Suppreッション of Religion, and therefore they are not to be obeyed, how would this hold, while Uniformity and Peace are the published Ends, and the rest are either uncertain or impertinent to us.

2. Whether indeed the Impoters Ends were ill, is a Controversie fit to be touch'd by it self. They thought such a Change of Church-Government was a good End: And for doing it against Law they put not that into the Swearsers part, in this Clause; and professed the contrary themselves. But if they did themselves purposely to do that against Law, which others swear to do [in their Places and Calling] that is, according to Law, are those others therefore not obliged to do what they vowed to do according to Law, because the Impoters intended to do their part against Law?

3. I suppose all the King's Party who took the Oath at their Composition, had no ill end in it, and are they not then to interpret it by their own Ends, as it is their Personal Vow?

4. If we teach Men that the bad Ends of the Impoters do disoblige Men from performing Vows materially good, take heed left it follow that it will disoblige them much more from obeying Commands and Laws materially good: And then every Subject will take himself to be disoblig'd, who is but confident that Persecution, Oppression, &c. were his Rulers Ends. What if a Man for evil Ends command me to obey the King, or to worship God, or to give to the Poor: Or make me swear to do all this; Dost not my Vow oblige me, because he had evil Ends that drove me to it? Nay, if I had my self vowed to do all these for some evil end, though it is certain that I must not do it to that end, yet whether the change of my End, does disoblige me also from my Vow, as to the Matter, is a difficult question, which I think Caluiilts commonly resolve in the Negative. But if any Man did mistake their Design, and had good Ends himself, while theirs were bad, yea, and the Ends commanded him were good, the Case is much plainer.

5. Who can say that the King had an ill End in taking it? Or that his Place and Calling did not impower him to do that which in a Subject would have been illegal; and that he may not lawfully endeavour accordingly?

And whereas it is said, That the very War it self expounded their meaning who imposed it, they being then in Arms against the King:) It is answered by the Non-Subscribers.

1. That they openly professed to take up Arms only against Delinquent Subjects according to Law. 2. That their misapplication made not good words to be bad to others. 3. That if they make me swear to do it in my Place and Calling, I am not obliged to expound this to be [out of my Place and Calling] because they go out of their Place and Calling.

And whereas it is said, That [the Bishops were part of the Parliament, and so of the Civil Government]: It is answered.

1. That the Parliament declared that they were no CONSTITUTIVE, ESSENTIAL, UNCHANGEABLE Part, without whom the Acts of both Houses were invalid; They were but part of the Lords House, where they might be over-voted.

2. The Scruple of the Non-Subscribers is not at all, whether they are obliged to endeavour to disoblige them of their Baronies or Places in Parliament, which is in the power of the King to give them; but only about their Ecclesiastical Power and Government as here formed. And if it could be proved that the Covenant intended both the Ejection of them from their Church Power, and their Places in Parliament, it followeth not that it obligeth not to the lawful all; because it obligeth not to the unlawful!
3. Nor can it easily be proved unlawful for the King and Parliament, either to make a separation of these Powers, or to take both from them, and to set up the Primitive fort of Bishops, either with or without any Civil Authority: Abbo had once alo a place in Parliament, and yet they are now taken down, it is sup-
poled not unlawfully. The King himself doth lawfully make Members of both Housès, by making Earls and Barons, and by giving Corporations power to choose Burgess, who before had none. And as the new making of thefe, fo the exclu-
ding of some Members, may be without any change in the Form of Civil Go-
vemment: Certainly many Fathers and Canons are against the Civil Government of the Clergy.
§ 372. 2. The fecond objection is [That the Authority of the Impofer was null as to
that At].
Anfw. That is a diftinct Controversie, which here I shall pas by: But grant-
ing it to be fo, no more will follow but that the People were not bound by any
Command of theirs to take it: But a Vow that is taken in my Clofet, without any
Man’s impofition or knowledge, may be obligatory; or one that a Robber forceth me to by the High-way: The nullity of the Obligation to take it, is all that fol-
loweth the nullity of their Authority; which will not infer the nullity of the Obliga-
tion to keep it: for it maketh it equal to a Vow which is made of a private
Will without any Command of Authority at all.
§ 373. 3. The third Reafon (which most nearly toucheth the Controversie) is,
That the Matter vowed (to extirpate Prelacy) was unlawful, both as against the Laws
of God and of the Land.
Anfw. If this be proved, no doubt but the Obligation is void, and of no effeet.
But, 1. It is before proved to be far from being against the Law of God to alter
this Prelacy by warrantable means: And alfo, that it is not againft the Law of the
Land, for subjects moftly to petition, or Parliament Men to fpeak, or the King
and Parliament to change; which are the Actions which belong to their Places
and Callings. And if it had been expressly part of the matter of that Vow [to do this
by unlawful means] the queftion is, Whether this can difoblige the Swearer from the
lawful part adjoining, which is [to do it in their Places and Callings]? Whatever o-
ther matter is, this matter is not yet proved to be unlawful.
§ 374. Objeét. But Epifcopacy is Jure Divino, and the Covenant mentioneth the ex-
tirpation of Prelacy, which is of the fame Species with the other Epifcopacy: And there-
fore it is to be underftood as to the extirpation of all Epifcopacy, and fo not obligatory.
Anfw. 1. It is before proved that our Prelacy is not of Divine Right, but against
it. 2. And that it difTereth even fpecificaly from the Primitive Epifcopacy. 3. But
that’s nothing to the Covenant: For whether it differ fpecificaly, vel gradu, vel accidenti-
bus, it is proved that the Covenant talketh not of the extirpation of any other Epi-
fcopacy but it alone. 4. But if it did, it followeth not that the Obligation a-
gainft the unlawful Prelacy is null, because the conjunct Vow againft all Epifcopa-
cy is null: If a Man Vow at once to do two things, of which one is lawful, and
the other unlawful, he may be bound to the lawful part, when he is not bound to
the unlawful. But it’s plainly proved, that it was one Prelacy exiftent, as fuch, defcri-
bred expressely, (yea, the inclusion of Epifcopacy openly defclaimed) which was the
thing covenanted againft.
§ 375. Objeét. The finis proximus is part of the matter of the Vow: for the feveral
Acts are vowed only as means to that end: And therefore the obligation to the end ceafing,
the obligation to the means as fuch doth ceafe: Now the end was the maintaining a War
against the King, and the illegal taking down of Prelacy: And every Clause in the Covenant
receiving its fience from this unlawful End, is it felf unlawful.
Anfw. Though I bear none use this Reafon, yet it being the ftrongeft that I
could devise, and all that can feem of any weight being comprized in it, I will
not pas it by; (though it be for Subftance the fame with that firft anwer-
ed). And,
1. It is plain that the finis proximus of altering Prelacy, can be neither of these
mentioned: Neither the War, nor the illegality of the Change: The finis proximus
must be the effication of Prelacy: The next End was a (real or puppoled)
cafe to the Nation by it; and a (real or puppoled) Retoration of the Church
by it: And fo far are the two afofaid things from being the neareft Ends,
that they would be no Ends. For, 1. The nature of the thing heveth it: It may
much hiffer be faid that the War was for the taking down of Prelacy (as is common-
ly laid by the Prelates) than that the taking down of Prelacy was for the War: And
the War was long before Prelacy was taken down: And it is contrary to fence to
say,
ay, That [the taking down of Prelacy] was [for the illegal manner of doing it], but li-
ker that [the illegal manner of doing it] (if it were illegal) was [for the taking down of Prelacy]: The manner was for the work as its end, and not the work for the manner. 2. And there is no such end expressed in the Covenant, but contrarily all along, Reformation is the proceeded end. And it is not sects ends, but the ends ex-
pressed in the Covenant that the Takers were to look at.

If it be said, That ifse two were the unlawful Ends of Imposing the Covenant, though not the finis materiae, the End of extinguishing Prelacy. I answer, If that were proved, it is nothing to the Point; for it will only prove the Imposing to be unlaw-
If it be said, That it was also [the End of Mens taking it]. I answer, 1. He that faith it was the intended End of the Takers, must know all their hearts, and know that all their Ends were the same; which is impossible. 2. If it be only [the commanded End] that is meant, I further answer, 1. It is visible in the Words of the Covenant, that there is no such End commanded: Reformation is the End expressed in the Covenant. 2. If it had been commanded, that was the end of the Commanders, but proved not that the Covenanters all took it to the commanded ends: And it bindeth according to the Takers sense. 3. If it had been certainly taken to a wrong end by every Man that took it (which is not proveable), this would only prove the Altum jurandi to be a fin, but not the Materiam Juramenti to be evil; which is the heart of all the Controversie. There is great difference between the finis jurandi and the finis revi Jurato; the end of swearing, and the end of the thing sworn. If the finis jurandi only be evil, it will only prove the Altum jurandi to be a fin: but it will not prove the materia juramenti to be unlawful: and then the Oath may be ob-
ligatory (as shall be further shewed). 4. Nay, go to the highest, and if it had been the end of the matter sworn, (viz. of the extirpation of Prelacy) that was evil, yet (as I have said) most Catholicks, I think, will determine that the matter is separable in most Cases from the end, (unless it be a meer relative Act which the finis proximus is essential to). If a Man swear Allegiance to the King to a wrong end, is he not therefore obliged to Allegiance by his Oath? If a Man were to do many things in themselves indifferent, upon a mistaken supposition that they are Duties, and for the pleasing of God; when it is discovered to that Man, that they were medla snaera, or no means at all to that end (of pleasing God) but things indifferent, I suppose he is not therefore disoblige, though he vowed them only sub ratione meliorum: because the keeping of a Vow about things lawful, is plea-
ing to God, though the matter vowed were indifferent. And if this hold not true, then wicked men can fearely ever be obliged by any Oath or Vow to God or their Superior, because they have wrong Ends in all, or moot things which they do. But this last part of the Answer is needless, because the former are of undoubted cer-

§ 276. 4. The fourth Reason against the Covenant is, That it was faithfully tak-

Anywh. 1. It may be finfully taken of one (that had no sufficient Motives, or had evil ones) and not of another: This Objection chargeth sin on the King and all the Lords and Knights and Gentlemen of his part, who took it unwillingly; when none of them have been heard speak for themselves, nor have produced the Reasons that moved them to take it.

2. If this were all granted of King and Kingdoms (that they sinned in taking it) it proveth no more, but the alti jurandi was a fin, and not the materia juris-
menti evil; which is no proof of the nullity of the Obligation. Many a Man or Woman that sinned in marrying (for wrong ends, or without just caule, &c.) is yet bound by the Marriage Covenant. Many things are sinful that are not nulli-
ties. A rath, or ignorant, or caules Vow is finful quod altum, and yet obligatory if it be lawful quod materia, and be no nullity. When it is either realy no Vow, or that the vow was forbidden of God, then it is not to be judged obligatory.

§ 277. The fifth Reason against the Obligation is, from Num. 50. That it was 
mulled by the King's declared diffent. To which it is answered by the Non-Subscribers, 1. That the Text is nothing to the Point, or at leaft, no Man can be sure it is. For, 1. it speakseth only de materia non necessaria; but the Covenant is supposeth by the Non-Subscribers to spek de materia necessaria. 2. The Text expressly limiteth the indulgence to a daughter in the family, or a wife, and doth not extend it to the stronger Sex. 3. It limiteth it to Families, where the Ruler is still at hand, and extendeth it not to Kingdoms. 4. It doth not prove the Obligation null from the beginning, but only dissolved afterward by the Father's or Husband's dispensation (as many Verles express). 5. Therefore to pretend a parity of reason, for a King's dispencing,
dispensing with his Subjects' Vows, is a bare pretence, and unproved, and disproved. 6. If it would hold, then it is in the power of Kings to fare all their Subjects from the guilt of Perjury, by dispensing with all their Vows. 7. This Law in Numbers is no farther in force than it appeared to belong to the Law of Nature, or of Christ: For as Moses' Law, it dy'd with Christ, and was nailed to his Cross: Though the general equity of it be still of force. 8. How many Thoroughs in this Land and Scotland never knew of the King's Declaration against the Covenant? How then could that dispense with their Vows, which they never knew of, nor possibly could know of, being in the Parliament's Garrison or Quarrels? 9. What's this to all those that took it when the King was dead, and therefore could not dispense with their Oaths? 10. What is this to the King himself, who took it long after his Father's Death, over whom no man had a dispensing Power? 11. What's this to all those that took it after the present King had taken it, and published a Declaration for it? Did not this then confirm the Obligation? (Though for my part I am one of those that think that the Scots did ill, unnecessarily, dishonestly, unlawfully, unlawfully, foolishly, in forcing the King to take the Covenant against his will, and to publish so hastily a Declaration against his Father's Actions, contrary to his own judgment). Yet it is his open Declarations, and not his secret Unwillingness, which his disjunct Subjects could take notice of. So that this reason feecmeth strongly to make against the piadgers of it, because of the King's confirming Act.

§ 178. 6. The sixth Reason is, [That the People cannot lawfully endeavour the change of Church Government, without the King.] Answ. 1. Cannot the Subject's petition, and the Parliament speak and vote without him, and petition him also? 2. Cannot a Bishop lawfully advise the King to do it, if the King ask his Advice? 3. Cannot the Subjects endeavour it if the King command them? Are they all bound to disobey the King if he should command their Service for the Change of Prelacy into the Primitive Episcopal? Their Place and Calling is to do it when the King commandeth them: And so many of them understood and took it: And it seemeth too near a kin to Rebellion, to lay that no Subject must obey the King in such a matter, though he swear it. If you lay, this is never like to be: I answer, No Man knows what Change the Mind of Kings, as well as other Men, may admit: And they that read the King's Declaration in Scotland, thought they had a visible proof of it: 4. And what's this to the King's own Act, who took it himself; whom we must allow by our Subscription disoblige.

§ 179. 7. The seventh Reason answered this, [That the King took not the same Covenant mentioned in the Act of Uniformity, but another.] Answ. This is to do this a flite, that the King himself doth not own it, but faith, That his Enemies drove him to against his will. As if (mutatis mutandis) the various Names and Cales of Persons made an Oath or Covenant not to be the same! Because it's laid in the beginning, [We Noble men, Knights, &c. and not [We the King and Nobles,] they suppose another Name or Person makes it specifically another Covenant. Or because the Article of procuring the King's Person, belonged not to him to take

§ 180. 8. Another Reason is, [That the King was forced to do it.] Answ. Those more to be blamed are they that did it, then: But all the World acknowledge that the Whole Man cannot be forced absolutely: and that a voluntary Act, though caused by necessity or terror, is moral: and that a Promise made to Man (much much more to God) in materia bona, though forced by a Robber that would take away a Man's Life, may yet be Obligatory. A Man that may choose whether he will or no do, is bound by his Word if he choose it, before Death: Though yet the choosing it may possibly be his sin.

§ 181. Of Mr. Hooker's great Reason is, That the King was pre-engaged to take the Corporation Oath in Herne of the Crown, and consequently engaged to Episcopal, and consequently he was not obliged against it by the Covenant.

Answ. 1. If he were not obliged to take the Crown, he was not obliged to take that Oath. If he were obliged under the Plead of a Sin to take the Crown, then choose the Bishop, and other Princes that have laid down Crowns, or refused them, have failed: unlesse some peculiar Reason behere brought. But this is not affirmed by any; That a Prince may not lawfully refuse a Crown, unlesse when it would be a dishonour of the Kingdom.

20. He might have taken the Crown with an alteration of that Oath: Who ever said, That the King and Parliament have not power to change that Oath, who can change thid Law.
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

3. Who can prove that it is any violation of that Oath, or wrong to [the liberties of the Church] which the King sweareth to preserve, to change the Prelacy into the Primitive Episcopacy? by taking down Law-Chancellors, and restoring Pastoral Power, &c. any more than it was to take down Abbots, and to call out the Pope, and to subject the Clergy to the Magistrate, who before were much exempt: All these seem to be much more against the Liberties of that which was called the Church when this Oath was formed, than the bsuming Mercy to Prelates and the whole Land, by reducing them to a lawful rank, can be.

4. Do any Casualts in the World teach such Doctrine, That a former Oath is null, because some Conveniences required the taking of a later? If this hold true, then God's Law which is former and higher than all, having first made it (as many Non-Subscribers think) a sin to cherish the Diocesan Frame at all, and consequently to swear to do it, the question is, Whether the Obligation to swear the upholding of them, or the Obligation not to swear it, were the greater? § 382. 10. Mr. Fullwood's further Reason is, That it is injustice to cast out so many Men from their possessed Dignities and Estates; and therefore no Vow can oblige any to it.

Anfwr. 1. If indeed it were so, then the Vow extending but to our Places and Callings, cannot bind us to it: But is it any Injustice to make a Law against Prelacy in Specie, and to let their Places and Honours die with them? The Government may be altered without putting out any Man, if none be put in to succeed them when they die.

2. And what if the King continue them as Church-Magistrates (only to do what his own Officers may do, to keep the Churches Peace as Justices) and continue their Baronies and their Lands and Places in Parliament, and only reform the pretended Spiritual Power of the Keys: would not this have been a taking down of Prelacy without the wrong of any?

3. Or what if he had taken down all their Power, and given them a Writ of Ease, and therewith left them, durante vita, their Estates and Honours? Would this have any injury to them?

4. If Prelacy be as sinful as the Non-Subscribers foregoing Arguments would prove, can it be injustice to save a Man from Sin and Hell? and to save all the Churches from such Calamity, for some fleshly abatements that follow to a few Persons?

5. Was it injustice to put down the Abbots? Or cannot King and Parliament do good by Laws to the Church or Commonwealth, whenever a single Perfon or a few do suffer by it?

6. Especially where the Maintenance is Publick, and given for the Work, and the Work is for the Publick Good? Doth any Prince thinking the removing of an intolerable Pilot or Captain from a Ship? Or an intolerable Minifier from the Church? Or an intolerable Officer from the Court, though it be to his loss? For my part, I never accused them for calling out so many Hundred Ministers from their Livings or Benefices, upon Supposition that it be no wrong to Chrift and Mens Souls to call us out of the Church; but should rather justify it.

§ 383. 11. The left and not the weakest Reason against the Obligation of the Covenant is, That [if it were lawful before for subjects to petition, and Parliament Men to speak and vote against Prelacy, yet now it is not; because by this Act the Parliament hath made it unlawful].

Anfwr. 1. The Parliament doth only declare their sense of a thing past [that no Man is bound] and not enaft by a Law that no Man shall henceforth be bound.

2. If it had been otherwise, all Protestants contend that neither Pope, nor any Earthly Power can dispense with Oaths and Vows.

3. They do not so much as prohibit all Men to endeavour an alteration of Government in the Church, but only forbid them to say, That they are bound to it by the Covenant.

4. They have allowed Subjects to petition for the change of Laws, so they do it but ten at a time.

5. The Parliament is not by any Man to be accursed of such a Subversion of Liberties and of Parliament Privileges, and of the Constitution of the Kingdom, as to forbid Subjects petitioning, and all Parliament Men speaking, and to disable the King and Parliament from changing a Law when they see cause: If they should do any of this, the Charges now brought against the Long Parliament, would teach and allow us to suppose all to be null.
6. If the Laws of God be against Prelacy, those oblige above all Humane Laws. And he that should forbid another to give him or his Neighbour when he is drowning, doth not by that prohibition make the faving of them unlawful before God.

§ 384. Now to the Latitudinarians addition of Reasons de modo & sensu. 1. They say that the Act extendeth not to the King at all, when it biddest us subscribe, 'th at 'there is no Obligation on me, or any other person': for Laws being made for Subjects, are to be interpreted only of Subjects, unless when the King is named.

To this it is easily answerd, That they distinguish not between the King as the Subject of a Law, and the King as the Object of my Affertion or Belief. It's true, that the Law speaketh of Subjects only whenever it speaketh of the Duty of Subjects; and the King is no Subject: But it is as true, that the Law speaketh of the King only, whenever it speaketh of the Prerogatives of the Crown and Sovereignty; and as the Object of the Subjects Acts of Loyalty. The question is not here, Who is commanded by this Act? but who is obliged by the Covenant or Vow? And if I be commanded to fay, that [no person is obliged] without any limitation, I can with no reafon except the King, whom the Law excepteth not: Princes may be obliged by Vows as well as others, and their Obligations may be the Subject of our Affertions and Belief.

§ 385. 2. The second Reason is, Because the King's Government is part of that whole alteration is declared against, therefore be can be none of the [any other persons].

Answ. 1. So the Prelates are the Persons whose Government is here mentioned, and yet no doubt they are included in the [any other persons]: as their Chancellors, Commissaries, Deans, &c.

2. If the King may be included, when it is said, That no Man must extirpate Monarchy; no not the King; much more when it is said, That no Man may extirpate Prelacy; for there the reason of the Objection faieth.

§ 386. 3. They further fay, That [the Act meanteth only that no Man is bound by the Vow to endeavour against Law], as by Rebellion, Sedition, Treaflon, Scc. and not that Subjects may not petition, Parliament Menfpeak, or King and Parliament alter the Law: which they prove, because it was taking up Arms and illegal Actions only that the old Parliament was blamed for.

Answ. This one pretence hath drawn abundance of laudable Persons to Subcribe: but how unsatisfactory it is, may thus appear: 1. Why then could it never be procured to have the word [unlawfully] put into the Act? when it was known that in that fence none of us would have expurgated it.

2. All Cailiffs agree that Universal Terms in or about Oaths and Vows, must not be understood any otherwise than Universally, without apparent cognet Reason: On such Terms as these else a Man may take any Oath in the World, or disclaim any: The Parliament hath exactly tyed Subscribers to the particular words, and they long deliberated to express their own fence: And they fay [neither I nor any other person] and now come an Expositor, and faith, The King is not the [any other person]: What! Is he no Perfons? or is he not another Perfons? So they fay [no Obligation bind on me to endeavour], and the Latitudinarian faith, That I may endeavour it, and that they mean no Obligation but unlawful. This contradictory Exception and Expifion is against all common Ufe and Justice, and fuch as will allow a Man to cheat the State, by faying or unfaying any thing in the World.

3. We have many a time told some Latitudinarians how this matter may be soon decided if they will: The Parliament hath past another Act with the false fame words in it, making it Confifion for any Man to fay, That he or any other perfon is obliged by the Covenant to endeavour any Alteration of Church-Government: Let them write or fay openly [Men are obliged by the Covenant to endeavour it by lawful means, but not by unlawful]: and let them give leave to another to accuse them in a Court of Justice for these words; and let it be there tried and judged, and then the fence of the Law will be declared: If they be in the right the Accufer shall lose his Cofts, and no dinger can befal them. If they be not in the right, they will be punifhed by Confifion: And is not the hazard of such a Law Suit cheap enough for a Man to give himfelf and others from fo great a Guilt, as the Jullification of three Kingdoms in the Sin of Perjury (if it to prove)? And yet I could never hear of the Man that would hazard his Eflate thus on the confidence of his Expifion of the Law; but multitudes venture their Souls upon it.
4. The Parliament, who is the Expounder of their own Laws, have given us their fence of the Subject of our Controversie, in a former Law, which puts all out of doubt: For in the Corporation Act all Men are put out of Power and Truth, who will not declare, that (absolutely, without any limitation) [There is no Obligation upon me or any other person, from the Oath called, &c.] so that all Obligation to any thing at all by that Vow, is in this most important Act denied, and the profession of this denial thus imposed. By which it is plain doubt that the Law-makers fence is against all Obligation absolutely.

5. And that it is so, is well known to those that know what was laid in the Parliament, when among the Commons this Reason carried it; viz. That if any Obligation at all be acknowledged, even to things lawful, every addition person will be left to think that he is bound to all which he conceiveth lawful, which with some will be to reject the King or omit Treaties: Therefore all Obligation absolutely must be denied. I confide such Villains there may be, and they should be carefully restrained; but as I doubt this Act of Parliament will no whither change their belief of their Obligations (for they will think Parliaments cannot dispense with Oaths or with the Laws of God) so it is a bad remedy for such villainous Errors, to dilobige Men from the lawful part of Vows, for fear left they take the unlawful to be lawful: As it is to teach Men to take nothing which God commandeth, to be their Duty, for fear least they should take their Sin to be their Duty.

§ 387. Object. But what if the Bishop gives me liberty to put in the word [unlawfully] or to Subscribe only in that sense? may I not then lawfully do it?

Anfw. This was the only Expedient to draw in Nonconformists heretofore, and so it hath proved of late again. But I distinguisht, 1. There is much difference between Subscribing the very words of the Act, with the verbal or by-adding of your own Explication, and the putting in of your Explicatory words into the Sentence which you Subscribe. 2. Between Subscribing this as the imposed Declaration in the Act, and Subscribing it only as another thing. 3. Between the secret and the open Explication of your Mind. For my part, if the word [unlawfully] had been joyned to [endeavour] by the Law-makers, I would not have scrupled to Subscribe that part of the Declaration. But the Bishop is not the Law-maker, and therefore hath no more power than a private Man to expound the Law: Nor is he so much as a judge in this busines (who may expound it in order to the decision of a particular Caufe); but only a Witness that you Subscribe. 2. If you only Subscribe the very words of the Declaration, and speak your Explication, or write it in a by-paper, you do then provide an insufficient Plaister for the Sore: you do that which is evil in it self, and would cure it by an ineffectual accidental Medicine: You harden both the Impoфер and Subscribers by your Scandal, while you are faid to Subscribe the very thing imposed, whole fence is to plain, that your Explication is but an apparent ludicrous diffirion. As if I were commanded to Subscribe this Sentence [God hath no knowledge nor no love]; The Impofer understandeth it vulgarly and blafphemously: The words in the most strict and proper fence are true (which cannot be said in our Cafe): because knowledge and love are spoken primarily of the Creatures Acts, and are not in God formaliter, but eminenter, that is, somewhat more excellent which hath no other name, because we have no formal Conceptions of them, but must speak of God after the manner of Men, while Man is the Glafs and Image by which we know him: yet would I not subscribe this imposed Proposition, while the Impofer meaneth it blafphemously; because it is a heinous Scandal to be faid to Subscribe and own such Villany, and so to encourage others to it; no though I might express my fence. 3. Especially I may express it but privately, where the Remedy against the Scandal will be inefctual: But if you may Subscribe the whole Sentence with your own words therein, and that not as it is the imposed Declaration (which is otherwise expounded by the Law-makers themselves) but as another, and may make this as publick and notorious as your Subcription itself is, then I have left to say against it. There are no words utterable which a Man may not put a good fence on if he please: And yet I durst not so far play with Death, and comply with the Spirit of Impiety, as to Subscribe that [There is no God, or God is unjust, or unwise, or unholy, &c.] though I had liberty to say, I mean it in this or that fence which is true and warrantable.

§ 388. 4. Another Motive of the Latitudinarians to Subscribe is, That by [to endeavour any Change or Alteration of Government in the Church] is meant only any change of the Species of our Church-Government, and not any Reformation of integral or accidental Defects, or Depravations.
Answ. 1. And yet these very Men do profess to believe, with Mr. Stillingfleet, That no Form of Church-Government is of Divine Appointment or Impostion: And if so, why is it not lawful for the King and Parliament to change that which God hath not made necessary? Or for Subjects to endeavour it by Petition?

2. It is agreed on by Calluils (and their Bishop of Lincoln Dr. Sanderson, with the rest) That Oaths are to be taken *femper strictior*, and so are Laws, and those especially which determine of the Obligation of Oaths: But it is an unwarrantable audacious liberty for any Subject unnecessarily thus to turn an Universal Enunciation into a Definite and Particular; and when the Law saith [any alteration of Government] to say that [some alteration] is not included. Their reason is because it is said [of] and not [in] Government. Answ. There is no Language (much less the English) that alloweth you such a fence of these two Prepositions, as if [of] must needs mean the Species, and [in] may mean only the Integrity or Accidents. We dare not be so bold as to feign such a Difference and Latitude of fence, to be in the Preposition [of] unless we could prove it.

3. * Will it not be taken for Treason if you make the same Exposition of the other Clause of the Declaration, and say that the King and Parliament meant no more, than to say that no Man is bound by the Covenant to endeavour an Essential or Speci fick Change of State-Government, or no greater Change than what may leave it still in the Species of a Monarchy. Or do you believe that they meant no more? and that they determined not against supposed Obligations to lower Changes of the Royal Government?

4. There is not the accuratest Grammian and Logician of them all, that can tell just what may be said to Specifie a Government, and what but to integrate it; and just how far a Change may go before it may be called a Change of the Species.

5. But suppose all this were nothing: It is clearly proved that it is not the Genus of Episcopacy, but the Species of English Prelacy (described) which the Covenant meant. And I have proved already that a specific alteration of this Prelacy is lawful; and whether also not-necessary let the impartial Reader judge. I have asked the most Learned of the Diocesan Party that I could meet with, this Question, Whether it be not lawful for the King and Parliament to take down Chancellors, and all Lay-Judges in Spiritual Courts, and Deans, Arch-deacons, Commissaries, and the Courts themselves; and to take down a Bishop of a Thousand or many Hundred Churches, and to set up a Bishop in every Market Town with the adjacent Villages, yea, or in every great Parish, to govern with his Presbyters, as it was in Ignatius his days (and in Cyprian's)? And never Man of them denied it lawful for them to make such a Change, if they saw it meet. I have asked them further, Whether they would not call this a Change of Government de specie, or according to the fence of the Act? And they all confess it: (For if they did not, the Act and Declaration would herein do them no good); but leave private Men to endeavour such an Alteration, which they know is all the Alteration that ever we defined of them; and for which they have called us Presbyters). I have asked them further, Whether a Vow turn not a lice into an aepurus? And they never deny it. Where then can you imagine any remaining difference? Why this was all that they said, That it was not this Species of Prelacy, but Episcopacy in genere which the Covenant meant, and consequently the Act meant. Which I have proved to be most evidently untrue; there being no other Episcopacy but our Prelacy then existent, nor Episcopacy ever named in the Covenant in genere, but this Prelacy, being exactly described, and this purposely for the deciding of this very Doubt, by the means of Mr. Gatacker, Dr. Burges, and many more in the Assemblies who renounced the extirpation of all Episcopacy, and the Lords having taken the Covenant in that openly declared fence: But suppose all this had not been so: Doth not a renunciation of the Genus contain the Species? And if any Man voweth against the Genus, misstaking it to be all sinful, will not his Vow bind him against that Species which indeed is sinful, though not against the others? As suppose that a Man should think that All swearing and Accusing others were a sin, and so to have himself from the said sins, should Vow to God against them all: Afterwards this Man discover that some swearing before a Magistrate is a duty, and some accusing of another, is he not for all that still bound against prepahane
prophan and rash swearing? and malicious or unjust accusing, which indeed are sins: for therein he was not mistaken. So if Men had (as they did not) upon mistake make a Vow against all Episcopacy or Prelacy as a sin, and afterward discover that one fort is a Duty, and the other a Sin, do they not remain obliged against that wherein they were not mistaken?

6. Lastly, Let it be noted, That though it be said in the Declaration [of] Government, yet it is added [in the Church] and not [of the Church]: which is as much against them as the other is for them, seeming to intimate, that it is not the Form only Constitution of the Church, which they hert intend.

§ 389. 5. Some leading Independents say, That it was essential to this Vow to be also a League: and as a League it is ceased, by the cession of Persons and Occasions. This shift they were put upon first themselves (being the first that nullified these Bonds) that they might do what they did against the Covenant, and make it as an Almack out of date.

Answ. 1. Though as a Political Instrument, it be called by one Name, A Solemn League and Covenant, and so all the parts of it do make one Instrument, yet 1. The formality of it as a League, and as a Vow, are different. 2. And as a Vow to God, and a Moral Act of Man, there are in it as many distinct Vows as there are Matters vowed. The League is not the end of the Vow, but Reformation was the proclifed end of both, to which they were taken as coordinate means. And therefore it as a League it were ceased, it followeth not that as a Vow it is fo: For Men are the parties in the League, but God is one of the Parties in the Vow, and every individual Person is the other Party: And if one Vow or Article shou'd ceafe, it followeth not that all the rest do so.

2. It is not proved that it ceaseth as a League: Though it oblige us not to war, or to any thing against the King or State; and though many of the Persons be dead that took it. For, 1. War was not mentioned in the Covenant; much les as the Duty of all the Covenanters: sure it was never intended that all the Women must fight. 2. If it had, that was but one of the means there mentioned: and every Man bound himself [to endeavour in his Place and Calling]; and that was not to fight, for all.

3. Therefore though the particular Occasions ceas'd, the general Cause continues (the need of Reformation); and though no Man be bound to any unlawful means; it followeth not that there is no bound to lawful means: And though some Persons be dead, not only the Nations, but many individual Covenanters are living.

4. And in express Terms they bound themselves [all the days of their lives zealously and constantly to continue therein ]; and therefore intended no such cessation.

§ 390. 6. Lastly, The Latitudinarians say that the general Rule is, That all Sayings are to be interpreted in the best sense that the words will bear. Ergo—

Answ. In the best sense which hath Evidence of Truth, Charity requireth us to take all the words of others: But the question is first, Which is the true sense? and not which is the best. And if it can be proved that another is either certainly or probably the true meaning of any words, we must not feign a better sense, because it is better. In the Cafe in hand, the Law-makers have plainly declared their own sense, by their Speeches, and Votes, and deliberate plain Expressions, and by another Act (for Corporations) If I might take all Oaths and Statutes in the best sense which possibly thole words may be used to express, than I could take almost any Oath in the World, and disobey any Law in the World under pretence of obeying it; and tell any Lie under the pretence of telling Truth, and Jesuitical Equivocation would be but the common Duty of the Charitable. But Charity is not blind, nor will it prove a fit Cover for a Lie. He that knoweth the Parliament, and is but willing to know their sense, may know the mistakkes of this pretended Charity. And especially Laws and Oaths are to be taken in the sense which is plainest in the words.

§ 391. Besides all that is already said, I shall end this Subject with this question on the Non-subscribers part, Whether an Oath doth not bind Men in the face of the Takers? (though they be bound to take it in the face of the Impower) if they know it.) As if I had been commanded to swear Allegiance to the King; and he that commandeth it should mean Cromwell, or some Ulruper, and I thought he had meant my rightful King, Am I not bound hereby to the King indeed? And if so, Query further, Whether any Man so well know the sense of every Man and Woman in England, Scotland and Ireland, as to be able to say that it was so bad, that they are not obliged to it? And in what Age it was that all Ministers were forbidden to Preach the Gospel of Christ, till they knew the Hearts of all the Peo
ple in three Kingdoms, so far as to justify them before God from the Obligations of such Vows and Oaths?

§ 392. And though I heartily wish that the Prelates would have been intertreated to have chosen another course of proceeding with their Brethren, and not have remitted any to Repinings or Complaints (for endeavouring which I lost their love), yet I would admonish all my Brethren to take heed of aggravating this Difference so far, as to bring the present Ministry into Contempt, and hinder the Efficiency of their Labours. I did my best to have prevailed beforehand, that we might not have had any occasion of Divisions; but if we must needs be divided, that it might have been upon some lower Points, than the Obligation of Oaths and Vows! It had been better for the Prelates that the Non-subscribers had seemed to be frufulous Persons that refused only some tolerable Ceremonies, than that the fear of so great a Crime as justifying three Kingdoms from the Bond of an Oath, and the guilt of Perjury, should be the occasion of their Ejection, and the Matter of this Publick Controversie: But seeing this could not (by us) be prevented, let us not be so partial as to wrong the Church, by making them odious to justify our selves. It was sad when the Names of Formalists and Puritans, and afterwards of Malignants and Rebels, and Cavaliers and Roundheads, distinguished the divided Parties: But it is now grown worse, when they are called PERJURED, and PURITANS: For the most odious Names do most potently tend to the extinguishing of Charity, and the increase of the Difference between them.

§ 393. III. The next Controversie is Political: That [it is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to take up Arms against the King; or as is after said, against any Commissioned by him]. In this the Lawyers are divided, yea and Parliament themselves; one Parliament laying one thing, and another another thing. And the poor ejected Ministers of England are commonly so little studied in the Law, that in these Controversies they must say as they are bidden, or say nothing: And they think it hard that when Lawyers and Parliaments cannot agree, every poor ignorant Preacher must be forced to decide the Controversie, and say and subscribe which of them is in the right, upon pain of being cast out of their Office and silenced: which they think as hard as if they were required to decide a Controversie between Navigators, or Pope Zachary and Boniface's Cafe about the Antipodes, or else be silenced. We are ready to Subscribe [That King Charles the Second is our lawful King, and that we owe him Obedience in all his lawful Commands, and that we are bound to defend his Person, Dignity, Authority and Honour with our Lives and Estates against all his Enemies, and that neither Parliaments nor any other at home or abroad, have any power to judge or hurt his Person, or depose him, or diminish any of his Power; and that it is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to confire against him, or stir up the People to Sedition, or to take up Arms against either his Authority or his Person, or against any lawfully Commissioned by him, or any at all Commissioned by him, except be himself by a contrary Commission, or by his Law do enable us, or not forbid us, or when the Law of Nature doth oblige us]. In all these Cafes we are ready to Subscribe: And one would think this much might procure our Peace. But that which is scrupled by the Non-subscribers is as followeth.

The words [on any pretence whatsoever] studiously put into a Form of Declaration by a Parliament, are so universal, as to allow no Latitudinarian Evaations or Limitations or Exceptions by any Man that is sincere and plain-hearted, and doth not equivocate with God and his Governors: Now

1. Though the King's Authority or Person may not be refilled by Arms, they are not certain that his Will may not in any Cafe be refilled.

2. Though none Authorized, that is Legally Commissioned by him may be refilled, yet they are not certain that all that are Commissioned by him are Authorized or Legally Commissioned.

3. Either this Declaration requireth us to suppose that the King never will Commission any illegally; or else that though he do, yet such may on no pretence whatsoever be refilled by Arms. If the former be the sense, then either it is because no King will do it, or only because no King of England will do it. The former, all Historians, Politicians, Lawyers and Divines, are against it. And the latter hath no Evidence of Certainty to us. But yet if that had been the sense, we should have contended [that on supposition the King commissin Men legally, they are not to be refilled].
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

refited). But this no Man will say is to be supposed, as an Event certainly and univerally future. But if the worst that is possible might be supposed possible, then in these several Cases they are doubtful.

1. In Case that a Man pretend to have the King's Commission, but doth not shew it me, what am I then to do?

2. In Case he shew it me under the Privy Seal, and another shew the Broad Seal to a Commission to refit him.

3. In Case he shew the Broad Seal, and I know not whether it be counterfeit or surreptitiously procured.

4. In Case that by the fault of Officers, or forgetfulness, or any other cause, one Man should have a Commission to defend and command a Ship or Fort, or Country, and another shew a Commission of the same date to command and defend the same Ship, Fort, or Country, and to refit any that oppose him; Is it unlawful for both of them here to obey the King's Command?

5. In Case that any shall shew or pretend a Commission for any illegal Act, as to take Men Purses by the High-way, to break into their Houses, and take their Money and Goods, and seize their Estates, or kill their Families: Or to lay a Tax upon the Country without the Consent of Parliament; or to ravish Mens Wives, or Daughters, or to burn the City, or if two or three should shew a Commission to come into the House of Lords or Commons, and kill them all in the place. &c.

It is certain that a Sword is Arms, and that to fight in a Man's own Defence is to take up Arms: Or if any lay it must be the fighting of many together only that is called the Taking up of Arms, as that is not to be understood by the words which have no such relfection, as no Man knoweth how many it must be that by concurrence must make the Act to be a Taking up of Arms. We have put some of these Cases to Parliament Men, and they tell us, That in any such Case they would use their Arms to defend themselves: But there are single Members: What the Houses mean, we know not, but by the words: And no words can be more exclusive of any Exception, than these, That [it is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever]. Also, what if Soul gives Commission to his Armour-bearer to kill him? Might not a Subject by Arms defend the King, and rescue his Life, against his Will and Commission? And what if a Court of Justice decree a Subject the Possession of his House and Land, and require the Sheriff of the Country to put him in possession, and to raife the Poffe Comitatus to do it, if there he resistance; And what if the Perfon to be ejected shew a Commission from the King to keep possession, contrary to this Judgment; Is it unlawful for the Sheriff to obey the Court? (And the Poffe Comitatus of Yorkshire hath been a considerable Army).

§ 394. The Things which increase the Doubt of the Non-subscribers in this Case, are these:

1. Because if, as it is laid by some, the Laws are the King's Laws, and the Acts of his Will, as well as his Commissions are: Then if his Law and his Commission be contradictory, I must need disobey the King which ever I disobey, and refit the King's Will which ever I refit. We have no Laws but what are Acts of the King's Will; and till they are repealed, they still express his Will.

2. Because that the Laws are made purposely to be the Subjects Rule of Obedience, being also the Rule of Judgment in all Courts; and being that Act of the King's Will which the Subjects have publick certain Notice of: They know that the Laws are indeed the King's Laws, and are not counterfeit: And they are of universal Obligation: But a Seal to a Commission may possibly be counterfeit, or the Subject can have no such certifying notice of it.

3. And they know that the King is not himself every where present, to tell his doubtful Subjects, which signification of his Will he owneth, and which they should prefer; and that he governeth his Kingdom by his Courts and Officers; they fit and lend forth their Orders in his Name: And a known publick Court of Justice, seemeth to be a more credible declarer of the King's Will, than a Stranger or particular Perfon, who faith that he hath his Commission. It is the Form of the Law, to be the Act of the Governing Will of the King, and the use of his Courts, to declare it, and expound it, and judge by it for his Subjects: But a private Commission wanteth these Advantages.

4. Because they think that the Law of Nature, and the Constitution of the Kingdom must eft submit to this Declaration: For if two or three, or more, shew a Commission to kill all the Parliament, and fire the City, Nature seemeth to allow them Self-defence; and Parliaments (which are part of the Constitution) are vain if they have no better Security for their Lives.

5. They
5. They find a Statute of King Edward the Third, That if any Man bring from the King a Command under the Little Seal, or the Great Seal, to require any Judge to go against Justice, or to contradict it, the Judge shall go on, as if it signified nothing: And the Sheriff’s forcible Affilance, may be part of his Judgment, or the legal Consequent.

6. Elfe no Subject feemeth to have any Security for his Eftate or Life, nor the Subject any Liberties: For if their Eftates or Purposes be taken away, or their Lives assaulted by pretended Commissions, or Taxes imposed contrary to Law, what remedy have they? To say they may question the Infrumments at Law, is vain and worse, as long as that Law, whatever it decreeth, must submit to a Commission, and must never refit it, nor use any force of Arms, though against a single Man for its own Execution. Who will begin a Suit at Law, against the King’s Will at all, if he first know that his Will must not be refited, and that the End will but be his greater ruine?

7. They said, King James afferting in his Writings (for Monarchy) that a King may not make War against his whole Kingdom: In case then that he should do it, they are uncertain that the whole Kingdom might not at all refit his commissioned Officers.

8. They find the late King Charles the Firft, in his Answer to the Nineteen Propositions of the Parliament, afferting a Protecting Power in the Lords, and setting up the Laws above his own Will.

9. They know that the Laws are made by King and Parliament, and Commissions here suppos’d to be by the King alone: And the whole Authority of all parts seemeth more than of one alone.

10. They find that it hath been familiar with Lords, to prefer the Law before the King’s Commissions; and Parliaments have been of that mind: And they are too weak to Condemn them all in their own Faculties.

11. They find that the greatest Defenders of Monarchy of all Foreigne Lawyers, even Barlay and Grotes, have inflinced in many Cafes, in which it is, as they say, lawful by Arms to refit a King: And we pretend not to more skill in Laws than they.

12. They find that even the greatest Episcopal Divines, approved by our Princes, and moft Learned Defenders of Monarchy and Obedience, do yet set up the Laws above the King, and write more in this Cafe than we can content to. Mr. Tto. Hooker (whom King Charles the Firft commended to his Children to be read) speacheth so very high, not only in his whole Eighth Book (dedicated by Bilhop Gau-den to the King) but also in his Firft Book (which was extant when King Charles the Firft commended his Works) that for my part I do not believe him, that the Body as such hath the Legislative Power, and that the King is singular major and universis minor, with much of the like: And therefore I have wrote a full Coniutation of him in the Fourth Tome of my Christian Dicryery. And yet he is one of the moft magnified Authours with the Bilhops. And so is Bilhop Bilton, who in his Texitfe for Christian Subjection, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, hath that terrible passage for refilling Kings before-rected § 253.

13. And they find that not only Politicians speak more in this Cafe than we allow, and the Roman, Greek, and other Historians: but the Historians and Chronicators of this Land. For instance, Hollinghead Lib. 1. in his Chapter of Parliaments, faith, [This House hath the most high and absolute Power of the Realm: For thereby Kings and mighty Princes have from time to time been deposed from their Thrones; Laws either enaunted or abrogated, Offenders of all sorts punished, and corrupt Religion either disarmed or reformed; which commonly is divided into two Houses or Parts, &c.] Here is more then I allent to, or think to be justifiable. Now when all theseeway much more for Refiition than we judge found, it seemeth hard to us to go so far contrary to them all (in Matters of other Mens Profession) as to Subscribe, That on no pretence whatsoever no one Commissione by the King, may be refisted by taking up Arms.

14. And we read how Dr. Mainwaring, and other Divines, have been condemned by Parliament for Matters of this Nature. And whatever any Latitudinarian may say, we are sure that [on no pretence whatsoever] are words that exclude all these formentioned Preceptions from being lawful. And if it yet be said, That it is disloyal to supposethat any such illegal Commission will be granted, we do not supposethat it will be so, but if it be not possible to be so, in this Age or another, then we are contented to Subscribethe Clause: For Parliaments will not differ about Imposibilities.
§ 395. Incident to this Controversie are other Clauses of the Declaration, as that the Covenant was in it self an unlawful Oath, and imposed against the known Laws, &c. which though they contradict not, yet many that were Children then, and know neither Matter of Law or Fact, no not so much as the Fundamental Laws and Constitution of the Kingdom, do think themselves very incapable of determining.

§ 396. And for the Trayterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are Commissioned by him: We fee no position here recited; and therefore must annex this Clause to the former (as before) supposing that the meaning is, that it is a Trayterous Position to say, That it is lawful by the King's Authority, to take up Arms on any pretence whatsoever, against, &c. And we all confess that it is a Contradictory and Trayterous Position for any man to say, that he may take up Arms by the King's Authority against his Authority, or Dignity, or Honour, or Person: But all the Doubt is as aforesaid, Whether the King's Laws have not his Authority; and whether his Laws and his Commission may not be contrary? or one Commission contrary to another? And in that case, whether it be Trayterous to say that one side hath his Authority against the other? As if his Law allow Men to defend their Lives and Purse against Attaints, and an Affair put it in Commision, whether the King's Authority in his Laws and Courts enable not a Man by Arms to save his Purse or Life against such a pretended Commission: (And how shall any Subject, at the time of the Attaint, be sure whether the Commission be true or spurious?) If as Jeab and Abner sent the young Men to play (mad play) before them, and the Romans caused their Gladiators to fight to make them sport, Ioff the King to try the Valour of some Subjects, would Commission a few on both sides to fight against each other, doth it follow that both sides were Traytors, because they both fought by his Authority against such as were Commissionated by him? If it be said, That this is not the meaning of the Act: we anfwer, That where Forms are suppost to be deliberately worded by a Parliament, if we must not understand Universals universally, but may put in Limitations or Exceptions at our Pleasure, then their words are not the signifiers of their Minds, and we know not whether to go to understand them, nor what be the Exceptions and Limitations allowed, but every Man may except according to his Fancy, and thus all will be but Equivocation and Deceit. And Dr. Sanderfon refolves it, That when Oaths (and consequently subscribed Forms) are ambiguously worded, and the Impofer will not explain them, it is not fit at all to take them.

Some Lawyers tell me, that if it came before the Judges they would judge an unlawful Commission to be no Commission; and that the Judges are the Executive of the Law. I anfwer, 1. We have no assurance that the Judges would fo judge; much lefs unanimously: nor that they have fo done. 2. Lately Mr. Jo$eph Read offered at the King's Bench-Bar to take the Oxford Oath as expounded in that fenc by the Vote of the Lords about the Telf; and he was reprieved for his Offer, and told that he must take it as the Law imposed it, and was fent back to Jail. 2. The Law-makers only can expound a Law as antecedently Obligatory to all the Subjects: The Judges can only expound it confequently for the decision of a particular Cafe, in order to Execution; and ad boe, which warranteth no Man to take that for the true meaning of the Statute.

§ 397. IV. The Fourth Controversie is about the Oath of Canonicall Obedience: And the Reafons why this is scrupled by the Non-Conformifts are these: Because they take the Power it fell to which they are to swear, to be specifically Evil, and againft the Word of God: of which their Proofs are given before: And therefore they dare not be guilty of swearing Obedience to them, letf they 1. Take the Name of God in vain; an Oath being a thing which is not to be ventured on, but with the greateft reverence, deliberation and sincerity. 2. And left they scandalously approve of Ufurpation in Christ's Kingdom, to the wrong of his Crown and Dignity, and contrg the guilt of Treafon or Disloyalty against him. 3. Left they encourage Uffurpers in their inftolent Novelties and Corruptions, which the ancient Churches never knew, and came not into the Church till the Roman Papacy grew to some degree of Impedency in their Uffurpations.

§ 398. Yet thefe two things the Non-conformifts are contented readily to do: 1. To obvay the Bishops Chancellors, &c. by mere Submission, without an Oath, in all things lawful. To appear at their Courts, and anfwer them with due reverence. For they think that Submission and Submission towards Uffurpers greatly differ; and
that as in the late Cromwellian Uprising in England, many submitted, as they would have done to a Robber, whom they could not resist; who yet would not swear Subjection, nor do any thing which seemed to justify his Uprising or Title: So here, though they dare not state themselves by an Oath, in the relation of Subjects to the Prelates, yet they can obey them materially in lawful things. 2. And they are willing to swear Obedience to them as the King's Officers; committed by him to exercise such Coercive Power as belongeth to the Magistrate about Church Matters: But not as they exercise the Power of the Keys, in Abolishing, Excommunicating, &c.

§ 399. Objec. 1. It is but in licitis & honefl is that you swear to obey them: And who will refute things lawful and honest.

Answ. 1. But it is in the relation of our lawful Ordinaries that we are required to swear this Obedience to them. It may be lawful and honest to do the things commanded, when it is neither lawful nor honest to subject my self to the Commander as his Subject. The most just Authority that is can command us nothing but licita & bonetla. And if Cromwell or the Engaging piece of the Parliament had required me to swear Obedience to them in licitis & bonetlisis, I think to have done it had been a subjecting my self to them as my Governors, which had neither been licitum nor honetum. If a Rebel now should usurp Authority against the King's will, for the Government of Ireland or Scotland, he that would go swear Obedience to him in licits & bonetlisis, I think would be disloyal.

2. And it is Obedience according to the Canon, which is their [in licitis & bonetlisis]: And this to Lay-Chancellors Exercise of the Keys, and many other things which are supposed licita & bonetlisis, but not yet proved to be so.

§ 400. Objec. 2. What a Man may do, he may swear to do: But licita & honetlisis a Man may do: Ergo——— Answ. 1. I deny the Major as universally taken: There is many a thing that may be done, which may not be sworn: Else you might swear to speak every word before you speak it, and to do every trivial Act that you do. 2. Some time the Oath reacheth further than the Act to be done, even to the Relation in which it is done, and the reason for which; and this is the Cause here: So that here is a signifying of a false State of the Question; which is not, Whether we may swear to do licita & bonetlisis? but whether we may swear to do them as our lawful Ordinaries in licitis & bonetlisis? 3. The Conclusion therefore might be granted without any Decission of the Controversie: For the Question is not, Whether we may swear to do such things? but whether we may swear to obey those Men in that relation, and to do those things sub formalis rationes obedientia? Which their Loyalty to Christ their King, they think prohibit, What if you lived in a Popish Country, would you swear to obey the Pope in licitis & bonetlisis? If not, you may see our Reasons, while you give your own.

§ 401. Objec. 1. The Scripture commandeth all Men to subject themselves one to another. Answ. There is an Equivocation in the word [subject]: The Text speaketh only of private submission and yielding to others voluntarily carrying our selves with that lowliness as Subjects do to their Rulers: But this is nothing to publick relation, which the Controversie is. He would be but an ill Subject to the King, or an ill Member of the Church, who would make every man his King or his Pastor, on this pretense that we must all subject our selves to each other.

§ 402. Objec. 4. You are to swear Obedience to them only as Church-Magistrates appointed by the King. Answ. That cannot be true: because it is as our Ordinaries who have the power of Ordination, Excommunication and Absolution, and in the exercise of this power: But the power of the Keys is not Magistical.

§ 403. V. The fifth Controversie is about Re-ordination. Now in this the Non-conformists are the more like, 1. Because in our most Publick Meetings before the King and the Lords and the Bishops, some of them (as Dr. Gunning oft) have openly declared that the Ordination which hath been in England without Bishops is null, and those that were to be Ordained without them are no Ministers, but Lay-men. And his Majesty, himself hath signified openly his own Judgment accordingly, that he would no more take the Sacrament from such as from Lay-men. So that it being thus openly declared to be their fence, and no one of their Bishops or Doctors contradicting it, we have reason to think that by submitting to be Re-ordained, Men do interpretatively confess the nullity of their former Ordination. 2. And it is a new thing, contrary to the Judgment and Practice of all the Reformed Churches.
Part II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Churches. 3. And there is a Canon among those called the Apostles which is express against it, commanding the Deposition of the Ordainers and Ordained. 4. I have fully proved in my Differtation of Church Government, That the said Ordination without Diocesan is valid, and better than the Prelates, and was performed by such Bishops as were in Ignatius’s days; viz. City-Priests who had Presbyters under them: And no Man hath attempted to answer what I have there said. 5. And at last to be Re-ordained, seemeth but a taking of God’s Name in vain, and a solemn praying to God for that which they have already, and a pretending de novo to receive that Authority which they had before. And to come, as upon a Stage, thus ludicrously to play with holy Things, to fulfil the Humours, and confirm the claim of Ulispers, is somewhat hard.

§ 404. VI. The sixth Controversie is about the first Declaration, [I do here declare my unfeigned Affent and Content to all and every thing contained and prefered in and by the Book entituled, &c.] * Here the Non-conformists have to do with two forts; the willing and the unwilling Conformists. The first say that this Declaration may be lawfully made in its proper sense. The Non-conformists refer you for the Answer of this, to all their foregoing Exceptions against the Book, besides what they have said against our Order of Diocesan, and so against the Book of Ordination, which afferrth three Orders as of Divine Infffation! And besides all their Exceptions against the New Common Prayer Book, in the Points wherein it is much worse than the old.

§ 405. And for the Latitudinarians and Unwilling Conformists, their Plea is, That [the use of the Forms and Ceremonies is lawful, and that is all that they are required to subscribe to; because the Act faith they shall declare their Affent and Content to the use of all things, &c.] They do not subscribe their Consent to the thing in it fell, but to so much as is to be used by them, and so far only as that they will use it. But this is so gross, that the Non-conformists cannot stretch so far. For, 1. What Man can doubt whether all things in the Book were intended for some use or other? though not each part to the same use? Did the Convocation and Parliament contrive and impose things, which they themselves did judge to be of no use? Is not the Calendar and Direction for reading Scripture, of use to tell you what Days to keep, and what Chapters to read? Is not the Rubrick of use to direct you in the several Offices? Is not the Doctrinal Determination about the Saving of Baptized Infants (and other such like) of use to tell us its Doctrine is taken to be true? Doubtless every part hath its intended usefulness. 2. The words are as express to exclude such stretching as could well be devised: For, 1. It is Affent as well as Consent, which is declared; 2. It is to all and every thing, which includeth every word: 3. It is to every thing contained in it, as well as to every thing preferred by it: And the Doctrinals (as of three Orders five Divine, &c.) are contained in it. 3. To put all out of doubt, since this Act the Parliament made another Act; to which while Provilios were offered, the whole House of Lords sent it back to the Commons with this Provisto, That those that declared Appent and Consent to all and every thing, &c. should be obllged to understand it only as to the use of what was required of them, and not as to the things in themselves considered. The Commons refused this Provisto: and the Houses had a meeting about it; in which the Commons delivered their Reasons against that Exposition of the Declaration: And in the end the Lords did acquiece in their Reasons, and confented to call out the Provisto: so that now the Parliament hath expounded their own words, and there is no more pretence left for the Latitudinarian Equivocation.

§ 406. But if it were otherwife, is the use of all things contained there lawful? 1. To what they say about the Apocrypha, it is answered, That it is not lawful to read publickly in the Church, on any days, so many (above One hundred in two Months) of the Apocryphal Chapters, in the same manner, time and title (of Leſsons) with the holy Scripture, with no fuller distinction: When 1. Experience tells us, That many of the People (who understand not the Greek word Apocrypha) are thereby drawn to take them for Canonical Scripture, (being also bound up with it in the Books.) 2. And when Tobit, Susanna, Bell and the Dragon, Judith,
are ordinarily by Protestants taken for Fables or Untruths, and therefore not to much as pious Instruc-

§ 407. 2. And for the disorder and defects of the Common Prayer, before prove, they seem but ill matter for such an unlieved Affent and Confent.

§ 408. 3. And for the new Claufe of the Salvation of Baptized Infants as certain by the Word of God, the Scruple were the lefs, if it were confined to the Infants of true Believers: But our Church admitth of all Infants, even of Infidels and Heathens without distinction, if they have but Godfathers and Godmothers; and the Canon enforceth Ministers to Baptize them all, without exception. And when in our Publick Debate with the Bifhops, I inftanced in one of my Parifhioners that was a professed Infidel, and yet said he would come and make the common Pro-
fession for his Child for Custom sake; even Dr. Sanderson the Bifhop of Lincoln anfwered me *, That if there were Godfathers it had a fufficient Title; which Bifhop Morley and others of them confirmed. Now these Godfathers being not Adoptions nor Owners, we cannot fee it certain in God's Word, That all thofe are faved whom they preffent to Baptifm; nor nor whom ungodly and hypocritical Christians prefent: for how can the Covenant fav'e the Child, as the Child of a Believer, which faveth not the Parent as a Believer himfelf: So that while unmeet Subjects are Baptized, we cannot Subscribe to this Affertion.

§ 409. And it is Strange, that when Infant-Baptifm it felf, and commonly faid by thefe Men, to be a Tradition, and not commanded or found in Scripture, that yet they find it certain by the Word of God that Baptized Infants are faved! § 410. But fome fay, That it is certain that all Infants (fo dying,) are faved, and therefore all Baptized Infants. But 1. They never fhou'd us any Word of God, from whence that certainty may appear to us! nor have they anfwered what is faid againft it. 2. And what faying with holy Things is this, to fpeak that of the Baptized only which they mean of all! As if they would perfwade People that it is fome effect of Baptism, and priviledge of the Children of the Church, which they think belongeth to all the Children of Heathens.

§ 411. Some fay that the word [All] Children is not in, and of SOME is true, Anfw. The Indefinite here, according to common Speech, is equivalent to an Universal : [Children baptized, dying before actual fign] is equal to all Children baptized: your Confidences muft tell you, that if you limit it to fome only, you crofs the fence of the Compilers of the Liturgy. I am sure Dr. Gunning, who brought it in, hath publicly expr'd his fentence for the Salvation of all fuch Infants.

§ 412. 4. As to the Practice of Baptizing all Infants that can have Godfathers, and of Confirming, Adminiftrating the Lord's Supper, Abftifing, Burying, &c. with unjuft Application to Perfons unfit for the Sacraments or Titles given them, we know not how to Affent and Confent to the Impoftion or Form of, as long as we know that the fame Church which commandeth us to fee thofe words, doth command us to apply them to unworthy Perfons: And how it may harden the Wicked to Perdition, is easily conjectured.

§ 413. 5. And for the Ceremonies they are fo largely written about on both fides, that I need not fay here to repute the Arguments. For my own part, as I would receive the Lord's Supper kneeling, rather then not at all, so I have no fence for tho'fe that wear the Surplice, though I never wore it. But that Man may adjoin fuch a Human Sacrament as the Croft in Baptifm, to God's Sacrament, I am not fatisfied in: And cannot Affent or Confent to it, that fuch a folemn dedicating Sign, should be Stated in God's Publick Worship by Man: 1. It is a (transient) Image, used as a means of Worship: Therefore unlawful by the Second Command-
ment. 2. It is a fted Human Ordinance, in God's Worship; an infirmuted, fixed Sacramental, dedicating Sign. 3. It is no lefs than the Covenant of Grace which it fignifieth, yea somewhat of God's part as well as ours, and acted by the Minifter, and nor by the Parents, as a profefling Sign. It fignifieth the Croft and Sufferings of Chrift, the Ground and Seal of the Covenant on his part. And if God would have had fuch Sacraments used, he could as well have-inftituted them as he did the reft.

VII. § 414. The 7th Controverfie is about Actual Administration according to the Common Prayer and Canons. 1. We dare not when we give the Sacrament to others, refufe it to all tho'fe faithful Perfons, who fear to take it kneeling lef it be Idolatry. Though I can fo take it my felf, I cannot execute fo unjust an Impoftion, as to call out Chrift's Members upon that account, no more than to call out Children,
Children for crying, or for being Children! And I think it better for me not to meddle with the Sacrament at all, than to be guilty of such Oppression, Uncharitablenes, Injustice and Division, and to do such actual wrong to one part, that I may give the Sacrament to the other part.

§ 415. 2. And I dare not knowingly Baptize those Children that are not in the Covenant of God, nor call every Child regenerate, without exception, that can but have Godfathers. Nor dare I (while I receive all thefts) reject all the Children of godly Parents, who dare not bring them to be Baptized with the Sacrament of the Croft. To say that others forbid me is nothing, while I must be the Executor of their Decrees.

§ 416. 3. And I dare not, if I undertake a Pastoral Charge, give the Sacrament to the notoriously unworthy, though the Chancellor absoleve him (or never question him) nor utterly neglect all that part of Discipline, which belongeth to my Office, though Men forbid it, nor be guilty of all that corruption and confusion, which the neglect of Discipline bringeth into the Church.

4. Nor dare I absolutely pronounce a wicked Man forgiven, if in his sickness, he superficially far, I repent.

5. Nor dare I at the Burial of every notorious wicked Man, that is not Unbaptized, Excommunicate, nor a Self-murderer, solemnly pronounce, That [God hath taken to himself the Soul of this our dear Brother, &c.] left I harden the wicked in their damnable Prefumption. If the Child of the holiest Parent die unbaptized; we must not say those words for it, that is, in their Language, we must not bury it by the Office of the Church with Christiain Burial; but such are numbered with the Excommunicate and Self-murderers. But if a hundred Thieves, Adulterers, Drunkards die; or Murderers or Traytors be hanged for their sin; though they never so much as far, I repent, but justify themselves to the last breath, yet must we bury them all with these words, [God hath taken to himself the Soul of this our dear Brother] to teach the People to give him the lie, who giveth himself the lie by preaching that the Impenitent and Wicked are not faved: And to teach all the most ungodly to look to speed as well as others: Purgatory is a better Doctrine than this; for it leacheth the Wicked under some awa. Yet all this we must Affent and Confent to, and live, if we will have leave to preach in the Publrick Churches. Nor do the little poor Evasions used for these things, seem worth the answering. It tendeth to the vitiating all of the Commonwealth, to pronounce the Salvation of every Traytor, Thief, Murderer, as well as of Drunkards, Whoremongers and Atheists, who never so much as far, We repent. How can we preach the Misery of Sinners, or the Necessity of Renovation and Sanctification, without contradicting our selves, when we must tell a Man in the Pulpit, [That except be repent be fliall perish; and if he live after the fifth be flialh die; and without bimself he shall not see God]: And yet if he die without one Penitent word, we must say, [God hath taken to himself the Soul of this our dear Brother].

So much of the Controversie between the present Conformists and Non-conformists.

§ 417. Having thus interposed the State of the Controversie, and Caufe of the Ejected Minifters of England, and so being got paff Bartbolomew-day, I proceed in the History of the consequent Calamities. When I was abente (refolving to meddle in such Bifinesse there no more) Mr. Calamy and the other Minifters of London, who had Acquaintance at the Court, were put in hope that the King would grant that by way of Indulgence, which was before denied them: And that before the Act was paff, it might be provided, That the King should have power to dispence with such as deferred well of him in his Restoration, or whom he pleased: But that was frustrate*. And after that, they were told that the King had power himself to dispence in such Cafes, as he did with the Dutch and French Churches: Are some kind of Petition (I havenot a Copy of it) they drew up to offer the King: But when they had done it, they were fo far from procuring their Desires, that there fled abroad grievous Threatnings against them, that they should incur a Prenunieflor fuch a bold attempt: when they were drawn to it at firft, they did it with much hiftanfly (through former Experience) and they worded it fo cautefly, that it extended not to the Papifts. Some of the Independens presumed to fay, That the Reason why all our Addresses for Liberty had not succeed, was because we did not extend it to the Papifts, and that for their parts, they saw no reason why

* If I should at length re-

cite the Story of this Event,

and what peremptory Promises they had, and how all was

turned to their Rebufke and

Scorn, it would more increa-

se the Readers affonishment.
why the Papists should not have Liberty of Worship as well as others; and that it was better for them to have it, than for all us to go without it. But the Presbyterians still answered to that motion, That the King might himself do what he pleased; and if his Wisdom thought meet to give Liberty to the Papists, let the Papists petition for it, as they did for theirs: But if it be expected by any that it shall be forced upon them, to become Petitioners for Liberty for Popery, they should never do it, whatever be the illue: Nor shall it be laid to their work.

§ 418. On the 26th of December. (1662.) The King sent forth a Declaration, expressing his purpose to grant some Indulgence or Liberty in Religion (with other matters) not excluding the Papists, many of whom had deferred well to him. When this came out the ejected Ministers began to think more confidently of some Indulgence to themselves: Mr. Nye also, and some others of the Independents, were encouraged to go to the King, and when they came back, told us, That he was now resolved to give them Liberty. On the Second of January Mr. Nye came to me, to treat about our owning the King's Declaration, by returning him Thanks for it; and I perceived that it was designed that we must be the Defenders or Procurers of it: But I told him my Resolutions to meddle no more in such Matters, having incurred already too much hatred and displeasure by endeavouring Unity: And the rest of the Ministers also had enough of it, and resolved they would not meddle: So that Mr. Nye and his Brethren, thought it partly long of us that they might of their intended Liberty. But all were agreeable to have any thing to do with the Indulgence or Toleration of the Papists, thinking it at least unfit for them.

§ 419. The Independent Brethren also told me, That the Lord Chancellor had told them that their Liberty was motioned before when the King's Declaration came out, and that we spake against it, even I by name. But when I told them what words I spake (before received) they had no more to say: But now they grew greatly affected to the E. of B. (a Papist) thinking that the King's Declaration was procured by him, and that he and the Papists must be the means (for their own ends) to procure our Liberty: But the Declaration took not at all with the Parliament or People, and the E. of B. setting himself against the Lord Chancellor (accusing him by Articles of High Treason in the Lord's House,) was cast off by the King as an Incendiary, and forced to hide his head.

§ 420. Good old Mr. Simon Asb, was buried the very Even of Bartholomew-day, and went seafolly to Heaven at the very time when he was to be cast out of the Church. He was one of our oldest Non-conformists, of the old Strain; for now Conforming is quite another thing than before the Wars: He was a Christian of the Primitive Simplicity: not made for Controversie, nor inclined to disputes, but of a holy Life, and a cheerful mind, and of a fluent Elegancy in Prayer, full of Matter and Excellent Words: His ordinary Speech was holy and edifying: Being confined much to his House by the Gout (and having a good Estate, and a very good Wife, inclined to Entertainments and Liberality) his House was very much frequented by Ministers: He was always cheerful, without profuse Laughter or Liberty, or vain Words: never troubled with doubtfuls of his Interest in Chrift, but taling the continual Love of God, was much disposed to the Communicating of it to others, and Conforting dejected Souls: His eminent Sincerity made him exceedingly loved and honoured; insomuch as Mr. Gataker, Mr. Whistaker, and others the most excellent Divines of London, when they went to God, desired him to preach their Funeral Sermons: He was zealous in bringing in the King; having been Chaplain to the Earl of Manchester in the Wars, he fell under the obloquy of the Cromwellians for crowling their Designs: He wrote to Col. Sanders, Col. Barton, and others in the Army when G. Monk came in, to engage them for the King. Having preached his Lecture in Cornhill, being heared, he took cold in the Velvety, and thinking it would have proved but one of his old fits of the Gout, he went to Highgate; but it turned to a Fever: He died as he lived, in great Confortation, and cheerful Exercise of Faith, molested with no Fears or Doubts discomfiting: exceeding glad of the Company of his Friends: and greatly encouraging all about him, with his joyful Expressions in respect of Death, and his approaching Change; so that no Man could seem to be more fearless of it. When he had at last lain speechless for some time, as soon as I came to him, gladness fo excited his Spirits, that he spake joyfully and freely of his going to God to thole about him:
him: I stayed with him his last Evening, till we had long expected his Change (being speechless all that day), and in the night he departed.

§ 421. On the first of January following was buried good Mr. James Nalton, another Minifter of the Primitive Sincerity: A good Linguist; a zealous excellent Preacher, commonly called, The weeping Prophet, because his Sermons oft exprest it fell by Tears: of a most holy blameless Life: Though Learned, yet greatly averse to Controverie and Disputes: In almost all things like Mr. Abk, except his natural temper, and the influence it had upon his Soul: both of them so composed of Humility, Piety, and Innocence, that no Enemy of Godlines found that knew them, had a word (of sense) to fly against them! They were scorned as Puritans as their Brethren, but escaped all the particular Exceptions and Obloquy which many others underwent: But as one was cheerful, so the other was from his Youth surprized with violent Fits of Melancholy once in a few years, which though it distracted him not, yet kept him, till it was over, in a most despondent Cafe; and next unto Defpair: And in his health he was over humble, and had too mean Thoughts of himself and all that was his own, and never put out himself among his Brethren into any Employment which had the least Shew of Offentation. Less than a year before he died, he fell into a grievous fit of Melancholy, in which he was so confident of his Grace'sfelfs, that he usually cried out, [O not one spark of Grace, not one good Desire or Thought! I can no more pray than a post! If an Angel from Heaven would tell me that I have true Grace, I would not believe him.]; and yet at that time did he pray very well; and I could demonstrate his sincerity so much to him in his Desires and Life, that he had not a word to fly against it: But yet was harrassing still on the same firing, and would hardly be persuaded that he was Melancholy. It pleased God to recover him from this fit, and shortly after he told me, That now he confessed that what I said was true, and his Defpair was all but the effect of Melancholy, and rejoiced much in God's deliverance: But shortly after came out the Bartholomew Act, which called him out of his Place and Minifttry, and his heart being troubled with the sad Cafe of the Church, and the multitude of Minifters call out and silenced, and at his own unferviceableness, it revived his Melancholy (which began to work all with some fears of Want, and his Family's Distrefs), and this call him so low, that the violence of it wore him away like a true Martian, so that without any other Dilecte, but meer Melancholy, he confumed to Death, continuing still his sad Despondency, and Self-condemning Means. By which it appeareth how little Judgment is to be made of a Man's Condition by his Melancholy Apprehensions, or the Fadness of his Mind at Death; and in what a different manner Men of the fame Eminency in Holiness and Sincerity may go to God! Which I have the rather shewed by the instance of those two Saints, than whom this Age hath scarce produced and set up a pair more pious, humble, jilt, sincere, laborious in their well performed Work, unblameable in their Lives, not meddling with State Matters, nor Secular Affairs, and therefore well spoken of by all! Only the Interejas of the piece of the Long Parliament (which ejected the ref, and was called The Round, and chearfully Cronwell till he pulld them down alfo) did causeth them to persecute Mr. Nalton, with many other London Minifters, at the time when Mr. Love was beheaded by them, for being true to the Covenant in endeavouring to reform the present King: And then when good old Mr. Sackton, Dr. Drake, (a very holy man) Mr. Jenkins, and many more of them were in the Tower Prisoners, Mr. Nalton and Mr. Cotton were glad to fly into Holland, where the latter died, and the former lived to see himself, and every one of those imprisoned Minifters, with the ref of their Brethren, all call out, and forbidden upon pain of Imprisonment and Banishment to preach the Gospel in the King's Dominions.

§ 422. And as we were forbidden to preach, so we were vigilantly watcht in private, that we might not exhort one another or pray together; and (as I formerly told them off, they would use us when they had silenced us) every Meeting for Prayer was called a dangerous Meeting for Sedition, or a Conventicle at least. I will now give but one instance of their kindness to my self. One Mr. Seale in Hatton Garden having a Son (his only Child, and very towardy and hopeful) who had been long sick of a dangerous Fever, (as I remember a Quarantin) and by relapse brought low that the Physicians thought he would die, desired a few Friends, of whom I was one, to meet at his House to pray for him: and because it pleased God to hear our Prayers, and that very night to restore him, his Mother shortly after falling sick of a Fever, we were desired to meet to pray for her Recovery (the last day when she was near to Death): Among those that were to be there, it fell
out, through some other occasions, that Dr. Bates and I did fail them, and could not come: But it was known at Westminster that we were appointed to be there! Whereupon two Justices of Peace were procured from the distant parts of the Town, one from Westminster, and one from Clerkenwell, to come with the Parliaments Serjeants at Arms, to Apprehend us! They came in the Evening, when part of the Company were gone, (there were only a few of their Kindred there, besides two or three Ministers to pray:) They came upon them into the Room where the Gentlewoman lay ready to die, and drew the Curtains, and took some of their Names, but missing of their Prey, returned disappointed! What a joy would it have been to them that reproached us as Presbyterian sedition Schismatics, to have found but such an occasion as praying with a dying Woman, to have laid us up in Prison! Yet that same Week, there was published a witty malicious Invective against the silenced Ministers, in which it was affirmed, that Dr. Bates and I were at Mr. Beal’s Houle such a day keeping a Convention! But the Lyar had so much extraordinary modesty, as within a day or two to print a second Edition, in which those words (so easily to be disproved) were left out. Such Eyes were every where then upon us.

§ 423. Many holy excellent Ministers were about these times bid in the Jails in many Counties, for private Meetings to preach and pray! and some for venturing to preach publickly in Churches which had no Ministers: (for so many were called out, that all their Places could not presently be supplied.) In Cheshire Mr. Cook of Chelfa was imprisoned, who not long before had lain long a Prisoner in Southwark (by Lambton’s Faction) for Delivering up Chelfa to Sir George Booth for the Restoring of the King. In Somersetshire were imprisoned Mr. Norman of Bridgewater, Mr. Allen of Taunton, and others: In Dorsetshire were imprisoned Mr. Francis Bamfield, Mr. Peter Ince, (taken at a private Meeting in Shafsbury,) Mr. Saeclever, and divers others: In Dorchester Jail they preached to the People of the Town who came to them, every day once, and on the Lord’s Day twice; till at last the Jury was corrected, and an Order made against Taylors letting in People into the Prisons to hear. The rest at last were released upon some Bonds given for their good Behaviour, but Mr. Francis Bamfield abode in the Common Jail several years, although he was all along against the Parliaments War. His Brother, Mr. T. Bamfield, was a Member of many Parliaments and Speaker of the Parliament in Richard Crow- well’s time, which the Army broke: He was Recorder of Exeter; and though he fequestred Recorder, had Satisfaction from the City for his Place, yet he (success- ing him in time of Cromwell’s Uprisal) restored to the Poor of the City all that he had received in that place, and persuaded Ministers to re- store * all that they received from Sequestrations in time of the Uprisal, because it was not Law that gave it them. (Though they had but their Bread while they preached, which was hardly restored). He was chosen by the Gentlemen of the Weft to carry their Remonstrance to encourage General Monk when he came in! He is a Man of most exemplary Sincerity and Conscientiousness: He never took the Covenant, nor any other Oath in his Life, till he was a Member of the Parliament that brought that in the King, and then he was put upon taking the Oath of Supremacy, which I had much ado (being my dear and much valued Friend) to persuade him to, so fearful was he of Oaths, or any thing that was doubtful and like to sin: Yet hath this prudent holy Man been laid in Jail as well as his Brother, because (having a worthy Minifter, Mr. Philips, in his Houle) he would let open his Doors, and meet freely for preaching and prayer in his Houle, forbidding none: But though he and his Brother were the like! Men I knew in England successfully to have persuaded those that are contrary minded, that it is unlawful for a Parliament to take up Arms to defend themselves, or punifh Manufactures, against the Will and Word of the King, yet this would not keep either of them out of Prison: And so their endeavors for that work were ftopt against their wills.

§ 424. It is worthy the mentioning how God’s strange Judgments about this time, were turned by the Devil to his own advantage. Most certainly abundance of real Prodiges and marvellous Works of God were done, which lily he did not cause in vain! But the over-fervent spirits of some Fanatics (Fifth-Monarchy- men) caus’d them presently to take them up boldly with the Commentaries of their own Applications, and too haftily venting Matters of Common Report before they were tried, they published at several times three Volumes of the History of their Prodiges, in which there were divers leffer Matters magnified, and some things which
which proved false: And though upon strictest Examination both I and all Men are convinced that very many of the Things were true (as the drying up of the River Derwent in Derbyshire, upon no known Cause, in Winter, the Earth opening and swallowing a Woman near Alburn in the same County, upon her own Imprecation, the Appearance of an Army to many near Montgomery, and abundance more); yet were Fallhoods thrust in through their heady Temerity and Credulity; whereby it came to pass, that these Wonders were so far from moving Men to Repentance, or the fear of God's Judgments, that they greatly hardened them, and made them say, [These Fanatics are the odious lying Discoverers of the World, that to cheat the poor People into a foolish Humour, care not to bely even God himself]. And what the Fanatics had been guilty of was imputed to the ejected Ministers and their Followers, by them who thought it their interest to do so. So that the poor obdurate Enemies of Godliness did not only lose the benefits of God's strange and dreadful Warnings, but were much hardened by them, to the increace of their Enmity.

§ 425. In the beginning of June 1662, the old peaceable Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Juxten, died, and Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London, succesced in his room.

§ 426. About these Times the talk of Liberty to the silenced Ministers (for what ends I know not) was revived again, and we were blamed by many that we had never once petitioned the Parliament (for which we had sufficient Reasons); and it was talkt about that they were resolveed to grant us either an Indulgence (by way of Difjunction) or a Comprehension by some additional Act, taking in all that could Conform in some particular Points. Hereupon there was great talk upon the Question, Whether the way of Indulgence, or the way of Comprehension were more desirable? And it was debated as seriously, as if indeed such a thing as one of them had been expected. And Parliament Men themselves perilled them that it would be done. The Sectarians (as they then called all that were for Liberty of Sects, and for separated Churches) were for the way of Indulgence, that the Act might not enlarge the Terms of the Publick Ministry, but give Liberty for gathering private Churches to all: Else they thought that when the most considerables of the Ministry were embodied with the Conformists; their own Exclusion and Suppreffion would be unavoidable: The most of the Independents yet were resolveed against Petitioning for the Papists Liberty as well as the Presbyterians.

But some of the Politick Leaders of them said, You are blind if you see not that this very Act of Uniformity was made so rigorous, and the weight of Conformity so much increased, that so the Number of the ejected Ministers might be so great, as to force them to be glad of a general Toleration, which might take in the Papists: And if you think to stand it out, they will yet bring you to it in despite of you: They will increase your Burdens, and lay you all in Prisons, till you are glad to petition for such a Toleration: and stand it out as long as you can, you shall be forced to procure the Papists Liberty; and the odium of it shall fall on the Bishops, but on you that are so much against it: The Bishops shall speak against it; and they will force you to beg for it who are against it: And if you will not do it now, you do but say till the Market rise, and your Sufferings be made greater, and you shall be glad to do it at dearer rates. On the other side, the Presbyterians said, it is against our Covenant to promote Popery and Schism, and whatever we suffer, we will never do it; nor will we contrive that odium with the People, nor contrive so much to betray them by deceiving them: And if we should do it, we are assured we shall be never the better for it: for the Toleration shall be clogged with the Renunciation of all Obligations from the Covenant, or some one other particular Condition, which shall seem no matter of Religion, which they know we will not conform to, and the Papists will; and so when we have petitioned for a Common Liberty, we shall have the odium, and they only the Liberty. And thus they fare still, and medled not with that Busines.

§ 427. For my own part, I medled but little with any such Business since the failing of that which incurred so much displeasure; and the rather because, though the Brethren Commissioned with me bucked to me as to the Cause, yet they were not forward enough to bear their part of the ungrateful part in the management, nor of the consequent displeasure: But yet when an Honourable Person was earnest with me, to give him my Judgment, Whether the way of Indulgence or Comprehension was more desirable, that he might discern which way to go in Parliament himself; I gave him my Thoughts in the following Paper, though I thought it was to little purpose.
SIR,

Your first Question is, Whether the way of Comprehension or Indulgence be more desirous?

\textit{Answ.} If the Comprehension were truly Charitable and Catholick, upon the Terms of the Primitive Simplicity in Doctrine, Discipline and Worship, extending to all that the Apostolick Churches in their times received; it would end all our Differences and Miferies, except what in this imperfect state of the Church Militant must be still expected: and it would prevent the sin and everlasting wees of multitudes of Souls. But because there is no hope of this, by reason of the ignorance, impiety, uncharitableness, malice and factiousness of the Times; \textit{rebus sic stantibus}, it is most evident that no Friend of the Church should be for Comprehension without Indulgence; nor for Indulgence without the Enlargement of the Act of Uniformity to a greater Comprehension; but for the Conjunction of both: which will attain the ends of both, and avoid the chief Inconveniences of either alone.

1. The way of Comprehension alone is not sufficient (on Terms not Catholick, which must be expected): 1. Because such Comprehension will still leave out many worthy Persons, whose Gifts God would have exercised for his Churches Service. And he that rightly valueth the preaching of the Gospel, and the saving of Souls, would rather choose to have a Millstone hang’d about his Neck, and be cast into the Sea, than unnecessarily to silence any faithful Ministers of Christ. 2. Because even the Culpable should be punished but according to the measure of their offence: Those therefore whole Labours are like to do more good in the Church than their Faults to do harm, should be Corrected for those Faults, with such personal gentle Chastisement, as may not take them off their Labours for the Church. It is a lighter Punishment to honest Ministers, to make Brick as the 
\textit{Israeltes in Egypt}, so they may wittal but preach the Gospel, than to be forbidden to preach for the Saving of the People. See \textit{1 Thess.} 2. 14, 15, 16. 3. Especially considering that thelobs by silencing them redoundeth to the Souls of others, especially the ignorant and profane: and why should \textit{other Men} be denied the Means of their Salvation, and so peril, because a Minister differeth from the State in some lesser things? 4. Considering also that there are not competent Men enough to do the Work of the Gospel without them; Nay, there will be much want when all are employed. 5. It is desirable that his Majesty have Power to indulge the Peaceable, and abate Penalties, as in his Wilfom he shall fea moit conducive to the Peace of Church and State, and not to be too much tied up by an indispensible Establishment. These Reasons (and many more) are considerable for the way of Indulgence.

2. The way of Indulgence alone is not sufficient; but first, the Law should be made more Comprehensive: 1. Because indeed the present Impositions and Restrictions of the Law (considering also the direful Penalty) are such (especially the Declaration and Subscription required), as the Age that is further from the heels of Truth, will so describe and denminate, as will make our Polity with too late that the good of Souls, the welfare of the Church, and the Honour of our Nation had been better provided for. 2. Because it is exceeding desirable that as much Strength and Unity as may be, may be found in the established Body of the Clergy: which will be the glory of the Church, the advantage of the Gospel, the prevention of many sin of Uncharitableness, and the great Safety and ease of his Majesty and the Realm: When as mere Indulgence, (if frustrated by Restrictions, will be unsatisfactory, and not attain its ends; but if any thing large and full) will drain almost all the established Churches, of a more considerable part of the People than I will now mention; and will keep much disunion among the Ministers. 3. If there be no way but that of Indulgence, it will load his Majesty with too much of the offence and murther of the People. If he indulge but few, those that expected it will lay all the blame on him: If he indulge all or most that are meet for it, he will much offend the Parliament and Prelates, who will think the Law is vain: But a power of indulging a small Number, when the most are embodied by a Comprehension, will be invincible to God and the King, and the Common Peace, and justly offensive unto none. 4. The Indulgence will be hardly attained by so many as need it, and are meet for it; most being distant, many friends and moneyed, and too many misrepresented by their Adversaries as unworthy. 5. If the Indulgence be for private Meetings only, it will occasion such Jealousies that they preach Se-
PART II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

435

dition, &c., as will not permit them long to enjoy it in peace. These and many more Reasons are against the way of Indulgence alone. It is therefore most evident that the way defirable, is first a Comprehension of as many fit Persons as may be taken in by Law; and then a power in his Majesty to indulge the Remnant so far as conducive to the Peace and Benefit of Church and State.

Your second Question is, What abatement is defirable for Comprehension?

I answer; Suppose there is no hope of the Terms of Primitive Simplicity and Catholicism, that we speak only of what might now be hoped for.

1. It is most needful that the old and new Subscriptions and Professions of Affent and Consent to all things in the Book of Ordination, Liturgy, and the two Articles concerning them be abated.

2. That the Declaration be abated; especially as to the disobligeing all other Persons in the Three Kingdoms from the endeavouring in their places any lawful Alterations of the Government of the Church: And that the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy be the Title of Men's subjection.

3. That the Minister be not bound to use the Cross and Surplice, and read the Liturgy himself, if another (by whomsoever) be procured to do it: So be it he preach not against them.

4. That (according to Pope Leo III. determination in such a Case) the Bishops do by a general Confirmation (in which each Man approvable to have his part, upon due trial) confirm the Ordination formerly made by lawful Saints without Diocesan, without recorning them.

5. That what the Courts will do about Kneeling at the Receiving of the Lord's Supper may be done by others, and not the Minister forced to refuse Men merely on that account.

6. It is very defirable that Oaths of Obedience to the Diocesan be forbord, as long as Men may be punished for Disobedience.

7. It is exceeding defirable that Reformation of Church-Government (by Suffrags, and the Rural Deanries, &c.) be made according to his Majesty's Will expres'd in his Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs.

To your third question, Of the Extent and Terms of the Indulgence, it being to be left to his Majesty's Wisdom, I shall not presume to give you my Answer.

§ 428. Instead of Indulgence and Comprehension, on the last day of June 1662, the Act against Private Meetings for Religious Exercises past the House of Commons, and shortly after was made a Law. The Sum of it was, That [every Person above sixteen years old, who is present at any Meeting under colour or pretence of any Exercise of Religion, in other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy or Practice of the Church of England, where there are five Persons more than that Hanful], shall for the first Offence by a Justice of Peace be Recorded, and then to fail three Months till be pay fine pound; and for the second Offence six Months till be pay ten pound; and the third time, being convicted by a Jury, shall be bound to some of the (American) Plantations, excepting New-England or Virginia. The Calamity of the Act, besides the main Matter was, 1. That it was made to ambiguous, that no man that ever I met with, could tell what was a violation of it, and what not; not knowing what was [allowed by the Liturgy or Practice of the Church of England in Families], because the Liturgy medleth not with Families, and among the diversity of Family Practice, no man knoweth what to call the Practice of the Church. 2. Because so much Power was given to the Justices of Peace, to record a man an Offender without a Jury, and if he did it cauletely, we are without any remedy, seeing he was made a Judge: According to the plain words of the Act, if a man did but preach and pray, or read some licenced Book and sing Psalms, he might have more than four pretend, because there are allowed by the practice of the Church in the Church; and the Act feemeth to grant an Indulgence for place and number, be it the quality of the Exercise be allowed by the Church; which must be meant publicly because it medleth with no private Exercise. But when it cometh to the trial, these Pleas with the Justices are vain: and if men do but pray, it is taken for granted, that it is an Exercise not allowed by the Church of England; and to Jail they go.
§ 429. And now came in the Peoples Trial, as well as the Minifters: While the Danger and Sufferings lay on the Minifters alone, the People were very courageous, and exhorted them to stand it out, and Preach till they went to Prifon: But when it came to be their own Cafe,they were as venturous till they were once Surprized and Imprifoned; but then their Judgments were much altered, and they that cenfured Minifters before as Cowardly, because they preached not publiquely whatever followed, did now think that it was better to preach often in secreto to a few, than but once or twice in publick to many; and that Secrecy was no fin when it tended to the furtherance of the Work of the Gospel, and to the Churches Good: Efpecially the Rich were as cautious as the Minifters. But yet their Meetings were so ordinary, and so well known, that it greatly tended to the Jailor's Commo-
dity.

§ 430. It was a great Strait that People were in, efpecially that dwell near any public Officer, or malicious Enemy (as who doth not?) Many durft not pray in their Families, if above four Perfons came in to dine with them. In a Gentleman's Houfe it is ordinary for more than four, of Visitors, Neighbours, Meflengers, or one fort or other, to be mofl or many days at Dinner with them: and then many durft not go to Prayer, and fome durft scarce crave a Blessing on their Meat, or give God thanks for it: Some thought they might venture if they withdrew into another Room, and left the Strangers by themfelves: But others faid, It is all one if they be but in the fame Houfe, though out of hearing, when it came to the Judgment of the Juftices. In London, where the Houfes are contiguous, some thought if they were in feveral Houfes, and heard one another through the Wall or a Window, it would avoid the Law: But others faid, It is all in vain whileft the Juftice is judge whether it was a Meeting or no. Great Lawyers faid, If you come on a fift or businefs, though you be present at Prayer or Sermon, it is no breach of the Law, because you met not [on pretence of a Religious Exercise]: But tho$ that tried them faid, Such Words are but Wind when the Juftices come to judgeyou.

§ 431. And here the Fanaticks called Quakers did greatly relieve the fober People for a time: for they were fo refolute, and gloried in their Conflancy and Sufferings, that they afembled openly (at the Bull and Mouth near Aldersgate) and were dragged away daily to the Common Jail; and yet defifed not, but the reft came the next day neverthelefs: So that the Jail at Newgate was filled with them. Abundance of them died in Prifon, and yet they continued their Affem-
blies till! And the poor deluded Souls would sometimes meet only to fit still in Silence (when, as they faid, the Spirit did not fpeak): And it was a great Que-
 tion, Whether this Silence was a Religious Exercise not allowed by the Liturgy, &c. And once upon fome fuch Reafons as thefe, when they were tried at the Sevillaus in order to a Banifhment, the Jury acquitted them; but were grievously threat-
ened for it. After that another Jury did acquitt them, and fome of them were fined and imprifoned for it. But thus the Quakers fo employed Sir R. B. and the other Searchers and Prosecutors, that they had the lea leisure to look after the Meetings of Soberer men, which was much to their prefent eafe.

§ 432. And now the Divisions, or rather the Cenfures of the Non-conformers People against their Minifters and one another, began to increafe: which was long forefeen, but could not be avoided, and I that had incurred fo much the dif-
pleafure of the Prelates, and all their Party, by pleading for the Peace of the Non-conformists, did fall under more of their difpleafure than any one man be-
sides, as far as I could learn: And with me they joyned Dr. Bates, becaufe we went to the Publick Affembles, and also to the Common Prayer, even to the begin-
ing of it: Not that they thought worse of us than of others; but that they thought that our Example would do more harm: For I must bear them witnefs, that in the midit of all their Cenfures of my Judgment and Actions, they never cenfured my Affections and Intentions, nor abated their Charitable Efiimation of me in the main. And of the leading Prelates I had fo much fa-
vour in their hotteft Indignation, they thought what I did againft their In-
terelt was only in obedience to my Confeience. So that I fee by experience, that he that is impartially and sincerely for Truth and Peace and Piety, againft all Fa-
tions, fhall have his Honour acknowledged by the feveral Factions, whilft his Acti-
uons, as crofs to their Interelt, are deteload: Whereas he that joyneth with one of the Factions, fhall have both his Person and Actions condemned by the other, though his Party may applaud both.

§ 433.
§ 43. My Judgment was for the holding of Communion with Assemblies of both Parties; and ordinarily I went to some Parish Church, where I heard a Learned Minister that had not obtruded himself upon the People, but was chosen by them, and preached well; (as Dr. Wilkins, Dr. Tillotson, Mr. Neill, &c.) and I joined also in the Common Prayers of the Church: And as oft else as I had fit opportunity, I privately prayed and prayed myself, either with Independents or Presbyterian that desired me! And I professed to all upon all occasions, that though I justified not all things which they held or did in any of their Churches, yet as long as they made not any Sin of mine a Condition of my Communion with them, I would occasionally join with any true Church in publick or private: be it be they preached not for Heresie, nor against a holy and peaceable Life; nor turned not their Steen in Sedition or uncharitable Reviling one another: Even as I would hold occasional Communion with a Church of Lutherans, or Greeks, or Abyssines, if I passed through their Country. Though eterna paribus I preferred Publick Assemblies, which have the Magistrates Countenance, before Private; yet I more preferred those that have pure Worship and Discipline and powerful Preaching, before the scandalous, undisciplined, ignorant Churches, of ignorant and formal lifeless Ministers. And so far as I had my choice, my most usual Communion should be with those Assemblies that I thought the best; yet would I have occasional Communion with others, as Members of the Catholick Church, to shew my Catholick Communion with all the Body of Christ. Yea, and my ordinary Communion should be with a Church that used the Common Prayer, rather than with none, or with a worse: And the Lord's Day I would spend in Church Communion (it being principally appointed to that end), and not in any meer Family Worship, or Meetings with a few Chriftians occasionally which met not as a Church. This was my Resolution: But the confidence of many on the other fide was as great as mine could be: And their Arguments as many (though I thought not so good): Many Books came out against hearing Common Prayer, and against hearing any of the present Parish Ministers: One said to be by Mr. John Godwin, and another by one Mr. Brown of Worcesfer (a fervent, injudicious, honest Fifth-Monarchy-man) and many more that made the Common Prayer to be no les than Idolatry. Because it was not prescribed by the Scripture, they said it is false Worship; and false Worship they said was one Species of Idolatry; by which arguing they would have made every fault in any of our Prayers or other Worship to be Idolatry: For Scripture precepteth not any disorder or other fault in Prayer, but forbiddeth it: and so they may on the same account call it false Worship and Idolatry: But many honest People were led to depart too far from the Parish Assemblies, and from Charity and Unity it fell, by such weak reasonings as these. Yea, many turned Quakers, because the Quakers kept their Meetings openly, and went to Prifon for it cheerfully; and because they would not join with the late imposed Ministry and Worship, which was so bad in their esteem, that their hearts rofe against any Debate in which we would but question it.

When I hear men cry out against us as dangerous Schismatics, even when we deny not Communion with the conformable Parish Ministers, meerly because we cease not preaching when the Magistrates and Prelates command us so to do, notwithstanding the notorious necessity of the People; it bringeth to my thoughts two remarkable Passages there met with.

The first of the Eastern Churches (Alexandria, Antioch, Caphrea, &c.) which fluck to their old Pastors in private Meetings, and refused the new obtruded Bishops suspected of Arrianism, notwithstanding the Emperour Valens his Prohibition, and his contrary Commands, and his personal violent Impediment. The like was done in Constantin?s time.

The second is of many Bishops in Africa who by Generics were forbid to preach, and when they obeyed him not, their Tongues were cut out: And God by a Miracle justified their Disobedience to the King, and they spake as well as when they had their Tongues: Among many Historians who report this, I remember two credible ones, who profess that they saw and heard the men speak themselves, after the cutting out of their Tongues: One is Victor Uricens, and as I remember the other is Amasius Gecem.
§ 434. I confess some of those that were for Separation from the Parish Churches spake so plausibly, that it was no wonder that most of the Religious sort followed them. They said that

1. We have but lately sworn in the Covenant against Superstition, and for a Reformation: and shall we all so soon return to Liturgies and Ceremonies, &c. at the Will of Man?

2. As Conformity, so Separation, is now another thing than it was when the old Non-conformists wrote against the Brownists, the Churches being far more polluted.

3. We are commanded to avoid them that walk disorderly, and not to bid them good speed that bring false Doctrine, and not to eat with them &c. And Cyprian saith, That it belongeth to the People to avoid a bad Pastor, and that if they do it not, they must not think themselves innocent, though Synods call them not out. And what sin, say they, can be more heinous, than to break their Vows with God so solemnly, and in such dreadful Expressions, made? and to Subscribe under their Hands, That neither Prince nor People in Three Kingdoms, ought to reform such a corrupted undisciplin'd Church, no not though they have sworn to endeavour it? and not only to be Perjured themselves, but to Jullifie Three Kingdoms in the Guilt of Perjury; to disfigure our Nation before all the World, and teach them to name it Infide Theadum, the Perjured Island: To declare openly for the abominable Slavery of the Kingdoms, whole Liberty their Ancestors preferred before their Lives; declaring that it is not lawful by Arms to save my Purse or Throat from Thieves, if they say they have the King's Commission for it! or shew it: To Affront and Confidently to all the Corruptions imposed on them! To make all this a Ministerial Sin, by Publishing or Reading it before all the Congregation: To turn to all this unfaithfully, without ever Debating the Cafe with the abject that differed from them; or else going on when they were Silenced in Conference, and had nothing to say! Are these men for us to hold Communion with?

4. God will be worshipped with the best, and cursed them that offer him the blind and lame, when they have better in their Flocks.

5. The Churches are not only undisciplined, but the Pallors by Subscription Jullifie it, and compel by cruel Persecution all Men to Communicate with them thrice a year, both the Good against their Consciences, and the Bad against the Word of God, to their Condemnation: And shall we Communicate with such?

§ 435. To these sad and heavy Accusations we answer'd,

1. The Covenant bound us to our best to reform: but did not bind us to sin, that is, to forsake all Christian Churches among us, and all Publick Worship, when we cannot reform as we desire. As I am bound to amend all the Disorders and Faults of my own Prayers, but not to give over praying till I can amend them, Nay, the Covenant bindeth us to come to the Assemblies, in that it bindeth us against Schism, Prophanences, and whatsoever is against found Doctrine and Godliness.

2. I confess that Conformity is not the same thing as it was in the Brownists time: But yet the Difference is not so great as to make Separation lawful now, which was unlawful then. In one great Point the Cafe of the Church was worse then, than it is now: in that the multitude of the People being new turned from Popery by the bare Will of the Queen and Parliament, were far more ignorant than now they are; when the Gospel hath made the People much more understanding and reformed; informeth that in some (few) great Towns and Parishes, a considerable part of the People, are zealous Professors of Religion that daily worship God in their Families.

3. There is a great deal of Difference between God's Commands to a Church to call out and avoid particular Sinners by way of Disciplinary Reformation, and a particular Person's avoiding whole Churches, and that before the Neighbouring Churches have in any Synod declared them unfit for our Communion: The former may be found, but any Command for the latter you will hardly find in Scripture; but contrarily it was the practice of Schismatics and Hereticks: For how can you proceed in Christ's method of Admonition with such whole Churches? At least, till they are notoriously Heretical, or insolently corrupt and obstinate therein
thorin you cannot avoid them. The Churches of Corinth, Galatia, Ephesm, Sar-
dia, Laodicea, Thata, &c. had foul Corruptions, and are commanded to exer-
ci a Discipline on the Members; but no Members commanded to forsake the Churches, but the contrary. As to Cyprian's words, it's true, that a People that care for their Souls must depart from an Heretical or utterly intolerable Minifler, as they that love their Lives will do from a Physician that would kill them: But there is a great deal of difference between Personal Faults, and Minifleral Faults, (as between a Drunkard and an Heretick), and between a tolerable Mifinteral Fault (as all imperfect Men are guilty of in their several measures) and an intolerable one: and between the Deferion of a whole Congregation, and of the leffer part, when the ref will not forsake the Minifter. I deny not but you are bound to forbear comming the care and guidance of your Souls to a Man whose Mifinteral Faults are intolerable. And such are, 1. The utterly Ignorant and Intollerent; 2. The Preachers of Herefie, or Doctrine contrary to the neccary Points of Religion; 3. And thofe that fet themselves to preach down Godlinefs, or preach for a wicked Life, (if any fuch there be): But you must remember how in their Fafidious Zeal, all Parties or Sects of late among us, were wont to preach againft one ano-
her, and yet that was not taken for preaching against Godlinefs, though the Perfons were never fo godly that they preached againft. And as you recount all that may aggravate their fin, fo you must in julifice remember all that may exe-
nuate it: Remember therefore, 1. That for the Common Prayer and Ceremonies and Prelacy, multitudes of worthy holy Men conformed to them heretofore, from whom you would not have feparated; fuch as Dr. Paffon, Dr. Sibbs, Dr.Tay-
tor, Dr. Snaghten, Mr. Gathter, and molt (by far) of the late Synod at Weft-
minfter: And for the ref of the Conformity, remember the Matter and the Tem-
tation: For the Matter, it is much about Political Things, where it is no wonder if Divines on either fide are ignorant or erroineous: and if they be unacquainted with the Power of Kings and Parliaments, when Lawyers and Parliaments them-
elves are difagreed about them. And for the Temptation, remember that fuch hor-
rid Mifcarriages, as the the Rebellious pulling down of King and Parliament, kil-
ing the one, and cafting out and imprisoning the Members of the other, and the attempting the taking down of all the Miniftry, and the ruining of all Order by armed Sectaries, with the multitude of Sects that fwarmed among us, I fay theseEflects, with the King's miraculous Reforation, and the ruine of fuch an Army without one drop of Blood, are things that might easily draw Men to judge that the Covenant was but a League for the promoting of an unlawful War, and there-
fore is utterly null: And specially it concerneth you to remember, that it was the Independents that firft taught them the nullity or non-obligation of the Covenant, calling it a confed League, and an Almanack out of date, which they were forced to do that they might violate it: And yet you do not now call them Perjured, and aggravate their Sin, and fay, They kill'd the King and conquered Scotland, when they had fwon the contrary in the Covenant: Nor do you feparate from them on this account: Nay, it is mollly the Independents that are now for Separation from the Prelatifs as Perjured, who went before them in the nullifying of this Vow.

4. We difwade you not from worshipping of God with the belt you have; fo you will but remember, that Love and Concord and honourable Solemnity are con-
siderable Ingredients to make up the belt: and that it is not belt to fpend the Lord's Days in no Church-worship at all, but meerly with a few that are met occafion-
ally, becaufe you cannot worship him publicly as you would; and that that may be the belt which you have liberty to perform, which is not the belt which you could do if you had liberty.

5. And though the Churches be too much undifieined, and all Communicate, fo are the Reformed Churches of Helvetia, which are numbered with the belt, where Discipline never was fet up. In Conclufion, He that feparateth from one Church, for a Caufe common to almoft all the Churches in the World, doth go too near a Separating from all the Churches in the World: But fo it is here: For almoft all the Churches in the World have worst Minifters and worst Members, and as bad a form or way of Worship as thefe in England: And it is a terri-
ble thing to think of Separating from all or moft of the Universal Church of Chrift on Earth.
§ 436. But the Ejected Presbyterian Ministers that would not come to Common Prayer in Publick, went more moderately to work, and said,
1. We do not separate from every Congregation that we join not with in Per- fon: Else every Man doth separate every day from all the Congregations in the World save one: If they are not Separatifs not for not joining with us, then neither are we for not joining with them, no more than for not joining with the Anabap- tists and Independents: We may confess them to have a true Ministry, and be true Churches; but their faultiness we must not countenance.
2. We were lawfully called by Christ to feed our particular Flocks: And if these Men cast us out of the Temples and Maintenance, and get into our Places, and the more ungodly half of the Parishes, for fear of Man, conform to them, it doth not follow that we are absolved from our Office and Duty for the rest, or must bring them to the disorderly way of Worship which they violently imposed on us.

§ 437. To these I answered,
1. That it's true, that mere Absence is no Separation: But when a Party call and invite you to join with them, and you publickly accuse their way, and never join with them at all, you seem to tell the World that you take it to be unlawful: And that hath some degree of Separation; to avoid them as a Company unmeet to be joined with.
2. Though you Offices to your People cease not, yet you have your power to Edification and not to Delegation: And if a tolerable Minister be put into your Places, it's considerable whether it be not most to your Peoples Edification, Unity, Charity and Peace, to take them with you to the Publick Assemblies, and help them neverthefel at other times your selves as much as you can: And whether both helps be no more than one: Especially when you cannot preach to above four your selves, without Impertinence and Banishment, and then you cannot preach at all. And whereas it's easy to let a passionate Stoutness transport us, and think that Tyrannical Church-Upholders must not be encouraged by our Compli- ance; the meek Spirit of Christiannity, when it fifith these refinonings, will find in them too much of Self and Passion when Unity, Charity and the Churches Edifi- cation is on the other side.

§ 438. And whereas some Men are much taken with this Reason, That these times have more Light than the old Non-conformists ever had, and therefore that is not excusable in us which was so in them, I must confess I have great reason to be- lieve the clean contrary, if by Light they mean Knowledge, that the old Non-conformists had much more insight into these Controversies than Professors have of late: For,
1. We know that when the Parliament had cast out Bishops, Liturgy and Ceremo- nies, the generality both of Ministers and People, took it for granted that they were all bad, and so had more Light than their Forefathers had, before they ever studied the Controversies: I have asked many of them that have boasted of this Light, whether ever they read what Cartwright, Bradshaw, Ains, Parker, Baynes, Germaine, Bucer, Diodocavim, Salmafim, Blondel, Biza, &c. have laid on one side; and what Saravia, Bilson, Wburgst, Cowell, Downham, Burges, Hocker, Paybody, Hammond, &c. have laid on the other side; and they have confest they never throughly studied any one of them.
2. And we see it by experience, that one of those Men have written more on these Subjects, than any of these can say or understand, who boast that they have greater Light. How weakly do they talk against Bishops, Liturgy, and Ceremo- nies in comparison of those ancient Non-conformists! However, that which was Truth then, is Truth now: And we have the same Scripture to be our Rule as they had: Therefore let them that say they have more Knowledge, bring it forth and try it by the Law and Testimony, Isa. 8. 20.

§ 439. Having lived three years and more in London, and finding it neither a-gree with my health or stadies, (the one being brought very low, and the other interrupted) and all Publick Service being at an end, I betook my self to live in the Country (at AdZen) that I might set my self to writing, and do what Service I could for Popery, and live as much as possibly I could out of the World. Thither I came 1663. July 14, where I followed my Studies privately in quiet- ness, and went every Lord's Day to the Publick Assembly, where there was any Preach-
Part II. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

441

Preaching or Catechizing, and spent the rest of the Day with my Family (and a few poor Neighbours that came in); spending now and then a day in London, and the next year 1664, I had the Company of divers godly faithful Friends that Tabled with me in Summer, with whom I closeted my self with much concern. Having almost finished a large Treatise, called, A Christian Directory, or Sons of Practical Duty, that I might know whether it would be Licensed for the Press, I tried them with a small Treatise of The Characters of a Sould Christian, as different from the Weak Christian and the Hypocrite: I offered it Mr. Grig, the Bishop of London's Chaplain, who had been a Non conformist, and professed an extraordinary respect for me; but he durst not Licence it. Yet after, when the Plague began I sent three single Sheets to the Archbishop of Canterbury's Chaplain (without any Name that they might have past unknown, but accidentally they knew them to be mine) and they were Licensed: The one was Directions for the Sick: The second was Directions for the Conversion of the Ungodly; and the third was Instructions for a Holy Life: for the use of poor Families that cannot buy greater Books, or will not read them.

§ 440. March 26, being the Lord's Day 1665, as I was preaching in a Private House, where we received the Lord's Supper, a Bullet came in at the Window among us, and past by me, and narrowly miss the Head of a Sitter-in-law of mine that was there, and hurt none of us; and we could never discover whence it came.

§ 441. In June following an ancient Gentlewoman with her Sons and Daughter, came four Miles in her Coach to hear me Preach in my Family, as out of special Respect to me: It fell out that (contrary to our custom) we let her knock long at the Door, and did not open it; and to a second time when she had gone away and came again; and the third time she came when we had ended: she was so eager to know when she might come again to hear me, that I appointed her a time: But before she came, I had secret intelligence from one that was nigh her, that the came with a heart exceeding full of Malice, resolving, if possible, to do me what mischief she could by Accusation: and so that Danger was avoided.

§ 442. Before this, divers Foreign Divines had written to me, and expected such Correspondence as Literate Persons have with one another: But I knew so well what eyes were upon me, and how others had been used in some such accounts, that I durst not write one Letter to any beyond the Seas: By which some were offended, as little knowing our Condition here: Among others, Amyraldus sent one upon the occasion of a word of honest Luke. Molinensis, a Dr. of Phyficke, who had saide that he had heard that Amyrald had said somewhat as frightening the Non-conformists in England, and me in particular, which with what vehemency and great respect he disowned, his Letter following will shew. Another was from a Minister in Helvetia, who would have had my Advice about setting up the Work of Ministerial Instruction of the Families and Persons of their Charge particularly, which I will also add: but I sent him an Answer by his Friend by word of mouth only. And so I refused the answering of all others.
The L I F E of the L I B. I.

Literæ D. Amyraldi,

Ad Reverendum Virum Dom. Dominum
Baxterum, Fidelem Evangelis Jesu Christi
Ministerium, Londinum.

Virtutum taurum fama, Vir Reverende, ad aures meas ante aliquot annos pervenit, nec omniuo me latuerat quam honoriifice de me & privatam sentias & publice loquaris. Verum quia & audio scripshili Anglice tautum mod, cognitio autem lingua vestra quam ante quadruginta Annos qualcumque Londini adeo aptus eram, et memoria mea defuetudine obliterata est, parum commercii mihi est cum libris veltris, nec haec tertius contigit ut quidquam quod à te prodierit oculis mappaverim. Eo de causâ, quamvis nonnamquam ceperit me impetus aliquis ad te scribendâ ut honorem quo te profuger testificaret, & ut significaret quod me publice laudasti, ingrato non accidisse; (Etenim enim temitatem meam annone, nos difjumulabo tamen, non esse mihi libram adeo decoran, quam laudari amen, à te potissimum laudato Viro:) Attamen quottumcumque id in Animum induxi vel occasio literas ad te mittendi suppediitata non est, vel me repreffit aliquis metua nequid de me mihi caravenerim: Ad quod buctuque dissideram, Vir Reverende, expressit à me indignatio concepta ex lectione literarum Domini Simonis ad me, in quibus vidi necio quem male seriatam bominem (etiam cum ne de mine quidem novi) scripsisse ad Molinus, Amyraldum de te, deque Scriptus tuos loqui valde contemptum; adeo ut verum esse quod ille quisquis est dicito, maxime nam canjam haberes cur gravissime mihi succiones, meque judicaret indignum ista laudibus, itaque benevolentiam tua significationibus, quibus me profecqui ac decorare voluisisti. Illico igitur colamum arripit & nulla interposita mora, scripsit ad D. Simoniam Gallicam quo velim à te legi atque intelligi posse, ut quasis fit animus erga te meus liquido cognosceres. Tibi vero, Vir Reverende, habe Epistolam dehist, in qua quantâ possiam bonâ side & luculentis verbis teffor atque proponent, falsa illa omnia esse, & emendacion officina profecta, quae vel uteuris vel legisti quasi dicta de te à me feerus quam opportun. Non enim te novi nisi de sua, qua de tua pictura atque acadiesse & eloquentia egregie loquitar, nec altera erga te sum affectus quam ut decet erga virum multis laudibus ornatum, & praeterea de me optime multum debo. Noli ergo queso, Vir Reverende, quidquam isfufmodi credere; & ubi cumque id vel occafo secet, vel necesse populalabit, offende bosce literas me à manu, & ex Animi mee Sententia conscriptis, ut post boce testimonium quid de te judicem nemo dubitare quos. Vale, Vir Reverende, & commuini ille nollet Doctor atque Dominus, qui nos redemit salvamine suo, cum Eccleſia Anglicana tum tuim peculiarem curiam sufcepere dignatur. Quid de rebus veltris exstitimem, frere potes ex Epifiola quâ Paraphræfi meam in Psalmos serenissimo velstro Regi dictavi. Itaque nihil hic addam nisi quod qui ad te scribit, est tibi,

Vir Reverende,

Ad omne obscurum paratisimus

A M Y R A L D U S.
To the Reverend and most Learned Mr. Richard Baxter, a Zealous Minister of the Gospel of Christ, his most worthy and most honoured Brother in Christ, at Kidderminster.

Recommended to the care of Mr. Darvile.

The Grace of our Lord Jesus, and the Peace of God, be increased among us.

Most worthy and most honoured Sir,

The Occasion of two Cofins of mine going for London, invites me to take the liberty to write this Letter to you (most honoured Sir,) and hope you will excuse my boldness in so doing; being unknown to you, I should have forborne troubling you in your weighty Affairs, which besides the great zeal and care for your Parishioners, yea for the whole Church of God, are made known: but I could not pass by so good an Opportunity, to acquaint you, how much your Name and your Person, (although with your Body so far from us,) is esteemed by me, an unworthy Servant of Jesus Christ, and by many other faithful Brethren in the Lord in this our Town, and also in our Neighbour Protestant Confed. Cities of Zuirc and Schaaffhausen; insomuch that we often remember one another the great care we have to pray the Lord joyntly and constantly with your beloved Parishioners, yea with whole England, for your health and long life, that you may further continue to us all your edifying Doctrines and Admonitions. I dare not write to you, most godly Sir, in what fame you are among us, that you may not suspect me of flattery, which doubtest you despise as a great vanity: But I pray, Sir, to believe me confidently, that after Providence had led me some years ago into England, but time would not permit to stay long there, but as speedily as possible to learn the English Tongue, and am heartily sorry I did not visit you, most worthy Sir, at Kidderminster that time, for to take upon several Points your godly Advice: being in ten Months time, as long as I stayed in London, Oxford, and Cambridge, I did learn (God be thanked) so much English that I could understand reading and preaching. And by the Advice of the most zealous and worthy Men, Mr. Edmund Calamy, Mr. Cranford, Mr. Naton (of whom I received great Courtece and Friendship, though a Stranger) I bought a good number of English Divinity books of your most excellent and learned Divines; and among others your Everlasting Rest, Item Gildas Savorianis, or Reformed Pastor, Item True Christianity, Item A Sermon of Judgment, &c. being at that time recalled to my own Country, I had no time to peruse those heavenly Meditations; but since have made it my chief work, and cannot express the great Advantage I received by them: so that I commended the very fame Books to others of our Brethren who have endeavoured without delay to get them, by means of some of our Merchants here; and also the remainder of your Works, that we could bring to our notice, viz. The Unreasonable Att of Inifedity, your Confession of Faith, The right Method for a falted Peace of Conference, The Safe Religion, Key for Catholicks, The Crucifying of the World, Item of Self-defence, Item A Treatise of Conversion, Call to the Unconverted, your Apology against Mr. Blake, &c. Item your Holy Commonwealth, The Catholick Unity, your Treatise of Death: For which Works we thank God with one accord, for the great and heavenly Gifts he hath largely bestowed upon you, for the common good of his Church; and with that by this occasion we might also be partakers of what we want of your Works that are extant; Sermons or other Treatises: Particularly I must acquaint you with the high esteem we make of those two Chief Pieces, the Everlasting Rest and Reformed Pastor: in which latter you strike home to the very heart many Minifters: and we must needs confess that living among rude and unlearned People, ignorant and self-conceited, that according to your Advice in the Reformed Pastor, it is most necessary to take in hand, with all speed and care, the private Instruction and Catechizing: But we can find no way to obtain it: And being your Admonitions and Persuasions to the Practice thereof, are very home...
and close upon all Ministers, that they must make it their chief Business, and neglect nothing until they have persuaded and brought their Flock to it; I pray you, most worthy Sir, to resolve this Enquiry to me and others of my Neighbours and fellow Brethren, who in reading your Reformed Pastor, made the same Scruple of Conscience, viz. Whether a Minister that heartily strives for the honour of God and the Edification of his Church, doth not discharge his Duty, when according to your wholesome and true Doctrine, he hath conferred and made known his mind and willingness to the performance of it, to his Fellow-Brethren that joineth with him are Shepherds of the same Flock, yea, persuaded them of the necessity and usefulness of it, yet can get no Assistance by Ministers nor Magistrates.

We long also heartily to know, being you have persuaded the Ministers of the County of Worcestershire to that most necessary and useful Catechizing and Private Instruction, Whether by the present great Change in England, both in Churches and Government, and chiefly, being that we bear that Episcopacy proceeds, the Prelatical Dignity is not some way revetted; and whether they bear still that irreconcilable hatred against good and godly Presbyterians, that they may not be suffered to exercise their Charge and Duty? Or if they are wholly deprived of the power and authority to force their Parishes, as to our great Scandal we are informed. I had many things more to write to you, but dare not trouble you, most worthy Sir, any further, fearing to keep you from your weighty Business. Only I crave very humbly your Answer, and as much Information of the true present Estate, as opportunity will give you leave, Whether we have so much cause to fear the Introduction of Popery in England, as some, by the News among us are wholly persuaded? In the mean while, we will continue to pray the Lord our God and most merciful Father, with all our Hearts and Souls, to preserve your Person for the General Good and Edification of his whole Catholic Church, that your great Light may shine more and more; and so I remain,

Reverend and most worthy Sir,

Your humble and most

Affectionate Servant

John Sollicoffer,

unworthy Servant of Christ.

The vigilant Eye of Malice that some had upon me, made me understand that (though no Law of the Land is against Literate Persons Correspondencies beyond Seas, nor have any Divines been hindered from it, yet) it was like to have proved my ruines, if I had but been known to answer one of these Letters, though the Matter had been never so much beyond Exceptions. So that I neither answered this nor any other, save only by word of mouth to the Messengers; and that but in small part; for much of this (in the latter part) was Matter not to be touched. Our Silencing and Ejection he would quickly know by other means, and how much the Judgments of the English Bishops did differ from theirs about the Labours and Persons of such as we.

§ 443. About this time I thought meet to debate the Case with some Learned and Moderate Ejected Ministers of London, about Communicating sometimes in the Parish Churches in the Sacraments: (For they that came to Common Prayer and Sermons, came not yet to Sacraments). They desired me to bring in my Judgment and Reasons in writing: which being debated, they were all of my mind in the main, That it is lawful and a duty where greater Accidents preponderate not. But they all concurred unanimously in this; That if we did Communicate at all in the Parish Churches, the Sufferings of the Independents and these Presbyterians that could not Communicate there, would certainly be very much increased, which now
now were somewhat moderated by concurrence with them. I thought the Cafe very hard on both sides, That we that were so much cenfured by them for going somewhat further than they, must yet omit that which else must be our Duty, meerly to abate their Sufferings that cenfure us: But I resolved with them to forbear a while, rather than any Chriftian should fuffer by occafion of an action of mine, feeing God will have Mercy and not Sacrifice, and no Duty is a Duty at all times.

§ 444. In July 1665, the Lord Ashley fent a Letter to Sir John Trevor, That a worthy Friend of his, in whose Cafe the King did greatly concern himfelf, had all his Fortunes call upon my Refolution of the enclosed Cafe, which was, Whether a Profefident Lady, of brutifh Education, might marry a Papift, in hope of his Conversion, be promising not to difturbf her in her Religion. It came at Six a Clock Afternoon, and knowing it was a Cafe that mufi be cautefiously refolved at the Court, I took time till the next Morning, that I might give my Anfwer in Writing. The next day the Lord Ashley wrote again, with many words to incline me to the Affirmative; for the Lady told them she would not confent unless I fatisfied her that it was lawful. (Who the Lord and Lady were I know not at all, but have an uncertain Conjefture): So I fent the following Refolution.

The Cafe was thus expressed.

Whether one that was bred a strict Protestant, and in the moft fecret ways of that Profession, lived many years without giving offence to any; well known in her own Country to be fuch; may without offence to God, or Man, marry a profefled Roman Catholic, in hopes of taking him off the Error of his ways, he engaging never to difturbf her?

My Lord’s Letter was as follows:

S I R,

T here is a very good Friend of mine, and one his Majesty is very much concerned for, that this enclosed Cafe has the power of his Fortunes. None but that worthy Divine Mr. Baxter can fatisfie the Lady; this has been the way by which the Romanifts have gained very much upon us: they are more powerful in perfwafion than our Sex;—besides, the putting this Cafe fhews some inclination to the Perfon, though not to the Religion. Sir, If Mr. Baxter be with you, pray let me have his Opinion to this Cafe in writing under it. Wherein you may oblige more than you think for,

Your very affefionate Friend

to ferve you,

A S H L E Y.

For his much honoured Friend Sir John Trevor, at Afton

To this Cafe I drew up the following Anfwer, and fent it to Sir John Trevor, to be by him conveyed to my Lord Ashley.

S I R,

Though I cannot be infenfible how inconvenient to my felf the Anfwer of this Cafe may possibly prove, by difpleafing thofe who are concerned in it, and medling about a Cafe of Perfons utterly unknown to me, yet because I take it to be a thing which Fidelity to the Truth, and Charity to a Chriftian Soul require, I shall fpeak my Judgment whatever be the Confequents. But I must crave
1. A Husband is especially to be a Meet-helper in Matters of the greatest moment: And this help is to be daily given, in counsel ling in the things that concern Salvation, instructing in the Scriptures, exciting Grace, subduing Sin, and helping the Wife in the constant course of a Holy Life, and in her preparation for Death and the Life to come! And a humble Soul that is conscious of its own weaknesses, will find the need of all this Help! which how it can be expected from one who only promiseth not to disturb her in her Religion, I cannot understand! I should as soon advise her to take a Physician in her Sickness, who only promisseth not to meddle with her Health, as a Husband who only promiseth not to meddle with her in Matters of Religion.

2. A Husband, who is no helper in Religion, must needs be a hinderer! For the very Diversions of the Mind from holy Things, by constant talk of other Matters, will be a very great Impediment! And as not to go forward is to go backward, so not to help is to hinder, in one of so near relation. How hard it is to keep up the Love of God, and a Delight in Holiness, and heavenly Desires, and a fruitful Life, even under the greatest Help in the World, much more a mong Hindrances, and especially such as are in our Bosome, and continually with us, I need not tell a humble and self knowing Christian. And of what Importance these things are, I shall not declare till I am speaking to an Indust of Impious Person.
And as for the Conversion of another, Marriage is none of the means that God
hath commanded for that end (that ever I could find); Preaching, or Conference with judicious Persons, are the means of such Conversion! And if it be a hopeful thing, it may be tried and accomplished first: There are enow of us who are ready to meet any Man of the Papal way, and to evince the Errors of their Sect (by the allowance of Authority): If Reason, or Scripture, or the Church, or Senk it fell be may be believed, we shall quickly lay that before them that hath evidence enough to convince them:

But if none of this can do it before hand, how can a Wife hope to do it? should not think to have a Husband so fond and weak, as in the Matters of his Salvation to be led by his Affections to a Woman, against his Reason, his Party and his Education. Or if the can do more than a Learned Man can do, let her do it first, and marry him after. I had rather give my Money or my House and Land in Charity, than to give my self in Charity, merely in hope to do good to another. It is a Love of Friendship and Complacency, and not a love of more Benevolence, which belongeth to this Relation. Moreover, Error and Sin are deep rooted things, and it is God only that can change such hearts, and Women are weak, and Men nare the Rulers; and therefore to marry, if it were a vicious ungodly Protestant, merely in hope to change him, is a Course which I think not meet here to name or aggravate as it deserves.

Ye, the may justly fear rather to be changed by him: For he hath the advantage in Authority, Power and Interest. And we are naturally more prone to Evil than to Good. It's easier to infect twenty Men than to cure one. And if he speak not to her against her Religion, no more will.

Or if the be so happy as to escape Perversion, there is little hope of her escaping a sad calamitous Life: Partly by guilt, and partly by her grief for a Husband's Soul, and partly by Family-disorders and sins, and also by daily temptations, disapprovements, and want of those helps and comforts in the way to Heaven, which her Weakness needeth, and her Relation should afford. So that if her Soul scape, the must look that her great Affliction should be the means: And yet we cannot so confidently expect from God, that he fanath his faithful people to us a self-chosen Affliction as another.

Supposing him to be one that loveth her Person truly, and not only her Estate (for else the must expect to stand by as a comforted thing) yet his Religion will not allow him otherwise to love her, than as a Child of the Devil, in a State of Damnation may be loved. For their Religion teacheth them, That none can be saved but the Subjects of the Pope.

If it be objected (It seems it is no sin in that you can allow it in a Cafe of Necessity, or for the notable benefit of the Church or State) I answer, It is no sin in those Cafes: but out of them it is: It is no sin, but my duty, to lay down my Life for my King or Country: but it followeth not that I may therefore do it without sufficient Caule: So it's in this Cafe.

Having plainly given you my judgment in the proposed Cafe, I leave it to that Noble Lord who lent for it, to use it, or conceal it, or burn it, as he pleaseth. For it being not the Lady that lent to desire my Resolution, but he, my Answer is not hers, but that lent for it. But Humblly crave, that if the be at all acquainted with my Answer, (or any one else) it may not be be report, but by shewing it entire, as I have written it. And as I doubt not but his Honour will find it fell engaged to preferve me from the displeasure of such as he acquainteth with it (if being but the answer of his desires, and not an Employment which I sought for) fo it must be remembered. That I have purposely avoided the medling with the particular Errors of the Romanists Religion. 2. That I speak not a word against any Christian Love to Papists, or amiable Correspondence with them as our Neighbours: much less am I pasing any Sentence on their Souls, or Countemaying those who run from them into any contrary Extreme. But a Husband and a bojyne Friend, are Relations which require such a special suitableness, as is not to be found in all whom we must love. 3. And what I lay of the Papist, I lay also of any debauched ungodly Protestant: For it is not Names and Parties that make Men good, or fave their Souls. A Papist who is holy, heavenly, of an upright mortifed Life, and not of a bloody or uncharitable Mind to thole that differ from him, is in a far happier state as to himself; though I think that the Heart and Life of the one, and the Judgment of the other, do make them both unsuitable to such a Lady.
Lady as the Cafe describeth. And though God may possibly convert and make suitable, and do wonders hereafter, yet it being things likely, and not things only possible which reason must expect, I must say that the Consequences of such an unfruitable Match, are like to be bitter to her, than one that is indifferent and regardless of the Concernments of a Soul can understand. 4. Change but the Tables, and put the Cafe to a judicious Papit, and he will relieve it as I have done; and tell you that a Dispensation may be given but in such Cales. 5. If the Cafe had been, Whether such a Lady might give all her Eftate to a Papit without her Person, I should not think she had half to much reason to be willing.

Allon, July 21. 1665.

Rt. Baxter.

§ 445. And now after all the Breaches on the Churches, the Ejection of the Ministers, and Impenitency under all, Wars and Plague and danger of Famine began all at once on us. War with the Hollanders, which yet continues: And the dreariest Winter, Spring and Summer that ever Man alive knew, or our Forefathers mention of late Ages: So that the Grounds were burnt like the High-ways, where the Cattle should have fed! The Meadow Grounds where I lived bare but four Loads of Hay, which before bare forty: The Plague hath seiz'd on the laoudest and most excellent City of Christendom; and at this time 8000 and near 300 die of all Diseases in a Week: It hath scattered and consume the Inhabitants: Multitudes being dead and fled: The Calamities and Cries of the diseased and impoverished are not to be conceived by those that are absent from them! Every Man is a terrour to his Neighbour and himself: for God for our Sins is a Terror to us all. O how is London, the place which God hath honoured with his Gospel above all Places of the Earth, laid low in Horrors, and waited almost to Deolation, by the Wrath of God, whom England hath contemn'd; and a God-hating Generation are consumed in their Sins, and the Righteous are all taken away as from greater Evil yet to come. Strange Comets (which filled the Thoughts and Writings of Astronomers)did in the Winter and Spring a long time appear before these Calamities. Yet under all these Deolations the Wicked are hardened, and call all on the Fanaticks: and the true dividing Fanaticks and Sectaries are not yet humbled for former Miscarriages, but call all on the Prelates and Impoftors: And the ignorant Vulgar are stupid, and know not what use to make of any thing they feel: But thousands of the sober, prudent, faithful Servants of the Lord, are mourning in secret, and waiting for his Salvation; in Humility and Hope they are stying themselves on God, and expecting what he will do with them. From London it is spread through many Counties, especially next London, where few places, especially Corporations, are free: which makes me oft groan and with, That LONDON AND ALL THE CORPORATIONS OF ENGLAND WOULD REVIEW THE CORPORATION ACT AND THEIR OWN ACTS, AND SPEEDILY REPENT. Leaving most of my Family at Acton compossed about with the Plague, at the writing of this through the mercy of my dear God and Father in Christ, I am hitherto in Safety and Comfort, in the House of my dearly beloved and honoured Friend Mr. Richard Hampden of Hampden in Buckinghamshire, the true heir of his famous Father's Sincerity, Piety and Devotion to God; whose Person and Family the Lord preserve, and honour them that honour him, and be their Everlasting Reft and Portion.

Hampton, Septemb. 28. 1665.
THE LIFE
Of the Reverend
Mr. Richard Baxter.

The Third Part.

Novemb. 16. 1670. I began to add the Memorials following.

§ 1. Since God hath been pleased to add these few Years more to my Pilgrimage, I will add some Account of His Providences towards me, and his People in this Land, in these additional Years. When I ended my last Narrative, the dreadful Plague was laying waste, especially the City of London; and thence spread into the neighbouring Parts, and into many distant Cities and Corporations of the Land. Yet did we hear of no publick Repentance professed by any one City or Corporation, for that Profession by which they were all at that time even Constituted, whilst that all that had any Office or Trust therein, declared, That there was no Obligation from the Vow called the Solemn League and Covenant on any Person; no not from their Vow against Popery, Schism, or Prophaneness, nor their Vow to Defend the King, nor their Promise of Repentance for their Sins. And who can but fear that such an universal Sin must be yet more sharply punished, when such a Scourge as this had no better effects?

§ 2. The Number that died in London (besides all the rest of the Land) was about an Hundred Thousand, reckoning the Quakers, and others, that were never put in the Bills of Mortality, with those that were in the Bills. § 3. The richer sort removing out of the City, the greatest Blow fell on the Poor. At the first so few of the Religious sort were taken away, that (according to the mode of too many such) they began to be puffed up, and boast of the great difference which God did make: But quickly after, they all fell alike. Yet not many pious Ministers were taken away; I remember but Three, who were all of my own Acquaintance. 1. Mr. Gramman, a German, a very humble, holy, able Minister; but being a Silenced Non-conformist, was so poor, that he was not able to remove his Family. 2. Mr. Cralz, a worthy Minister, that had long ago lived with the famous Religious Lady Scudamore; and being Silenced, was entertained by Richard Harbiden, Esq., in his House at London; and flying from the Plague into the Country, died with his Wife, and some Children, as soon as he came thither, in the Houfe of Mr. Spie.
that Learned and Worthy Man, Mr. Shaw, another Silenc'd Ministers, and his Brother in Law; who being shut up, gave God Thanks for his Deliverance, in a very Learned and Profitable Treatise, which he Published thenceon. And since being found (not only very Learned, but) moderate, and holding Communion in the Publick Assemblies, and a peaceable Man, hath got commanice to Teach a Publick School, a great favour in these Times. 3. Mr. Roberts, a Godly Welf Miniftier, who also living from the Plague, fell Sick, as far off, as between Shrewsbury and Omouse, and died on a little Straw, while none darst entertain him.

§ 4. It is scarce possible for People that live in a time of Health and Security, to apprehend the dreadfulness of that Pefillence! How fearful People were, thirty or forty, if not an hundred Miles from London, of any thing that they brought from any Mercer's, or Draper's Shop; or of any Goods that were brought to them; or of any Person that came to their Houses. How they would that their Doors against their Friends; and if a Man pas'd over the fields, how one wou'd avoid another, as we did in the time of Wars; and how every Man was a Terror to another! O how finully unthankful are we for our quiet Societies, Habitations and Health!

§ 5. Not far from the place where I ftockned, at Mrs. Fleetwood's, three Minifters of extraordinary worth were together in one House, Mr. Clerfton, Mr. Suth Cradick, and Mr. Terry, Men of Singular Judgment, Pity, and Moderation; and the Plague came into the House where they were, one Person dying of it, which cauf'd many (that they knew not of)earnily to pray for their Deliverance; and it pleaded God that no other Perfon dyed.

§ 6. But one great Benefit the Plague brought to the City, that is, it occasion'd the Silenc'd Minifters more openly and laboriously to Preach the Gospel, to the exceeding comfort and profit of the People; inomuch, that to this Day the freedom of Preaching, which this occasion'd, cannot, by the daily Guards of Soldiers, nor by the Imprifonments of Multitudes, be restrained. The Minifters that were Silenced for Nonconformity, had ever since 1662, done their Work very privately, and to a few (not so much through their timorofnes, as their loathing to offend the King, and in hope ftil that their forbearance might procure them some Liberty; and through some timorofnes of the People that should hear them.) And when the Plague grew hot, most of the Conformable Minifters fled, and left their Flocks, in the time of their Extremity: wherupon divers Non-conformists pitying the dying and difftrifled People, that had none to call the impertinent to Repentance, nor to help Men to prepare for another World; nor to comfort them in their Terrors, when about Ten Thousand dyed in a Week, resolved that no obedience to the Laws of any mortal Man whofoever, could justify them for neglecting of Men's Souls and Bodies in fuch extremities; no more than they can justify Parents for fattening their Children to death: And that when Christ fhall fay, Insomuch as ye did it not to one of these, they dy'd it not to me, It will be a poor excuse to fay, [Lord I was forbidden by the Law.] Therefore they resolved to stay with the People, and to go in to the furcften Pulpits, though prohibited, and to preach to the poor People before they dy'd; and alfo to visit the Sick, and get what relief they could for the Poor, especially thofe that were hurt up. Thofe that fett upon this work, were Mr. Thomas Vincent, late Minifter in Milk-street; with some Strangers that came thither, fince they were Silenced, as Mr. Chaffer, Mr. Jumemy, Mr. Turner, Mr. Grimes, Mr. Franklin, and fome others. Thofe heard them one Day oft, that were fick the next, and quifly dy'd. The Face of Death did fo awaken both the Preachers, and the Hearers, that Preachers exceeded themselves in lively, fervent Preaching, and the People crowded conftantly to hear them; and all was done with fo great Serioufnes, as that, through the Blessing of God, abundance were converted from their Curfeles, Inpenimacy, and youthful Lurfs and Vanities; and Religion took hold on the Peoples Hearts, as could never afterward be loofed.

§ 7. And at the fame time, while God was confuming the People by their Judgments, and the Nonconformists were labouring to fave Men's Souls, the Parliament (which fate at Oxford, whether the King removed from the danger of the Plague) was busy in making an Act of Confinement, to make the Silenc'd Minifters Cafe incomparably harder than it was before, by putting upon them a certain Oath, which if they refufed, they muft not come (except the Road) within five Miles of any City, or of any Corporation, or any place that fendeth Bargelles to the Parliament, or of any place where-ever they had been Minifters, or had preached before the Act of Obligation. So little did the Senfe of God's terrible Judgments, or of the necellities of many hundred thousand ignorant Souls, or the Groans of the poor People
People, for the Teaching which they had left, or the fear of the great and final
Reckoning, affect the Hearts of the Prelates, or stop them in their way. The
chief Promoters of this among the Clergy, were said to be the Arch-bishop of
Canterbury, and Dr. Seth-Ward, the Bishop of Salisbury: And one of the greatest Ad-
veraries of it in the Lord’s House, was the very Honourable Earl of Southampton,
Lord Treasurer of England; a Man that had ever adhered to the King, but under-
stood the interest of his Country, and of Humanity. It is without Contradiction
Reported, that he said, No benevolent Man would take that Oath. The Lord Chancellor
Elide also, and the rest of the Leaders of that mind and way, promoted it, and
easily procured it to pass the House, notwithstanding all that was said against
it.

§ 8. By this Act the Cafe of the Ministers was made so hard, that many thought
themselves necessitated to break it, not only by the necessity of their office, but by a
natural impossibility of keeping it, unless they should murder themselves and their
Families.

1. As to a moral Necessity, as they durst not be so Sacrilegious as to defect the
Sacred Office wholly, to which they were consecrated (which would be worse than
Annias and Sapphira’s Alienating their devoted Money) so they could hardly ex-
cercise any part of their Office, if they did obey this Act. For,

1. The Cities and Corporations are the most considerable part of the Kingdom,
and also had, for the most part, the greatest need of help; partly, because of the
numerousness of the People: For in many Parishes in London, the fourth part (say
in some the tenth part) cannot be contained in the publick Temples, if they came,
so as to hear what is said. Partly also, because most Corporations having smaller
Maintenance than the Rural Parishes, are worse provided for by the Conformists:

And every where the private Work of Over-fight, and Ministerial Help, is through
their Numbers, greater than many Ministers can perform; and it is a work that I
never yet knew one Prelate well perform, to my remembrance; and few of them
meddle with it at all, any farther than to read Common Prayer some time to a dying
Man, if any one of a Multitude desire it.

2. Many of them had Pastoral Charges in Cities and Corporations, from the
obligation of which they take not themselves to be well releas’d, by the bare prohibition
of Man, while their Peoples needs and desires continue, and where their places are
supply’d with Men so ignorant and vicious, as to be un-meet for such a charge of
Souls: And it must be more than the Will of Man, that must warrant them to fly
and forfake their Flocks, to which they had a lawful Call, and to leave their
Souls to those notorious Perils, as in very many places they must do.

3. And in the rest of the Land, where can a Minister labour with advantage, but
with those that know him, and are known of him, and have formerly profited by him,
and will afford him Entertainment?

4. If it be lawful to defect the Souls of all Cities and Corporations, and all other
Parishes where-ever we preach’d, it will follow that it is lawful to defect all the rest,
and so sacrilegiously to defect our office.

5. Christ faith, When they persecute you in one City, fly to another. Therefore we
are not obliged to defect them all, as soon as we are commanded.

6. The Preaching of Christ’s Apostles, and of all his Ministers, for 300 Years,
was against the will of the Princes, and Rulers of the Countries where they preached:
And yet they planted Churches, and ordained Elders principally in all the Cities
where they came, and would rather suffer Impri sonment and Death, than to defect
them any further, than by flying from one to another.

§ 9. 2. But natural necessity also constrained many: For many had Wives, and
many Children to maintain, and had not one Penny of yearly Revenue, nor any
thing but the Gifts of charitable People to maintain them: And if they had a poor
Cottage to live in, and no Money to pay their Rent, nor to buy Fire, Food, or
Cloathing, they had much less enough to take another House, and pay for the re-
moval, of their Goods far off, and the Charges of a new Settlement; and there to
dwell among Strangers, far from those whose Charity relieved them, was but to
turn their Families to famish, which is more inhuman, than to see a Brother have
need, and to shut up the Bowels of our compassion from him, which yet is contrary
to the Love of God.

§ 10. And indeed, in many Countries, it was hard to find many places which
were not within five Miles of some Corporation, or of some place where we had
A a a 2 2
Preached
Preached before (for some Ministers preached in a great number of Parishes at several times;) And if such a place were found, was it like that there would be Houses enough found untenanted, to receive so many Ministers? Or, if there were, perhaps the Landlords would be so much for Prudence, as to refuse such Tenants, or so timorous as to be afraid, left by receiving such, they should bring themselves under Suspicion of favouring Non-conformists, and so be ruined; or so covetous, as knowing their advantage, to ask more for their Houses, than poor Ministers that had hardly any thing left to subsist on, could be able to give. Besides that, almost all Country Houses are annexed to the Farms or Land belonging to them. And Ministers are ill Farmers, especially when they have no Money to Stock their Land.

§ 11. Yea, they allowed them not to be kept as common Beggars, on the Alms of the Parish; but when by the Law, every Beggar is to be brought to the place of his Birth, or left abode, and there to be kept on Alms; No Minister must come, within five Miles of the Parish where he ever exercised his Ministry; nor any that were born in Cities and Corporations, must come within five Miles of them for relief.

§ 12. In this Strait, those Ministers that had any Maintenance of their own, did find out some Dwellings in obscure Villages, or in some few Market-Towns, which were no Corporations: And those that had nothing, did leave their Wives and Children, and hid themselves abroad, and sometimes came secretly to them by night. But (God bringing Good out of Men's Evil) many resolved to preach the more freely in Cities and Corporations till they went to Prison: Partly, because they were then in the way of their Calling, in which they could suffer with the greater peace; and partly, because they might so do some good before they suffered; and partly, because the People much desired it, and also were ready to relieve one that laboured for them, than one that did nothing but hide himself; and partly, because when they lay in Prison for preaching the Gospel, both they, and their Wives and Children, were like to find more pity and relief, than if they should forfake their People, and their Work. Seeing therefore the Question came to this, Whether Beggary and Famine to themselves and Families, with the derelenting of their Callings, and the People's Souls, was to be chosen, or the faithful performance of their Work, with a Prison after, and the People's Compassion? They thought the latter, the more eligible.

§ 13. And yet when they had so chosen, their Straits were great, for the Country was so impoverished, that those of the People who were willing to relieve the Ministers, were not able: And most that were able, were partly their Adversaries, and partly worldly-minded, and strait-handed, and unwilling. And alas! it is not now and then a Shilling, or a Crown given (very rarely) which will pay Houfe-Rent, and maintain a Family. Thofe Ministers that were unmarried, did eafily bear their Poverty; but it pierced a Man's Heart to have Children crying, and Sickness come upon them for want of wholesome Food, or by drinking Water, and to have nothing to relieve them. And Women are usually less patient of Suffering than Men; and their Impatience would be more to a Husband than his own wants. I heard but lately, of a good Man, that was fain to Spin as Women do, to get something towards his Family's relief (which could be but little;) and being Melancholy and Difteafed, it was but part of the Day that he was able to do that. Another (Mr. Chadwick in Somerset) for a long time had little but brown Rye Bread and Water for himself, his Wife, and many Children, and when his Wife was ready to live in, was to be turned out of Door, for not paying his Houfe-Rent. But yet God did mercifully provide some Supplies, that few of them either perished, or were exposed to forfak’d unfeemly Beggary: But some few were tempted against their former judgments to Conform.

§ 14. The Oath imposed on them was this.

I A B, Do Swear, That it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King: And that I do abhor that Traitorsr Poftition, of taking Arms by his Authority, against his Person, or against those that are Commissioned by Him, in perform ance of such Commission: And that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of Government, either in Church or State.
Part III
Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

The Reasons of Men's refusal to take this Oath, were such as these following.

1. Because they that were no Lawyers must Swear, not only that they think it is unlawful, but that it is so indeed.

2. Because they think that this fetteth a Commission above an Act of Parliament. And that if one by a Law be made General or Admiral, during Life, another by a Commission may call him out: And though the Law say, He shall be guilty of Treason, if he give up his Truft to any upon pretence of a Commission: Yet by this Oath he is a Traitor, if he refi at any one that hath a Commission.

3. Because they fear they are to Swear to a contradiction, viz. to let the King's bare Commission above a Law, which is the Act of King and Parliament; and yet not to endeavour the Alteration of Government, which they fear least they endeavour by taking this Oath.

4. Because they think that by this means the Subject shall never come to any certain Knowledge of the Rule of his Duty, and consequently, of his Duty it self. For it is not possible for us to know, 1. What is to be called a Commission, and what not; and whether an illegal Commission be no Commission (as the Lawyers, some of them, tell us) and what Commission is illegal, and what not; and whether it must have the broad Seal, or only the little Seal, or none. 2. Nor can we know when a Commission is counterfeit. The King's Commanders in the Wars, never shewed their Commissions to them that they fought against, at least ordinarily. There was a * Collonel of the King's, since his coming in, that brought a Commission, Sealed with the broad Seal, to seize on all the Goods of a Gentleman in Bifhopsgate-street, in London; by which he carried them away: But the Commission being proved counterfeit, he was hanged for it. But a Man that thus Seizeth on any Gentleman's Money, or Goods, may be gone before they can try his Commission, if they may not refi it. But the Parliament, and Courts of Justice, are the Legal, publick Notifiers of the King's mind; and by them the Subjects can have a regular certain notice of it. So that if the Parliament were concluded to have no part in the Legislative Power, but the King's merc shall be our Law; yet if the Parliament and Courts of Justice, he erected as the publick Declarers of his will to the People, they seem more regardable and credible, than the words of a private unknown Man, that faith he hath a Commission.

5. And they think that this is to betray to the King, and give the Chancellour, or Lord-Keeper, power at his pleasure, to depose him from his Crown, and dispossess him of his Kingdoms. For if the King (by Law or Commission) shal l selle any Trufly subject in the Government, of Navy, or Militia, or Forts, and command them to refi all that would dispossess them; yet if the Lord Chancellor have a design to depose the King, and shall Seil a Commission to any of his own Creatures or Confidens, to take poiffion of the said Forts, Garfions, Militia and Navy, none, upon pain of Death, must refi them, but be taken for Traitors, if they will not be Traitors: yea, though it were but willift they fend to the King to know his Will. And when Traitors have once got poiffion of all the Strengths, the detecting of their fraud will be too late, and to Sue them at Law will be in vain. And he that remembereth, That our Lord Chancellor is now banished, who lately was the chief Minister of State, will think that this is no needless fear.

6. And they think that it is quite against the Law of God in Nature, which obligeth us to quench a Fire, or save the Life of one that is assaulted (much more of our selves) against one that would kill him: and that else we shall be guilty of Murder. And according to the proper Sense of this Oath, If two Foot-boys get from the Lord Chancellor a Commission to kill all the Lords and Commons in Parliament, or to set the City and all the Country on Fire, no Man may by Force of Arms refi them; Lords and Commons may not save their Lives by force, nor the City their Housfs: And by this way no Man shall dwell or travel in safety; while any Enemy or Thief may take away his Life, or Purse, or Good, by a pretended Commission; and if we defend our selves, but while we fend to try them, we are Traitors: and few have the means of such a Tryal.

7. They think by this means, no Sheriff may by the Posse Comitatus execute the Decrees of any Court of Justice, if any can but get a Commission for the contrary.

8. They
8. They think that Taxes and Subsidies may be raised thus without Parliaments; and that all Men's Estates and Livings are at the meer will of the King, or the Lord Chancellor: For if any be Commissioned to take them away, we have no remedy: For to say that we have our Actions against them in the Courts of Justice, is but to say, that when all is taken away, we may cast away more if we had it. For what good—will the Sentence of any Court do us, if it pass on our side, as long as a Commission against the Execution of that Sentence must not be resold, unless a piece of Paper be as good as an Estate?

9. And they think that by this Oath, we Swear to disobey the King, if at any time he command us to endeavour any alteration of the Church-Government, as once by this Commission to some of us, he did, about the Liturgy.

10. And they think that it is a serving the Ambition of the Prelates, and an altering of the Government, to Swear never to endeavour any alteration of Church-Government; yet, and to put the Church-Government before the State-Government, and so to make the Prelacy as unalterable as Monarchy, and to twist it by an Oath into the unalterable Constitution of the Government of the Land, and to disable the King and Parliament from ever endeavouring any alteration of it. For if the Subjects may not at any time, nor by any means endeavour, the King will have none to execute his Will if he endeavour it. And if Divines, who should be the most tender avoiders of Perjury, and all Sin, shall lead the way in taking such an Oath, who can expect that any others after them should scruple it? And it was endeavoured to have been put upon the Parliament.

11. And they think that there is a great deal in the English Diocesan Frame of Church-Government, which is very useful, and which God will have all Men in their places and callings to endeavour to reform (as that the Bishop of the lowest degree, instead of ruling one Church with the Presbyters, ruleth many hundred Churches, by Lay-Chancellors, who use the Keys of Excommunication and Absolution, &c.) And they take it for an Act of Rebellion against God, if they should Swear never to do the Duty which he commandeth; and so great a Duty as Church-Reformation so great a Matter: If it were but never to pray, or never to amend a fault in themselves, they durst not Swear it.

12. This Oath feemeth to be the same in Sence, with the Et cetera Oath, in the Canons of 1640. That we will never consent to an alteration of the Government, by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Dons, &c. And one Parliament voted down that, and laid a heavy charge upon it; which no Parliament since hath taken off.

13. As the National Vow and Covenant feemeth a great Snare to hinder the Union of the Church among us, in that it layeth our Union on an exclusion of Prelacy; and so excludeth all those learned worthy Men from our Union, who cannot consent to that Exclusion; so the laying of the Kingdoms and Churches Union upon the English Prelacy, and Church-Government, so as to exclude all that cannot consent to it, doth seem as sure an Engine of Division. We think that if our Union be centered but in Christ the King of all, and in the King, as his Officer, and our Sovereign under him, it may be cale and sure: But if we must all unite in the English Frame of Prelacy, we must never Unite.

14. Those that take the Oath, do (as those that Subscribe) resolve that they will understand it in a lawful Sence (be it true or false) and so to take it in that Sence: To which end they lay that nullum injuriam est in Lege prefam} and that all publick Implications must be taken in the best Sence that the Words will bear. And by force and stretching, what words may not be well interpreted? But the Nonconformists go on other grounds, and think that about Oaths Men must deal plainly and sincerely, and neither stretch their Confessions, nor the Words nor interpret univerfals particularly, but according to the true meaning of the Law-givers, as far as they can understand it; and where they cannot, according to the proper and usual Signification of the Words. And the Parliament themselves tells us, That this is the true Rule of interpreting their Words. Beyond which therefore we dare not stretch them.

15. And therefore, 14. They dare not take the Oath, because if it be not to be taken in the proper or ordinary Sence of the Words, they are sure that they cannot understand it (for it doth not please the Parliament to expound it.) And Oaths must be taken in Truth, Judgment, and Rightcounsel, and not ignorantly, when we know that we understand them not.
queries upon the Oxford Oath.

We presuppose it commonly resolved by Caufuits in Theology, from the Law of Nature, and Scripture,

1. That Perjury is a Sin, and so great a Sin, as tendeth to the ruin of the Peace of Kingdoms, the Life of Kings, and the Safety of All Souls, and to make Men unfit for Humane Society, Truth, or Conscience, till it be repented of.

2. That be that Sweareth contrary to his judgment, is Perjured, though the thing prove true.

3. That we must take an Oath in the Imporer's Sense, as near as we can know it, if he be our Lawful Governor.

4. That an Oath is to be taken fænù strictiore, and in the Sense of the Rulers Impoſing it, if that be known; if not, by the Words interpreted according to the common Use of Men of that Profession, about that fubject: And Univerfals are not to be interpreted as Particulars, nor must we limit them, and distinguish, without very good proof.

5. That where the Sense is doubtful, we are ftricted to ask which is the probable Sense, before we ask, which is the best and charitablefænù; and must not take them in the beft Sense, when another is more probable to be the true Sense. Because it is the Truth, and not the Goodness, which the Understanding firft considereth. Otherwise, any Oath almost imaginable might be taken, there being few Words so bad, which are not fo ambiguous, as to bear a good Sense, by a forced Interpretation. And Subjects must not cheat their Rulers by seeming to do what they do not.

6. But when both Senseis are equally doubtful, we ought in Charity to take the beft.

7. If after all Means faithfully used to know our Rulers Sense, our own Understandings much more machine to think one to be their meaning, than the other, we must not go against our Understandings.

8. That we are to suppfote our Rulers falibe, and that it's possible their decrees may be contrary to the Law of God; but not to fufpefte them without plain caufe.

These things suppofted, we humbly crave the Resolution of these Questions, about the present Oath, and the Law.

Q. 1. Whether [upon any pretence whatsoever] refer not to [any Commissioned by him] as well as [to the King] himself?

2. Whether [not lawful] extendeth only to the Law of the Land; or also to the Law of God in Nature?

3. Whether [I Swear that it is not lawful] do not express my peremptory certain Determination, and be not more than [I Swear that in my意见 it is not lawful.]

4. What is the [Truly odious Pofition] here meant; (for here is only a Subject without a Pradicte, which is no Pofition at all, and is capable of various Pradicates?)

5. If the King, by Act of Parliament, commit the Truth of his Navy, Garrison, or Militia, to one durante avis, and shound Commission another, by force, to eject him, whether both have not the King's Authority? or which?

6. If the Sheriff raise the Poçio Commissatus to suppress a Riot, or to execute the Decrees of the Courts of Justice, and fight with any Commissioned to reftit him, and shall keep up that Power, while the Commissioned Persons keep up theirs, which of them is to be judged by the Subjects to have the King's Authority?

7. If
7. If a Parliament, or a Court of Justice, declare, That the King by his Laws commanded or shall the Sheriffs and Justices, notwithstanding any Commission to the contrary, under the great or little Seal, and one shew us a Commission to the contrary, which must we take for the King's Authority?

8. Whether this extendeth to the Cae of King John, who delivered the Kingdom to the Pope? Or to those Infrances of Bills, Barley, Grain, &c. of changing the Government, putting by the true Heir, to whom we are Sworn in the Oath of Allegiance, &c. if Subjects pretend Commission for such Acts?

9. Whether Parliament, Judges in Court, or private Men, may, by the King's Authority, in his Laws, defend their Lives against any that, by a pretended Commission invadeth them, or their Purts, Houses, or Companions?

10. Whether we must take every Affirmation to have a Commission, if he shew it not? Or every shewn Commission to be current, and not forreptitious, though contrary to Law?

11. Whether he violateth not this Oath, who should endeavour to alter so much of the Legislative Power as is in the Parliament, or the Executive, in the Established Courts of Justice? Or, is it meant only of Monarchy as such?

12. Doth he not break this Oath, who should endeavour to change the Person Government, as well as he that would change the Form of Government?

13. If so, doth it not also yeve to the Persons of Church-Governours, seeing they are equally here twifted, and Church-Government preproed?

14. Is it the King's Coercive Governments of the Church, by the Sword, which is here meant, according to the Oath of Supremacy? Or Spiritual Government by the Keys? Or both?

15. Is it not the English Form of Church-Government by Diocesans that is here meant; and not some other sort of Episcopacy which is not here? And doth he not break this Oath, who instead of a Bishop over 500, or 1000 Churches (without any inferior Bishop) should endeavor to set up a Bishop in every great Church, or Market-Town, or as many as the Work requireth?

16. Seeing Excommunication and Absolution are the notable parts of Spiritual Government, and it is not only the Absinis, but the Altars, or Governors, that we Swear not to alter; and Lay-Chancellor are the common Actors or Governors, whether an endeavor to alter Lay-Chancellors Government, (as some did that procured his Majesty's Declaration, concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs) be not contrary to this Oath, and excluded by [my alteration?]

17. Whether petitioning, or other peaceable means, before allowed by Law, be not [any endavor] and a violation of this Oath?

18. Whether [not at my time, &c.] yee us not to disobey the King, if he should command us by Consultation or Conference, to endeavours it? Or, if the Law be changed, doth not this Oath still bind us?

19. Whether this following Sense, in which we could take it, be the true sense of the Oath?

I A B do Swear, That (a) it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever (b) to take up Arms against the King; (c) and that I do abhor that TyrANNous Position, of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are Commissioned by him, (d) in presence of such Commission, And that I will not at any time endeavor any alteration of Government, either in Church or State. (e)

(c) In my Opinion.

(b) For the Subjects of his Majesty's Dominions.

(d) Either his Authority, or his Person, the Law forbidding both.

(e) Within the Parliament, Courts of Justice, Legal Officers, or any other Persons authorized by his publick Laws, or his Commission: supposing that no contrary of Laws and Commissions (by over-light, or otherwise) do Arm the Subjects against each other.

(f) I will not endeavor any alteration of State-Government at all, either as to the Person of the King, or the Species of Government, either as to the Legislative, or Executive Power, as in the King himself, or his Parliament, or Established Courts of Justice. And therefore I declare, That I take all the rest of this Oath, only in a Sense consistent with this Clause, implying no alteration in the Government. And I will endeavor no alteration of the Coercive Government of the Church, as it is in the King, according to the Oath of Supremacy: Nor any alteration of the Spiritual Power
Part III. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Power of the Keys from the Lawful Bishops and Paltors of the Church: Nor will I endeavour to restore the Ancient Discipline (by removing the Spiritual Government by the Keys, out of the Hands of Lay-Chancellors, into the Hands of so many able Paltors, as the number of Churches, and necessity of the work requireth) nor any other Reformation of the Church, by any Rebellions, Schismatical, or other unlawful means whatsoever; (nor do I believe that any Vow or Covenant obligeth me thereto,) declaring, notwithstanding, that it's none of my meaning to bind my self from any Lawful Means of such Reformation; nor to disobey the King, if at any time He command me, to endeavour the Alteration of any thing justly alterable.

The General Answer was as followeth.

Upon Serious Consideration of the Act of Parliament, Entitled, An Act for Restraining of Nonconformists from Inhabiting in Corporations; And of the Oath therein mentioned, I am of Opinion, That there is nothing contained in that Oath, according to the true Sense thereof, But that it is not Lawful to take up Arms against the King, or any Authorised by his Commission, or for a private Person to endeavour the Alteration of the Monarchical Government in the State, or the Government by Bishops in the Church: And that any Person (notwithstanding the taking of such Oath) if he apprehend that the Lay-Judges in Bishops Courts (as to Sentence of Excommunication for Matters meerly Ecclesiastical, or for any other Cause) ought to be Reformed; or that Bishops pricks are of too large extent, may safely Petition or use any lawful Endeavour for Reformation of the same: For that such Petition, or other Lawful Endeavour, doth not tend to the Alteration of the Government, but to the amendment of what shall be found amiss in the Government, and Reformed by Lawful Authority, and thereby the Government better Etablised. And, I conceive, every Exposition of the said Oath, upon Supposition, or Presumption of an Obligation thereby, to any thing which is contrary to the Law of God, or the Kingdom, is an illegal, and a forced Exposition, contrary to the intent and meaning of the said Oath and Act of Parliament; for it is a Rule, nulhum iniquum est in Lege presumendum: And an Exposition tending tojoy the any thing contrary to the Law of God, would make the Act of Parliament void, which ought not to be admitted, when it bears a fair and plain Sense, which is no more, Than that Subjects ought not to take up Arms against their Lawful King, or such as are lawfully Commissioned by him; and for private Persons to be unequall in the place wherein they live, to the disturbance of the Government in Church or State.

John Fountain, Feb. 6. 1665.

The Particular Answer was as followeth.

Not at present to dispute the things presupposed (although I may not grant all in the Fourth, and some other of the Positions, to be warranted by the Law of Nature or Scripture) I add as necessary to the Refolving of the Questions upon the Act of Parliament, That in the Exposition of Acts of Parliament, if there may be a fair and reasonable Construction made of the Words, not contrary to the Law of God or Reason, that Construction ought to be made thereof, and that any Exposition, which tends to make it sensual, or contrary to the Law of God and Reason, or to suppose any wicked thing enjoined thereby, is a forced Construction, and contrary to Law, being destructive to the very Act of Parliament. I hereupon lay aside any Answer to the Fourth and Eighth Questions, which may, peradventure, be thought me Cavils against the Act, though I knowing the Temper of the Proponent, have a more charitable Opinion of him. But I do apprehend, that tho' there may want a Word to make a Logical Position, concerning the Traytorous Position mentioned in the Oath, yet there is a plain Sense in the Oath, viz. That it is unlawful to take up Arms against the King; and that if any would make a distinction, and affirm, That though the unlawful used to take up Arms against the King, yet by his Authority, they might take up Arms against his Person, or against those that are Commissioned by him, in pursuance of such Commission, such an Affirmation and Position as this, is Traytorous, and to be abhorred; and there is
such a plain Sense in it, as every one that hath common Reason understands it so, and therefore Quod necessario fubintelligitur non deest. And I do not believe, that any who propound the Questions to be resolved, do themselves imagine, that the Parliament had any thought of what is mentioned in the Eighth Question, for medium iniquum in Lege presumendum.

Upon consideration of the Act, I apprehend the Makers thereof had an apprehension, that there were three sorts of People which might have a dangerous influence upon the King's Subjects, if not rightly principled, viz. Ministers or Preachers, School-Masters, and such as did Table and Board Children, and therefore did provide to restrain them from doing hurt to the Kingdom, in keeping the Ministers out of the populous Places of the Kingdom, or where they were best known, and most likely to prevail, and that no Children might be poisoned with Principles destructive to Government.

The Principles which they feared were these.

1. That in some Cases it might be lawful to take up Arms against the Supreme Magistrate, at least by a distinction unwarrantable, in taking up Arms against his Authority, against his Person, or such as he did Commission.
2. That private Persons might endeavour to alter the Government in the Church or State where they lived.

For the discovery of such as were of these dangerous Principles, I conceive the Oath is framed, which is Established by this Act, and any who holdeth these Principles may not safely take it; but if he hold not the Principles he may.

And as to the Questions.

1. That the Words [upon any pretence whatsoever] in the Oath refer only to the King himself.
3. That it is only according to the Opinion and Judgment of him that takes it.
4. He that hath the Lawful Commission is the only Person that hath Authority by the King's Commission.
5. I conceive the Sheriff.
6. That Commission which is according to Law.
7. I conceive they may.
8. I conceive a Commission must be shewn, if required; and that a surreptitious and void Commission, contrary to Law, is no Commission at all.
9. I understand not the Latitude of this Question; but I conceive the Sense of the Oath is not to endeavour the Alteration of Monarchical Government in the State.
10. Though I conceive it utterly unlawful to endeavour to change the Person of the Governor, yet, that being sufficiently provided against by the former Laws, I do not conceive that it was intended by the Makers of the Law in this part of the Oath, to intend more than the Alteration of the Government.
11. Answered before; And yet if the Person of the Supreme were included in the State-Government, I do not conceive that it would extend to the Governors under him in the Church, for they may be justly removed in Case of Crime, &c.
12. I conceive both.
13. I conceive its the English Form of Church-Government; and yet that is no breach of the Oath to endeavour, in a lawful way, to make more Bishops, and lesser Bishops.
14. I do not think the Oath bindeth not to endeavour to alter the Actors or Governors in the Church, so it be done by lawful means; and that it is lawful, notwithstanding the Oath, to endeavour to alter Lay-Chancellors in a lawful way.
15. I conceive it is not.
16. I conceive it doth not.

There are so many things put in the last Question, of the Sense of the Oath, as will require more discussion, than the present Opportunity admits.

John Fountain, Feb. 13, 1665.
Sir John Maynard also told me, That an illegal Commission is no Commission, (though privately, being the King's Serjeant.)

§ 19. But that all these Answers should rather resolve me not to take this Oath, than any way satisfy me to take it, may thus appear.

1. He confesteth, that the Principle feared was, That in some Cases it is lawful to take up Arms against the Supreme Magistrate, or by his Authority against those Commissioned by him. And yet implicitly granteth it in the Cases intimated in the Eight Question.

2. He confesteth that another feared Principle was, That private Persons may endeavour to alter the Government of the Church: And he confesseth, That by lawful means we may endeavour it, in a great part of it.

And as to the Particulars: 1. He thinketh that the Words [on any pretence whatsoever] refer to the King only; whereas in my Conscience, I think that the Authors of the Oath meant it also [as to any Commissioned by him;] otherwise there is nothing in all this Oath against taking Arms against any Commissioned by the King, so they do not pretend his own Authority for it. And upon my knowledge, a great part of those that Fought for the Parliament went on other grounds; some thinking Parliament and People above the King, as being singularis Major, & uniusres Minor, (as Hooker speaks, Eccl. Pol. Lib. 8.) some thinking that the Law of Nature did warrant them; and some, that the Scripture did require them to do what they did. And can I believe that it was none of the Imposers Intention by the Oath, to provide against any of those Opinions? If really it were not, then a Man that taketh this Oath may, notwithstanding it, believe, That though it be not lawful to take Arms against the King, nor against his Armies, by pretence of his Authority, yet upon four other grounds it is lawful to take up Arms against his Army. 1. Because Willing, and other Politicians say, the Majestas regalis is in the People. 2. Because some Lawyers say, That the People of England have, as Hooker and Bilson call them, parem praesidii, which they may defend, and the Parliament hath part of the Legislative Power, by the Confinement of the Kingdom. 3. Because the Law of Nature and Charity requireth the Defence of our Selves, Polterity and Country. 4. And because Scripture requireth the fame.

They that will say, That the Oath hath left all these Pleas or Evasions for Fighting against the King's Armies, do make it utterly useless to the ends for which it was intended, and make the Authors to have been strangely blinded.

2. Note, That he takes the Word [Lawful] to extend to all Laws, of Nature, Scripture, or whatever: And,

3. That he takes these Words [It is not lawful] to mean no more than [I judge, or think it is not lawful.] As if all our Parliament Men, with the Learned Bishops, had not had Wit enough to have said so, if they had meant so; but said one thing, and meant another.

4. I confes, I think not much on the Fourth Quere; but its plain, that the Subject named is capable of various Predicates, yes, of contrary; and [of taking Arms] may be applied to an apart, a licet, a fallum of, yes, or a non licet; though the licet I doubt not is their Sense.

5. Note, That the Answser to the Fifth, is a mere putting off the Answser: For the Question is, Whether the Act of Parliament, or the private Commission be more Authoritative? And he answereth, That which is Lawful; which implieth, that he was not willing to speak out.

6. Note, that he plainly concludes, that a Sheriff hath the King's Authority, to reftit by the Poffe Comitatus the King's Commissioned Officers, that would hinder him from Executing the Decrees of a Court of Justice: And doth not this either cross the intent of the Imposers, or give up the whole Cause? Doth it not grant, that either it is lawful by the King's Authority given to the Sheriff by the Law, &c. for him by Arms to reftit the King's Commissioners? Or else, that they be reftit, as not Commissioned, because their Commission is unlawful? And what did the Parliament's Army defire more? If a Sheriff, by the Sentence of an inferior Court, may cause Arms against the King's Army, as not Commissioned, you will teach the Parliament to say, That their Judgment is greater than an inferior Court's.

7. And it is possible, That Commissiones may be contrary (of the same date) who then can know which is the Traytor?

BBB 2.

3. The
8. The Seventh is a putting off the Answer, like the Fifth.

9. Note especially that of the Eighth Quere, which implyeth divers Instances of Cakes, in which Grotius, Barclay, Bilson, &c. say, That it is Lawful to take Arms against the King, he semeth wholly to grant it, and maketh it but like a Cavil, to suppose that those Cakes ever came into the Parliament's Thoughts. And I am much in that of the good Man's Mind. But if they will Swear me to an Universal, while they forget particular Exceptions, that will not make the Oath Lawful to me. For, 1. It is not certain to me, That they would have excepted those things if they had remembered them. 2. Much less can I tell which, and how many things they would have excepted. 3. And how could the wit of Man devise Words more exclusive of all Exceptions, than to say [It is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever] Are those in the Eighth Quere [no pretences whatsoever?] I dare not thus stretch my Confidence about an Oath, when I know that the Authors were Learned, Crafty, willing to extend it far enough, and Men that understood English, and spake in a matter of their own Concernment and Employment. Therefore by [any pretence whatsoever] I cannot think that they meant to exclude so many Pretences, as the Eighth Cake speaks of.

10. Note also, That he alloweth Parliaments, Judges, or private Men, even by the King's Authority in his Laws, to defend their Lives, their Houses, Estates, Purposes, and Companions, against such as are Commissioned to Surprize them. Which is because he taketh such to be really no Commissions. And so the Parliament, and their Army, would say in a Word, That the King's Commissions to his Armies were no Commissions. But this (which the Lawyers wholly refit) I think in my Confidence was so contrary to the Impoers Senfe, that if it had been then mentioned, they would have expressly put in some Words against it. And if an illegal Commission be no Commission, then there are not two forts of Commissions, one legal, and the other illegal (unless speaking Equivocally.) And this comes up to what Richard Hooker, and the long Parliament said,viz., That the King can do no wrong; because if it be wrong, it is not to be taken for the King's Act.

11. Note also, That a Commission must be flown, if required, and an illegal one is null. And which of the Parliament's Soldiers ever law the Commissions of those whom they fought against? Not one of many Thousands. And was this, think you, the meaning of the Impoers of the Oath, that it should be left to Men's Liberty to take an illegal Commission for none? If this were declared, who of all the Parliament's Army would not take this part of the Oath?

12. To the Eleventh he answereth, That the Oath is against altering Monarchy, (which none doubts of;) But whether the Power of Parliaments, or Courts of Justice be included, the good Man thought it not best to understand.

13. He thinks that by Government is meant only the Species (Monarchy) and not the Person of the King (as being sufficiently secured elsewhere) whereas there is no such limitation in the Words; but that he is to be esteemed a Changer of the Government, who would depose the King, and set up an Usurper.

14. But if it do secure the King's Person (as I think it doth, and should do) he thinks it extendeth not to the Perions of the Church-Governours, because by law they may be altered. But 1. Here is no difference made in the Oath, unless it be that the Government of the Church, is put before that of the State. 2. Therefore the Question is, Whether this Oath be not contrary to those former Laws, and do not settle the Bishops and Chancellors as fall as the King? As to the plain Senfe of the Words, I find no difference: And as to the meaning of the Law-makers, it is hard otherwise to know it, seeing they are of so many minds, and various degrees of Capacity among themselves.

15. And it is here confessed, That the Clergy-Government is included; yea, and that the Oath meaneth the English Species; and yet he thinketh that it prohibiteth not lawful Endeavours, to make more Bishops, and to take down Lay-Chancellors: whereas, 1. Chancellors are the Governours, for the greatest part. 2. And as a Congregational Church doth specifically differ from a Diocles of 1000, or 500 Churches; the former de fuge, being for Personal Communion in God's Worship, and not the latter; so therefore the Bishop of a Congregation must needs differ specifically, from the Bishop of such a Dioces. Therefore fo to change, were to change the Species of the Government, as I am confident the Bishops themselves would say, if the Question were put to them.

16. By
16. By [Endeavouring] here he understandeth only [unlawful endeavours] and not Petitioning, or other lawful means: whereas the Word in the Oath, is absolute and unlimited; And I cannot be so bold as to Swear [not to endeavour] and secretly mean [except it be by petitioning, or other lawful means] for no sober Man will think, that we may do it by unlawful means, if he know them to be so: And the old Es cetera Oath, in 1640. (The Antecedor of this) had [not confenting] which could not be so limited.

And further, it seems plain, that this cannot be their Sense, because it is equally applied to both Governments in the Oath (fave that the Church-Government is put first:) And who dare say, that this is the meaning, as to the Government of the State [I will not undertake the deposing of the King, or the change of Monarchy, unless it be by lawful means.] Whereas the Oath seemeth to me, that it is never to be done at all; and no means is lawful for such an Aid: And therefore we must so understand it, as to the Diocesanes too; if we will not Swear absolutely, or universally, and mean limitedly, and particularly, yea, and limit, and not limit the same Word, as respecting the several Governments, without any colour from the Terms.

17. Lastly, When the Oath Sweareth us [not at any time to endeavour] which is as plainly an Exclusive of Exceptions as to Time, as can briefly be uttered, he thinketh that by [any time] is meant, [any time, except when the King shall command me the contrary, or the Law shall change, &c.] Now when so much violence must be used with the Words of such an Oath, and when the Impofer will not (after many Years knowledge of our Doubts and Difficulties) make them any plainer; and so when they are at the boft to us so unintelligible, and no Lawyer, nor Parliament, that we can speak with, can resolve us; but all the Answer we can get from the Parliament Men, is [You must understand it in the proper, usual Sense of the Words:] And from the Lawyers, [An unlawful Commission is none, and lawful Endeavours are not forbidden] who can take such an Oath in Judgment and Uprightness of Heart, that is satisfied in the Points forementioned?

§ 20. The Act which Impoeth this Oath, openly acclimateth the Nonconformable Ministers (or some of them) of Seditions Doctrine, and such infamous Crimes: wherefore when it first came out, I thought that at such an Accusation no Innocent Persons should be silent: especially when Papists, Strangers, and Posters may think, That a Recorded Statute is a sufficient History to prove us guilty; and the Concernments of the Gospel, and our Callings, and Men’s Souls, are herein touched: Therfore I drew up a Profession of our Judgment, about the Cafe of Loyalty and Obedience to Kings and Governours; and the Reason why we refused the Oath. But reading it to Dr. Senior, and some others wiser than my self, they advised me to call it by, and to bear all in silent Patience; because it was not possible to do it so fully and sincerely, but that the malice of our Adversaries would make an Ill use of it, and turn it all against our selves: And the wife State-Men laughed at me, for thinking that Reason would be regarded by such Men as we had to do with, and would not exasperate them the more.

§ 21. After this, the Ministers finding the preface of this Act so great, and the lofs like to be so great to Cities and Corporations, some of them studied how to take the Oath lawfully: And Dr. Will. Bates, being much in feeming Favour with the Lord-Keeper Bridgeman, consulteth with him, who promised to be at the next Seffion, and there on the Bench to declare openly, That by [Endeavour] to change the Church-Government was meant [only lawful Endeavours] which satisfieth him, he thereby satisfieth others, who to avoid the Imputation of Seditions Doctrine, were willing to go as far as they durft: And so Twenty Ministers came in at the Seffions, and took the Oath, viz. Dr. Bates, Mr. Sam. Clarke, Mr. Sheffield, Mr. Hall, or Mr. Church, Mr. Matthew, Pool, Mr. Lodd, Mr. Stancliffe, Mr. Hales, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Smith, Mr. Arthur, Mr. Batbridge, Mr. Brooks, Mr. Overton, Mr. Butcher, Mr. Cary, Mr. Butler, Mr. Wilder, Mr. Hooker. And not long after, Dr. Jacob took it, and Mr. Mayo, and Mr. Newton of Taunton in Somersetshire, being then in London: Mr. John Home in Devonshire; and in Somersetshire, Mr. William Thomas, Mr. Cooper of Southwark (then there:) And in Northamptonshire, Dr. Comant (late Regius Professor of Divinity, and Vice-Chancellor in Oxford) and about Twelve more with him: I heard of no more Nonconformists that took it.

§ 22. Dr.
§ 22. Dr. Bates wrote me presently the following Letter, which because it sheweth the Truth of their Caffe and Inducements, I think meet here to add; the rather, because when they took the Oath, the Lord-Keeper left out the Word [only.] And Judge Keeling openly told them, That he was glad that so many of them renounced the Covenant, with more fuch like; which made Mr. Clarke openly tell him, That they took this Oath only in such a Sense as they conceived to be not inconsistent with the Covenant: And because the People in London reviled the Minifters as Turn-Coats when they had done; which Infultings and Revilings much grieved fome of them.

Dr. Bates’s Letter of their Caffe about the Oath.

Dear Sir,

I judge it due to our Friendship, and neceffary for my Fame, to give you an account of what past among us in Reference to the Oath. In several Meetings of the Minifters, the fpecial Enquiry was about the meaning of the Word Endeavour, Whether to be understood in the universal Extent, fo as to exclude all Regular, or only tumultuous and feditious Affairs. The Reafons which persuaded us to underftand it in a qualified Sense, were 1. The Preface to the Acts, which declares, the occafion and the end of the Oath, was to prevent the deftilling the Poifon of Schifm and Rebellion; now it is a known Rule, ratio juris, if it just; from whence it appears, That only Schifmatical and Rebellious Endeavours are exclud’d, to avoid which, there was an unceffant Obligation. 2. It is neceffary to interpret this Oath in conftancy with former Laws, in particular, with that which concerns tumultuous Petitions, wherein this Parliament declares it to be the privilege of the Subject to complain, renounce Petition to King or Parliament, or to advise with any Member of Parliament, for the altering of any thing amifs in the Government of Church or State, Esqitatd by Law. If Endeavour be taken in its Latitude, it is a perfecf contradiction to this Law. 3. The Testimonies of several Members of both Houses, who affured us that in the Debate, this was the declared Sense of the Parliament. Sir Heneage Finch told me the intention of it was only to have fecurity from us, with out any refpeft to our Judgments concerning the Government, that we would not disturb the Peace, and that it was impos’d at this Season, in regard to our Wars with France and Holland. He added, it was atellera of our Loyalty, and thofe who refufed it, would be look’d on as Perfons refraining themselves for an Opportunity. My Lord Chamberlain faid, the Bifhops of Canterbury and Winchelter declared, it only excluded Seditious Endeavours; and upon his urging that it might be express’d, the Arch Bifhop reply’d, It fhould be add’d; but the King being to come at Two of the Clock, it could not, with that Explication be fent down to the House of Commons, and return’d up again within that time. The Bifhop of Exeter told Dr. Tillotfon, That the firft Draught of this Oath was in Terms a Renunciation of the Covenant; but it was answer’d, they have suffer’d for that already, and that the Minifters would not receive it, it was therefore reafonable to require security in fuch Words, as might not touch the Covenant. 4. The concurrent Opinion of the Judges, who are the AuthORIZED Interpreters of Law, who declared that only tumultuous and feditious Endeavours are meant. Judge Bridgman, Twifden, Brown, Archer, Windham, Atkins, who were at London, had agreed in this Sense. Some of the Minifters were not satisfied, because the Opinion of a Judge in his Chamber was no Judicial Act; but if it were declared upon the Bench, it would much refolve their Doubts. I address’d my Self to my Lord Bridgman, and urg’d him, that fince it was a Matter of Confeitoice, and the Oaths were to be taken in the greatest Simplicity, he would fincerely give me his Opinion about it. He profefled to me, that the Sense of the Oath was, only to exclude feditious and tumultuous Endeavours, and faid, he would go to the Sessions, and declare it in the Court. He wrote down the Words he intended to fpeak, and upon my declaring, that if he did not express, that [only feditious Endeavours] were meant, I could not take the Oath; he put in the Paper (before me) that word, and told me, that judge Keeling was of his Mind, and would be there, and be kind to us. The Minifters oftened this the moft publith Satisfaction for Confeitoice and Fame, and several of them agreed to go to the Sessions, and take the Oath, that whereby, if possible, they
they might condurate Religion from the Imputation of Faction and Rebellion, and make it
content that Consciences only beundered their Conformity. Some of the most unsatisfied
were resolved to take it. We came in the afternoon on Friday to the Court, where seven Min-
isters had taken it in the Morning: At our appearance, the Lord Bridgman address himself
to us in these Words: Gentlemen, I perceive you are come to take the Oath, I
am glad of it: The intent of it is to distingiuish between the King's good Subjects,
and those who are mentioned in the Act, and to prevent Seditions and Tumultuous
Endeavours to alter the Government: Mr. Clark said, in the Senate we take it.
The Lord Keeling spoke with some quickness, Will you take the Oath as the Parliament hath ap-
pointed it. I replied, Ay Lord, We are come hither to attest our Loyalty, and to declare,
we will not seditiously endeavour to alter the Government. He was silent, and we took the
Oath, being 13 in number. After this the Lord Keeling told us, He was glad that so
many had taken the Oath; and with great vehemency said, We had renounced the
Covenant (in two Principal Points) that damnable Oath, which sticks between the
Teeth of so many. And be hoped, That as here was one King, and one Faith, so there
would be one Government: And if we did not Conform, it would be judged we did this to
save a life. These Words being uttered, after by his Silence be had approved what my
Lord B. had spoke of the Sense of the Act, and our express Declaration, that in that Sense
we took it; you may imagine how surprising they were to us: It was not possible for us to
recollect our selves from the Confusion which this caused, so as to make any reply. We re-
tired with sadness, and what the consequences will be, you may easily fore-see. Some will
reflect upon us with severity, judging of the nature of the Action by this check of Providence.
Others who were resolved to take the Oath, recoil from it; their jealousies being increased.
I shall trouble you no longer, but assure you, That notwithstanding this accident doth not
invalidate the Reasons for the Turfines of it, in our apprehensions; yet the fore-sight of this
would have caused us to suspend our proceedings. The good Lord Keeling this Providence
to us, and teach us to commit our dearest Concernments unto him, in the performance of
our Duty, to whose Protection I commend you, and remain

Yours entirely,
William Bates.

After my Lord Keeling's Speech, Sir John Bavor enquired of Lord Bridgman,
whilst he was on the Bench, Whether the Ministers had renounced the Covenant? He
answered, the Covenant was not concerned in it. Mr. Calamy, Watton, Gage,
and many others, had taken the Oath this Week, but for this unhappy Accident.
My Lord Bridgman came to the Sessions, and declared the Sense of the Oath,
with my Lord Chancellor's allowance.

But all the Reasons contain'd in this Letter, seem'd not to me to enervate the force
of the fore-going Objections, or solve the Difficulties.

London, Feb. 22.

S. 24. A little before this, B. B., and Sir L. D., committed fierce horrid wicked-
nen's in their Drinkings (acting the part of Preachers, in their Shirts, in a Balcony,
with Words and Actions not to be named,) that one (or both) of them was openly
condemned for it in Westminster-Hall, by one of the Courts of Justice. (You will say,
Sure it was a shameful Crime indeed.) And shortly after a Lightning did seize on
the Church where the Monuments of the---were, and tore it, melted the Leads,
and brake the Monuments into so small pieces, that the people that came to see the place,
put the Scraps, with the Letters on, into their Pockets, to shew as a Wonder,
and more wonderful than the consummation of the rest by fire.

S. 25. In this time the Haunting of Mr. Mompesson's House in Wiltshire, with strange
Noises and Movements, for very many Months together, was the Common Talk; Of
which Mr. Geo. Glanvill having wrote the Story, I lay no more.

S. 26. The Number of Ministers all this while, either imprisoned, fined, or other-
wise afflicted for preaching Christ's Gospel, when they were forbidden, was so great
that I forbear to mention them particularly.

S. 27. The War began with the Dutch whom the French afflicted.

S. 28. The Plague which began at Albion, July 29. 1665, being ceased on March 1.
following, I returned home; and found the Church-yard like a plow'd field with
Graves, and many of my Neighbours dead; but my House (near the Church-yard)
uninfected
uninfected, and that part of my Family, which I left there, all safe, thro' the great mercy of God, my merciful Protector.

§ 29. About this time the French surpriz'd St. Christophers, and some other of our Plantations in the West Indies, and the Dutch took our Plantation of Strand. And the Wars proceeding nearer home, in the end of June 1666, in which the many were kill'd on both sides, and the D. of York fo near the danger, as that he ventured himself in fight no more. Among others, the E. of Marlborough being then, there was found about him a Letter written to Sir Hugh Pollard, Comptroller of the King's Household, in which (being awaken'd by Sea-dangers) he disclaim'd Suddaeus, and pleaded for the Soul's Immortality; which was Printed, because being intimate Friends, they were both before suppress'd to Insidets and Suddaeus, that believed no Life after this.

§ 30. On July 25. was the 2d great Sea-fight, in which the English had the better: And in August we seemed to prevail yet more; insomuch that Monk was faid to proceed fo far as to enter their Harbour, and burn 120 Ships in the River, and to burn a Thousand Houses on the Land, and give the Scamens the Plunder; for which, in the end of August the King appointed a Day of Thanksgiving to be kept in London, which was done; though many muttered, that it was not wisely done, to provoke the Dutch, by burning their houses, when it was easy for them to do the like by us, on our Sea-Coasts; and fo to teach them the way of undoing us, while neither party gained by such doings. And that it was no good sign of future prosperity, when tho' that believed not, that there is a God, or at least that his providence dispoith of such things, would give God solemn Thanks for an unprofitable burning of the Houses of innocent Protestants. And our Confidence was then grown fo high, that we talk'd of nothing but bringing down the Dutch to our mercy, and bringing them to Contempt and Ruine: But our Height was quickly taken down, by the loss of many Hamlborough Ships first, and then by a loss of many of our men, in an Attempt upon their Merchants ships in the Sound at Denmark; but especially by the firing of the City of London.

§ 31. On September 2. after midnight, London was set on fire; and on Sept. 3. the Exchange was burned; and in Three Days almost all the City within the Walls, and much without them. The Season had been exceeding dry before, and the Wind in the Taft, where the Fire began. The people having none to conduct them aright, could do nothing to reftit it, but stand and fee their Houses burn without Remedy; the Engines being presently out of Order, and useles. The Streets were crowded with People and Carts, to carry away what Goods they could get out: And they that were most active, and befriended (by their Wealth) got Carts, and saved much; and the rest left almost all. The Loss in Houses and Goods is fearely to be valued: And among the rest, the Loss of Books was an exceeding great Detriment to the Interest of Piety and Learning: Almost all the Book-sellers in St. Paul's Church-Yard brought their Books into Vaults under St. Paul's Church, where it was thought almost impos- sible that Fire should come. But the Church itself being on fire, the exceeding weight of the Stones falling down, did break into the Vault; and let in the Fire, and they could not come near to save the Books. The Library also of St. John's College was burned, and most of the Libraries of Minifters, Conformable and Nonconformable, in the City; with the Libraries of many Nonconformists of the Country, which had been lately brought up to the City. I faw the half burned Leaves of Books near my Dwelling at Alder, six miles from London; but others found them near Windsor, almost twenty miles distant. At last, some Scamens taught them to blow up some of the next Houses with Gunpowder, which foop the Fire. And in some places it flopt as wonderfully as it had proceeded, without any known Caufe. It flopt at Holborn-Bridge, and near St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street, and at Spitalfbridg's Church (when the Church was burned,) and at Chrift's Church (when the Church was burned,) and near Alderfgate and Cripplegate, and other places at the Wall, and in Aldin Friars (the Dutch Church flopt it, and ecape.) and in Bishopsgate-street and Leadenhall-street, and Fenchurch-street, in the midst of the Streets, and short of the Tower, and all beyond the River (Southwark) ecape. This was the beft, and one of the fairest Cities in the world turn'd into Athes and Ruines in Three Days space, with many fcor Churches, and the Wealth and Necellaries of the Inhabitants. The Number of Houfes are recorded by others.

§ 32.
§ 32. It was a sight that might have given any Man a lively sense of the Vanity of this World, and all the Wealth and Glory of it, and of the future Configuration of all the World. To see the Flames mount up towards Heaven, and proceed so furious without restraint: To see the Streets filled with people astonished, that had scarce sense left them to lament their own calamity. To see the fields filled with heaps of Goods, and Simpatico Buildings, curious Rooms, costly Furniture and Handsome Stuff: Yea, Warehouses and furnished Shops and Libraries, &c. all on a flame, and none durst come near to receive any thing. To see the King and Nobles ride about the Streets, beholding all these Desolations, and none could afford the least Relief. To see the Air, as far as could be beheld, so filled with the Flame, that the Sun shined through it, with a colour like Blood; yet even when it was setting in the West, it so appeared to them that dwelt on the West side of the City. But the dolefullest sight of all was afterwards, to see what a ruinous confused place the City was, by Chimneys and Steeple's only standing in the midst of Cellars and heaps of Rubbish; so that it was hard to know where the Streets had been, and dangerous, of a long time to pass through the Ruines, because of Vaults, and fire in them. No man that feeth not such a thing, can have a right apprehension of the dreadfulness of it.

§ 33. The Extent of the Fire (confining the City within the Walls) calleth to my remembrance, that a fortnight before, one Mr. Carl, a Gentleman of a great Estate in Sussex, and faid to be one of the most understanding and sober fort of Papists, first lent, and then come to have visited me, as earnestly desiring my Acquaintance; and then lent me a Paper to answer, being Exceptions against the Preface to my book, called, The age Religion: written by one that professed great Respect to me, and a desire to debate those Controversies with me; (and it proved to be Crofhy, the Champion that at that time was most forward and succeful in Diaputcs.) And in that Paper, speaking of the Pope's Licenfing Whore-houfes at Rome; he faith, that it is worse in London, where are whole Streets that have not fo much as the Rebuke of any Penalty, but when they die, the Churchmen bury them as the ref, with confidence, that God in mercy hath taken to himfelf the Souls of thofe dear Brethren and Sifters departed. I anfwered his Paper, and to that palliage faid, That I was not acquainted in the Suburbs (towards the Court): but I never heard of any fuch thing; and if he knew it, he would do well to tell the Magiftrates (who know it not) what Streets thofe be: But for the City, within the Walls, my Acquaintance more enabled me to fay, that I did not believe that there was in all the World such a City for Piety, Sobriety and Temperance. And about a fortnight after, that part was burned, and the ref, that he according, did escape.

§ 34. And this is the Third terrible Judgment which London fuffered, since the King's Return. First, many score of their Faithful Teachers were silenced, and call out, and afterwards banifhed, or confined Five Miles from the City: And next, in 1665, the Plague and other ficknesses confumed about an Hundred Thoufand: And when they began to be fetled in their Habitations again, the Flames devoured their Houses and their Subftance. And it is not hard for the Reader here to imagine how many Thoufands this mutt needs call into utter Want and Beggary: And how many Thoufands of the former Rich were deflabled from relieving them. And how doleful the Cafe then mutt needs be, when good people, that were wont to relieve others, were call into fuch diftreffes, and few able to help them And at the fame time so many Hundred Families of silenced Minifters to be relieved, that looked to London mutt for Help. And after the Fire the Charitable were deflabled; and also were in no fafh Straits when they had a little to give, between the Miniflers and the diftraffed Citizens, whom to give it to: fuch are easier heard of than felt. And it was not the leaft part of the Calamity, that when people faw the Number of the indigent to be fo great, that when they had done their felf, it seemed as if they had done nothing; and alfo that on this pretence, other lying Beggers pretended thefelves to be Londoners, it discouraged many from doing what they could and ought.

§ 35. Among others, the Famous Person in the City, who purposely addicted himself to works of Mercy, was my very dear Friend, Mr. Henry Abarfs, a Draper (a man of the Primitive fort of Chriftians for Humility, Love, Blamelefsnes, Meeknes, doing good to all as he was able, especially needy silenced Minifters (to whom, in Lancashire alone, he allowed 100 l. per Annum. and in London was most famous for their fucour), and doing hurt to none. His care now was to solicit the Rich abroad, for the relief of the poor honest Londoners: And Mr. Thomas Gouge (the famed Minifter of Sepulchres Parish, Son to Dr. Will. Gouge, and fuch another man,
who made Works of Charity a great part of the business of his Life;) was made the
Treasurer: And once a Fortnight they called a great Number of the needy together,
to receive their Alms. I went once with Mr. Shaftes to his Meeting, to give them an
Exhortation and Counsel, as he gave them Alms, and few more caule, than I was felig-
ble of before, to be thankful to God, that I never much needed relief from o-
thers.

§ 36. It was not the least observable thing in the time of the Fire, and after, con-
considering the late Wars, and the multitudes of disbanded Soldiers, and the great grief
and discontent of the Londoners, for the Slending and Banishing of their Paffors,
that there were heard in the time of their Calamity, no passionate Words of
discontent or dishonour against their Governors, even when their Enemies had so
off accumbled them of feuditious Inclinations, and when Extremity might possibly have
made them desperate.

§ 37. But yet alas! the Effect of all these dreadful Judgments was not such as
might have been hoped for, but still one Party call all the Canfe upon another, and
the two Extremes did look more at each other's Faults than at their own. There was
no confenting the Sin of Perfection, or licencing Christ's Ministers by the one side,
but they justified their ways, and hated those that differed from them, as much as
ever; There was no lamenting the Corporation PER JURY by the Citizens that
had taken the Declaration and Oath, and had exceceded them that were put out, be-
cauze they feared an Oath. There was no lamenting former Scandals, Rebellions,
or Divisions, by the other Extreme; but the Knives cried out, Its long of the Per-
fectors, and the perfecters cried out, its long of the Schiffmates, and it is God's juft
Judgment on the City, that hath been so much against the King and the Bishops; and
God would not pardon them tho the King did: So that while each side called the other
to repentance, they did both fly from repentance more and more: And if there were
not between them a fober party, that lamented in moft but were guilty of leaf. We
should fee no Proofs of any thing but utter defolation.

§ 38. The great talk at this time was, Who were the burners of the City? And
there came in so many Testimonials to prove it that was the plotted weapon of the
Parfifs, as caused the Parliament themselves to appoint a Committee to inquire after
it, and receive information: Whereupon a Frenchman (proved a Papiff at laft, tho
the prodigal Son of a French Protestant) confefed openly and confiantly to the laft, that
he began the fire, hired it to by another French Papiff (a debranch'd fellow) that was gone:
The Man was sent through all the ruines, and fhewed them truly the house which he
fired (where it began), which then the Neighbours feemed could not easily have
done. For which he was tried at the Sessions, and upon his conftant Confession was
condemned and hanged. Sir Robert Brook's being Chairman of the Committee, abun-
dance of Testimonials were received; that in many parts of the City men were feen
to call fire balls into the houses; and some strangers taken with firey materials in their
pockets; and some that were taken firing houses were brought to the Guard of Soldi-
diers, and to the Duke of York, and never heard of afterward: With more fuch mat-
ter out of the Countrie where Divers Papers foretold the fire; And the Testimonials
were shortly after Printed, which is the reafon why I give them to you no more par-
cularly. And many Stories go about with very credible and undeniable Reports, that
be not in the Printed papers: As that of Sir Francis Peter (a credited Papiff) who had
Lodgings in Iloburn, next to a house that had flood empty face the plague: Where a
fmaid breaking out, cau'd the Lord Crewe and the Lord Shaftes to feek to quench the
fire; but they were fail to break open Sir Francis Peter's Doors, because he would
not lett them in: And afterward he defended his flayers with his fword, and wounded
one Man before they could apprehend him: And they found between the two houses
upon the Cutters, a fire kindled with bed-mats and fuch like things, which they put
out: But the matter was silenced and no more fail of it. In Shoreditch a Papiff came
to Sir Thomas Walshe, and took his Oath that one of the Pendred's brethren that had
hid the King after Woreffor flight, had told him before, that London would be shortly
burnt. Many other fuch testimonials were given in; but it came to nothing; and Sir
Robert Brook's the Chairman of the Committee, went shortly after into France, and as
he was ferried over a River was drowned (with his kinflinman) and his benefice meddling
with no more. So that the discontented Citizens feared not to accuse the Couriers,
as the factors of the Papiffs in the plot, the rather because that some cried out re-
joycingly. Now the Rebellions City is mine, the King is absolute, and was never King
indeed till now. But of the rest I refer you to the Printed papers.

§ 39.
Part III. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

§ 39. But some good role out of all these Evils: The Churches being burnt, and the Parish Ministers gone (for want of places and maintenance) the Nonconformists were now more resolute than ever, to preach till they were imprisoned: Dr. Manton had his rooms full in Covent-Garden; Mr. Thomas Vincent, Mr. Thomas Dodsitle, Dr. Samuel Amstey, Mr. Wadsworth, Mr. Tanaway at Rotherfirth, Mr. Chefter, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Turner, Mr. Grimes, Mr. Nathaniel Vincent, Dr. Jacob, (in the Counties of Exeter's-Eafl and Mr. Thomas Watson, &c. Did keep their Meetings very openly, and prepared large Rooms, and some of them plain Chappells, with Pulpits, Seats, and Galleries; for the reception of as many as could come. For now the peoples necessity was unpleasable: For they had none other to hear, having a few Churches that could hold no considerable part of the people. So that to forbid them now to hear the Nonconformists, was all one as to forbid them all publick worshipping of God, and to Command them to forsake Religion and to live like Atheists: And thus to forbid them to seek for Heaven when they had lost almost all that they had on Earth, and to take from them their spiritual Comforts, after all their outward Comforts were gone, they thought a Cruelty fo barbarous, as to be unbecoming any Man, that would not own himself to be a Devil. But all this little moved the Ruling Prelates, saving that frame restrained them from imprisoning the Preachers so h bodily and forwardly as before. The Independents also let up their Meetings more openly than before; especially Mr. Griffiths, Mr. Brooks, Mr. Cary, Mr. Barker, &c. And Dr. Owen (who had before kept far off) and Mr. Philip Nye, and Dr. Thomas Goodwin, who were their Leaders, came to the City. So that many of the Citizens went to those Meetings called private, more, than went to the publick Parish Churches.

§ 40. Yet at the same time it happily also fell out that the Parish Churches, that were left standing, had the best and ablest of the Conformists in them; especially Mr. Stillingfleet, Dr. Tillotson, Mr. White, Dr. Outram Dr. Patrick, Mr. Gifford, Dr. Whiston, Dr. Horton, Mr. Neill, &c. So that the moderate sort of the Citizens, heard either sort, in publick and private indifferentely; Whilf those on the one extreme reproached all Mens preaching save their own as being pedantic Conventicles; And those on the other extreme, would hear none that did Conform; Or if any heard them, they would never join with them in the Common prayers nor the Sacraments.

§ 41. Mr. Philip Nye before this (seeing the Independents like to fall under the greater sufferings, if they refused to hear in publick) had written a Manucript to prove it lawful to hear Conformable Parish Ministers (but not medling with Common Prayer or Sacraments). (For before the Wars in 1639 or 1640 he and Mr. Thomas Goodwin, had fall'n off from hearing or joyning in Common Prayer and Sacraments with the Parishes, and my Lord Say and Mr. Pym and fome others had got them to a dispute with Mr. John Bull, the Nonconformist who as fame faith, utterly baffled them). But when Mr. Nye's Manuscript came out, one Mr. Stoneham of their own party confused it, maintaining that to hear the Conformable Ministers was a fin. And before that a Pamphlet came out in Mr. John Goodwin's name before his death, to prove Prelatical Preachers to be no Teachers or Ministers of Christ, and the Common Prayer to be Idolatry: And a sharper than that to the fame purpofe came out from a young hot fifth Monarchy Preacher of Worceftershire called Mr. Brown. Which Mr. John Townes the Anabaptift anfwered, proving Parish Communion lawful. To which Brown largely replied, and Mr. Tomkes made fome fhort defence.

§ 42. About this time they renewed the talk of liberty of Confcience (for their ordinary ends, to keep people in hopes): Whereupon many wrote for it (especially Mr. John Hemifrexs and Sir Charles Walfey), and many wrote againft it, as Dr. Perinch f, and others mostly without Names; for the Conformists were now grown fo hardened as not only to do all themselves that was required of them, but alfo to think themselves fufficient for the whole Miniftriall work through the Land, and not oaly to confent to their flencing of their brethren, but alfo to oppose their refi tutuons, and write moft vehemently againft it, and againft any toleration of them: So little do men know when they once enter into an Evil way, where they shall flop. Not that it was fo with all, but with too many, especially with moft of the young men, that were of pregnant wits, and ambitious minds, and had fet themselves to seek preferments.

§ 43. On which accounts a great part of thofe that were called Latitudinarians began to change their temper, and to confent fome malignity againft thofe that were much more Religious than themselves. At firft they were only Cambridge Armini-
... and some of them not so much; and were much for new and free Philosophy, and especially for Cartes; and not at all for any thing Ceremonious. But being not so strict in their Theology or way of piety as some others, they thought that Conformity was too small a matter to keep them out of the Ministry. But afterwards many of them grew into such a dislike of the Weakness of many fercous Christians, who would have some harsh phrases in Prayer, Preaching and Discourse, that thence they feemed to be out of Love with their very, Doctrines, and their manner of worshiping God: Of which more anon.

§ 44. In June 1667. the Dutch came up the River of Thames, and Sir Edward Sprag, a Papist, that was Governor of our Fort at Sheerness had not fortified it, and deferted it; And so they came up to Chatham, and burnt some of our greatest Ships, and took away some, while we partly look on, and partly relented to no great purpose. And had they but come up to London, they might have done much more. This call us into a great conformation.

§ 45. At this time the King came in person among the Citizens, to perfwade them not to defert him, and made a Speech to them at Tower-Hill (not here to be receiv'd): And he had now great Experience of the Loyalty of the Citizens, who after such sufferings, and under such preffures in matters of Confcience, and of worldly Intereft, even in fuch extremity, were neither proved to do or fay any thing that was contrary to their fidelity to the King.

§ 46. The firing of London (which was moft commonly suppos'd to be done by the Papifts, and the Wars with the French, did raise greater Jealousies of the Papifts than had appeared before; So that weekly News came to London from many Countries, that the Papifts were gathering Horse and Arms, and that fome of them had got Troops, under pretence of the Militia or Volunteers to be ready for our defence. The Parliament hereupon declared themselves more againft them than was expected; which greatly troubled the Papifts. The Royalifts in many Countries were almoft ready to difarm them; especially the E. of Derby in Lancashire, was wholly true to the Protestant Intereft. Whereupon the Papifts thought it policy to live more privately, and to ceafe their offencation, and to obfure their Arms and Strength, and to do their work, in a more fecrect way. And fome of them Printed an Addrefs to the Royalifts, to plead kindnefs and affinity of dispositions with them, telling them that they hoped that they, that had fought, and fuffered in one caufe for the King, againft the Puritans, should have continued in the fame Union and Kindnefs, and that they would not have been fo much againft them: This was anfwered folidly by Dr. Loid. And doubts the Papifts had never fo great a defecation and disappointment since the King came in. For they feemed to think that the Parliament and Royalifts had been fo diftract'd with malice and revenge, againft the Puritans, as that they would have been content that London was burn'd, and would have done any thing that they would have them, even againft themfelves, their Country, their Religion and Pofterity, fo it had but favour'd of that revenge. But it proved otherwife.

§ 47. Whilft that all thefe Calamities, especially our losses and difgrace by the Dutch, muft be laid on some or other, the Parliament at laft bid all upon the Lord Chancellor Hyde; And the King was content it fhould be fo. Whereupon many Speeches were made againft him, and an Impeachment or Charge brought in againft him, and vehemently urged; and among other things, that he confented the King to Rule by an Army (which many thought, as had as he was, he was the chief means of hindering.) And, to be short, when they had first fought his Life, at laft it was concluded that his banifhment fhould fatisfy for all: And fo he was banifh'd by an Act, during his Life. The fall of Dunkirk to the French, and a great conwy Houfe which he had new built, increaf'd the difpleafure that was againft him: But there were greater Calamities which muft not Name.

§ 48. And it was a notable providence of God, that this Man that had been the grand Instrument of State, and done almoft all, and had dealt fo cruelly with the Nonconformists should thus by his own friends be call'd out and banifh'd, while thole that he had perfecuted were the moft moderate in his Caufe, and many for him. And it was a great calfe that befell good people throughout the Land by his defection. For his way was to decoy men into Conspiracies, or to pretend plots, and when upon the rumour of a plot the innocent people, of many Countries were bid in prifon, So that no man knew when he was safe. Whereas since then, the Laws have been made more and more severe, yet a Man knoweth a little better what to expect, when it is by a Law, that he is to be try'd. And it is nota-
notable, that he, that did so much to make the Oxford Law for banishing Ministers from Corporations that took not that Oath, doth in his Letter from France since his banishment lay, that he never was in favour since the Parliament Sat at Oxford.

§ 49. Before this the Duke of Buckingham, being the head of his Adversaries, had been overtopped by him, and was fain to hide himself, till the Dutch put us in fear, and then he appeared and rendered himself, and went prisoner to the Tower; but with so great Acclamations of the People in the Streets as was a great Discouragement to the Chancellor: And the D. of Buckingham was quickly set at liberty. Whereupon as the Chancellor had made himself the head of the Prelatical party, who were all for setting up themselves by force, and suffering none that were against them; so Buckingham would now be the head of all those parties, that were for liberty of Conscience: For the Man was of so Religion, but notoriously and professedly lustful; And yet of greater wit and parts, and founder Principles as to the interest of Humanity, and the Common good, than most Lords in the Court. Wherefore he Countenanced Fanatics and Sectaries among others, without any great suspicion, because he was known to be so far from them himself. Though he married the Daughter and only Child of the Lord Fairfax, late General of the Parliament's Army, and is his heir hereby, yet far enough from his mind; but yet a defender of the Privileges of Humanity.

§ 50. Before this also the Earl of Bristol had attempted to pull down the Chancellor, and to bring in a Charge against him into the Parliament: But the King soon quelled him; And being a Tory, he hath lain latent or quiet ever since, as unfit to appear in publick businesse; And Buckingham performed the Work.

§ 51. In October following the Parliament gave thanks to the King for removing the Lord Chancellor: But they were vehement in seeking an account of the Money, which have been granted for the publick service, and also to have an account of the busines at Chatham, by whose fault it was that the Dutch were unresisted and surprized our Shipping: And Committees were appointed for these purposes, and a great deal of talk and stir was made about them for a long time; but they could never attain their ends; but they that were faulty had friends enow to procure their security; And tho the Parliament gnudged at it, and sometimes talk high, yet this made no alteration in our Affairs.

§ 52. One notable disadventure which we had by the Dutch attempt was, that it drew down our new raised Inland-Soldiers into Kent towards Sheerness, where the unhealthful Air causeth abundance of them to lie sick, and kill'd so many, as greatly weakened many; Divers of the most forward Gentlemen of the Country there lost their Lives; And thus we have taught an Enemy how to undone us, if he can but force us to keep our Inland-Soldiers who are not needful to that Air, about the month of the Thome; their bodies are no more able to endure it, than if it were the most leave of our Foreign plantations.

§ 53. But the great Hift of these Times was about Money: The Parliament said they never had like summs been laid on the Subjects of this Land; and that the old way of payments by five or six libbatums at a time, was such a traffic in Comparison of this, as that it would be scarce observable: After many vast summs granted by way of Land-Taxes, Royal Aid, Poll-money, &c. there was felt, for continuance, the chimney-money, and several Excises, and the Customs, and the Wine-Tax for a limited Time. &c. But all was so much too little, that more was still needed and demand'd. The Country-people cried out, We are undone. The Tenants at Wilt did so many of them give up their Farms, that the Gentlemen cried out, If we have any more Land-Taxes, we are undone. What the People laid of the Parliament, and what of the Court, and what of the Bishops, and what of the Women, I shall not write: But Losers and sufferers will take leave to talk. But the Parliament grew more urgent to have an account of the moneys, as not believing that it was possible fairly to expend so much. The Person's that were made a Committee for examining Accounts, were very eminent for Ability, and Impartiality, and sincerity; (Mr. William Pierpoint, the Lord Bruerton, Col. Thomsun, and abundance more) They laid the great blame on Sir Geo. Carteret, Treasurer for the Navy: He was accused deeply in the House of Commons: He excused himself by laying much on the King's Privy-Seals: The Parliament said, that those Moneys were not to be had laid out on private Uses. After long time, the King and Council called the Lord Bruerton, Col. Thomsun, and some others, and sharply rebuked them, as injurious Person's, and such as
fought to discontent the Parliament, and make Differences, &c. And His Majesty undertook the Decision of the Bullions, and acquired Sir George Carteret; and the Parliament grudged, but acquiesced.

§ 54. When the Chancellour was banished, Sir Orlando Bridgman was made Lord Keeper; a Man that by his seeming moderation to the Nonconformists, (though a zealous Patron of Presbytery) got himself a good Name for a time; and at first, whilst the D. of Buckingham kept up the Cry for Liberty of Conscience, he seemed to comply with that Design, to the great displeasure of the Ruling Prelates. But when he saw, that that Game would not go on, he turned as zealous the other way, and now wholly ferveth the Prelatical Interest, but is not much valued by either side; but taken for an uncertain, timorous man. High Places, great Bullions and Difficulties, do so try Mens Abilities and their Morals, that many who in a low or middle station, obtained and kept up a great Name, do quickly lose it, and grow despised and reproached Perions, when Exaltation and Trial both made them known. Besides that, as in prosperous times the Chief State Ministers are praised, so in evil and suffering times, they bear the blame of what is amiss.

§ 55. About this time, the E. of S. (a Papist) having a very fair Wife (Daughter to the E. of C) an April allo (with whom lived Mr. Johnson, alias Torres, the Disputing Champion for Popery); the liked other men so much better than her Husband, that she fortook him, and kept her self secret from his knowledge: But he believing that the Duke of Buckingham kept her secretly, was not content to lose his Wife, but he would also lose his Life. And sending the Duke of Buckingham a Challenge, they met and fought the Duke having Capt. Hobner and Jenkins with him, and the Earl of Shrewsbury, Bernard, Howard, and another: Where Howard killed Jenkins, and the Duke wounded the Earl, of which wounds he dyed; And the King pardoned the Duke; but strictly prohibited Duels for the future. The Duke allo and the Marquess of Dorsettle had a skilful at boxing in an open Committee of Parliament.

§ 56. When the D. of Buckingham came first into this high fav'ge, he was look'd on as the chief Minister of State instead of the Chancellour; and shewed himself openly for Toleration or Liberty for all parties in matters of God's worship: And then others allo seem'd to look that way, as thinking that the King was for it. Whereupon those that were moft against it grew into feeming discontent. The Bp. of Winchester Morley, was put out of his place of Dean of the Chappell, and Bp. Crofts of Hereford (who seem'd then to be for moderation) was put into the place: But it was not long till Crofts was either discourag'd, or as some fay'd upon the Death of a Daughter, for grief did leave his place and the Court; And the Bp. of Oxford was brought into his place; and Dr. Crew (the fon of that wife * Dr. Blindford, and pions Man the Lord Crew) was made Clerk of the Clofet.

§ 57. At the fame time the Ministers of London who had ventured to keep open Meetings in their houfes, and preach'd to great Numbers contrary to the Law, were by the King's favour conuiv'd at; So that the people went openly to hear them without fear: Some imput'd this to the King's own inclination to liberty of Conscience; some to the D. of Buckingham's prevalency; some to the Papists Interest, who were for liberty of Conscience for their own Interest: But others thought that the Papists were really against Liberty of Conscience, and did rather desire and design that utmost severities might ruine the Puritans, and cause Diffentents and Divisions among our selves, till we had broken one another all into pieces, and turned all into such Confusions, as might advantage them to play a more faceful Game, than ever Toleration was like to be. But whatever else was the secret cause, it is evident that the great visible cause was the burning of London, and the want of Churches for the people to meet in; It being at the first a thing too gros, to forbid an undone people all publick worshipping of God, with too great rigour: And if they had been fo forbidden, poverty had left them fo little to lose as would have made them desperately go on. Therefore some thought all this was, to make necessity seem a faviour.

§ 58. But whatever the cause of the Connuance was, it is certain that the Country Minifters were fo much encouraged by the boldnefs and liberty of thole at London, that they did the like in most parts of England, and Crowds of the moft Religiouly inclined people were their hearers; And some few got in a travelling way, into Pulpits where they were not known and the next day went away to another place. And this, especially with the great discontent of the people for their manifold payments, and of Cities and Corporations for the great decay of Trade, and the
Part III. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

breaking and impoverishing of many Thousands by the burning of the City, together with the lamentable weakness and badness of great Numbers of the Ministers that were put into the Nonconformist's places, did turn the hearts of the most of the Common people in all parts against the Bps. and their ways, and inclined them to the Nonconformists, the fear restrained men from speaking what they thought, especially the richer fort.

§ 59. Here Ralph Wallis a Cohler of Glocester published a book containing the Names and particular histories of a great Number of Conformable Ministers, in several Parishes of England, that had been notoriously scandalous, and named their scandals, to the great displeasure of the Clergy; And I fear to the great temptation of many of the Nonconformists, to be glad of other Mens sin, as that which by accident might diminish the interest of the Prelats.

§ 60. The Lord Molyneu, a young man, gave out some words, which caused a Common Scandal in Court and City against the Bp. of Rochester, as guilty of most obscure Actions with the said Lord; the reproach whereof was long the talk of many sorts of persons, who then took liberty to speak freely of the Bishops.

§ 61. About this time (Jan. 1668.) the news came of the Change in Portugal, where by no means of the Queen, the King, who was a debauched person (and Charged by her of inefficiency or frigidity) was put out of his Government (tho' not his Title, and his brother by the consent of Nobles, was made Regent, and married the Queen, (after a Declaration of Nullity or a divorce) and the King was sent as a Prisoner into an Island, where he yet remaineth: Which News had but an ill found in England, as things went at that time.

§ 62. In Jan. 1668. I received a Letter from Dr. Mantin, that Sir John Barber told him that it was the Lord Keeper's desire to speak with him and me, about a Comprehension and Toleration: Whereupon coming to London, Sir John Barber told me, that the Lord Keeper spake to him, to bring us to light for the aforesaid end, and that he had certain proposals to offer us; and that many great Courtiers were our friends in the business, but that to speak frankly, if we would carry it, we must make use of such as were for a Toleration of the Papists also; And he demanded how we would answer the Common Question, What will satisfy you? I answered him. That other Men's Judgments and Actions about the Toleration of Papists, we had nothing to do with at this time: though it was no work for us to meddle in. But to this question, we were not so ignorant whom we had to do with, as to expect full satisfaction of our desires, as to Church-affairs: But the Answer must suit to the Sense of his Question: And if we knew their ends, what degree of satisfaction they were minded to grant, we would tell them what means are necessary to attain them. There are degrees of satisfaction, as to the Number of Persons to be satisfied; and there are divers degrees of satisfying the same Person. 1. If they will take in all Orthodoxy, Tolerable, Worthy Ministers, the Terms must be the larger. 2. If they will take in the greater part, somewhat less and harder Terms may do it. 3. If but a few, yet less may serve: for we are not so vain as to pretend that all Nonconformists are in every particular of one mind.

And as to the Presbytery now so called, whose Case alone we were called to consider, 1. If they would satisfy the far greatest part of them in an high degree, so as they should think the Churches feter'd in a good condition; the granting of what was designed by them in 1660. would do it, which is the settling of Church-Government according to that of A. Bp. Cibber's Model, and the granting of the Indulgences mentioned in his Majestie's Declaration, about Ecclesiatical Affairs. 2. But if they would not give so high satisfaction, the Alterations granted in his Majestie's Declaration alone, would so far satisfy them, as to make them very thankful to his Majesty; and not only to exercise their Office with Cheerfulness, but also to rejoice in the Kingdom's happiness, whose Union would by this be much promoted. 3. But if this may not be granted, at least the taking off all such impositions, which make us incapable of Exercising our Ministry, would be a mercy, for which we hope we should not be unthankful to God or the King.

§ 63. When we came to the Lord Keeper, we resolved to tell him, That Sir John Barber told us, His Lordship desired to speak with us, left it should be after said, that we intruded, or were the movers of it, or left it had been Sir John Barber's Forwardness, that had been the Cause. He told us why he sent for us, to think of a way of our Restoration; to which end he had some Proposals to offer to us, which were for a Comprehension for the Presbyterians, and an Indulgence for the Independents and
the rest: We ask him, Whether it was his Lordship's pleasure that we should offer him our Opinion of the means, or only receive what he offered to us. He told us, that he had somewhat to offer to us; but we might also offer our own to him. I told him, That I did think we could offer such Terms, no way injurious to the welfare of any, which might take in both Presbyterians and Independents, and all found Christians, into the Publick Established Ministry. He answered, That that was a thing that he would not have; but only a Toleration for the rest. Which being none of our business to debate, we desired him to confide such persons about it, as were concerned in it. And so it was agreed, that we should meddle with the Comprehension only. And a few Days after he sent us his Proposals.

§ 64. When we saw the Proposals, we perceived that the business of the Lord Keeper, and his way, would make it unit for us to debate such Cales with himself: And therefore we wrote to him, requesting, that he would nominate Two Learned preachers of Divines to treat with us, till we agreed on the fittest Terms; and that Dr. Bates might be added to us. He nominated Dr. Williams (who we then found was the Author of the Proposals, and of the whole business, and his Chaplain, Mr. Burton. And when we met, we tendered them some Proposals of our own, and some Alterations which we desired in their Proposals (for they presently rejected ours, and would hear no more of them; to that we were fain to treat upon theirs alone.)

§ 65. The Copy of what we offered them is as followeth.

1. That the Creedenda and Agenda in Religion, being distinguished, no Profession of Affidavit be required, but only to the Holy, Canonical Scriptures in general, and to the Creeds and 36 Articles in particular. And no Oath, Promise or Confeft be required, save only the renewing of the Covenant which in Baptism we made to God, and a promise of Fidelity in our Miniftry, and the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to the King. And for all leffer matters, it is fufficient, that the Laws may restrain us from preaching againft any Established Doctrine, or againft Epifcopacy. Liturgy or Ceremonies, and from all Male-Administrations, or Church-Tyranny, or Infults about the Sacraments; and that we be punishable according to the quality of the Offence.

II. The Fire burning now caufed a Nefcity of many more publick Assemblies for God's Worship, besides those in the yet standing Parish-Churches, we fensibly conceive that it would much conduc to the re-defying of the Churches and City, and the contenting of many, and the drawing off the people from more private Meetings; if a fufficient Number of the Ruin'd Churches be allowed to fuch fober Protestants, as will repair them, with the fame Liberty and Security for pofeflion, as the French and Dutch in London have their Churches; the people chufing their Pfaffers, and maintaining them: Or if his Majesty's Bounty allow them any Stipend, that none have that Stipend whom his Majesty approveth not. And that the Pfaffers be not fuffered to introduce there any Heretical or Idolatry, but fhall preach the Doctrine of the Sacred Scriptures, not oppofing the Doctrines or Orders of the Church, and ftill worhip God according to the Liturgy, or the Assembly's Directory, or the Reformed Liturgy offered by the Commissioners 1660, as they defire.

III. That all fuch be capable of Benefices, who subscribe and swear as is aforesaid, and being of Competent Abilities, fhall be Liffingly Ordained, or if already ordained, are confirmed by the late Act, or fhall be confirmed by my Commission, and his Majesty; they being obliged fome time to read the Liturgy, and sometimes to administer the Sacrament according to it (abating the Ceremonies). And to be often preft when it is read, which fhall be ordinarily or confantly done; and the Sacrament administered as oft as is required by Law, by himself, or fome other allowed Minifter. And that tho' who will only fubscribe and swear as is aforesaid, being ordained also as aforesaid, but cannot fo far conform to the Liturgy, may be allowed to preach and Catechize publicly, as Lutherans, or Affliftants to some others; and have fuch further Liberty about the Sacraments, as by just Regulations fhall be made fafe to Religion and the publick peace.

There is another way which would fatisfie almost all; by allowing each party fuch a Minifter, whofe Ordination and Administration they do make no scruple at; which would prevent all private Churches, and perhaps all Place of Schifm among us; which is, if in every Parish where any party different from the Established way, the Differents be left at liberty, either to communicate with any Neighbour-Church, or to chufe an Affiftant for the Incumbent, which Affiftant fhall be maintained by themfelves unless the Incumbent will voluntarily contribute;
In order to Comprehension, it is Humbly Offered,

1. That such persons, as in the late times of disorder have been ordained by Presbyters, shall be admitted to the Exercise of the Ministerial Function, by the Imposition of the Hands of the Bishop, with this, or the like Form of Words: [Take thou Authority to Preach the Word of God, and to Minister the Sacraments in any Congregation of the Church of England where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto] An Expedit much of this Nature was prattled and allowed of, in the Case of the Catharists and Meleians, Vid. Sir Canon Conch. Nic. of the Epistle of the name to the Churches of Egypt, Gelasius, Cyprianus, &c. Con. Nic. 2d part.

2. That all persons to be admitted to any Ecclesiastical Function, or Dignity, or the Employment of a Scholar (after the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy) shall (instead of all former Subscriptions) be required to subscribe this, or the like Form of Words [I A.B. do hereby profess and declare, That I do approve the Doctrines, Worship and Government Established in the Church of England; as containing all things necessary to Salvation; and that I will not endeavour, by my self, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Doctrine contrary to that which is so Established: And I do hereby promise, That I will continue in the Communion of the Church of England, and will not do any thing to disturb the Peace thereof.

3. That the Gesture of Kneeling at the Sacrament, and the use of the Cross in Baptism, and bowing at the Name of Jesus, may be left indifferent, or may be taken away, as shall be thought most expedient.

4. That in Case it be thought fit to review and alter the Liturgy and Canons, for the Satisfaction of Divers, that then every person to be admitted to preach, shall, upon his Institution, or Admission to preach, upon some Lord’s Day (within a time to be limited) publicly and solemnly read the said Liturgy, and openly declare his Affent to the Lawfulness of the use of it, and shall promise, That it shall be constantly used at the time and place accustomed.

In order to Indulgence of such Protestants as cannot be comprehended under the publick Establishment, it is Humbly offered,

1. That such Protestants may have liberty for the Exercise of their Religion in publick, and at their own Charges to build or procure places for their publick Worship, either within or near Towns, as shall be thought most expedient.

2. That the Names of all such persons who are to have this Liberty be registered, together with the Congregations to which they belong, and the Names of their Teachers;

3. That every one admitted to this Liberty, be disfitted to bear any publick Office, but shall face for Officers of Burden.

4. And that upon solemn a Certificate of their being listed among those who are indulged, they shall be freed from such legal penalties, as are to be inflicted on those who do not frequent their Parish-Churches.

5. And such persons so indulged shall not for their meeting in Convocations, be punished by Conspicuation of Exsates.

6. Provided that they be obliged to pay all publick Duties to the Parish where they inhabit under penalty.

7. This Indulgence to Continue for three years.
That the Liturgy may be altered by omitting,—&c.

By using the reading Psalms in the New Translation. By appointing some other Lessons out of the Canonical Scripture instead of those taken out of the Apocrypha, by not enjoining God-fathers and God-mothers, when either of the parents are ready to answer for the Child. By omitting that clause in the Prayer at Baptism [By spiritual regeneration]. By changing that Question, will thou be baptized, into, Will thou have this Child baptized? By omitting those words in the Thanksgiving, after publick and private baptism [To regenerate this Infant by thy holy Spirit, and to receive him for thy Child by adoption, and the firstRubrick after baptism]. It is certain by God's word, &c. By changing those words in the Exhortation after Baptism [Regenerate and Graffed into the body] into [Received into the Church of Christ.] By not requiring reiteration of any part of the service about baptism in publick, when it is evident that the Child hath been lawfully baptized in private. By omitting that Clause in the Collect after the petition of hands in confirmation [After the Example of thy holy Apostles, and to certify them by this sign, of thy favour, and gracious goodness towards them.] And by changing that other passage in the prayer before Confirmation [who hath vouchsafed to regenerate, &c.] into [who hath vouchsafed to receive these thy Elect into thy Church by baptism]. By omitting that clause in the Office of Matrimony [with my body I thee worship]. And that in the Collect [who hath condescended, &c.] By allowing Ministers some liberty in the translation of the Office, to use such other prayers as they shall judge expedient. By changing that clause in the prayer at burial. [For as much as it hath pleased Almighty God of his great mercy to take him, &c.] into [Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this World the Soul, &c.]—And that clause [In a pure and certain hope, &c.] into [in a full assurance of the resurrection by our Lord Jesus Christ, who is able to change our state, &c.] By omitting that clause, We give thee hearty thanks for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our brother out of the perils of this sinful World. And that other [As our joy is that our brother doeth]. By changing that Clause in the Common Service, [Our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, &c.] into [Our sinful Souls and Bodies may be cleansed by his precious Body and Blood]. By not enjoining the reading of the Communion. That the Liturgy may be abridged as to the length of it: Especially as to morning-service, By omitting all the Reproofs of the prayer from [O Lord open thou our, &c.] to the Litany, and the Litany and all the prayers from [on of God we beleece thee, &c.] to [we heartily beleece thee O Father, &c.] By not enjoining the use of the Lord's Prayer above once, viz. Immediately after the absolution, except after the Minister's Prayer before sermon, By using the Gloria Patri only once, viz. after the Reading Psalms. By omitting the vestige exclamations, unless it be thought fit to put any or all of the first seven among the sentences at the beginning. By omitting the Communion service, such times as are not Communion Days; excepting the to Commandments, which may be read after the Creed: And enjoining the prayer, Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep these Laws, only once at the End, By omitting the Collects, Epistles and Gospels, except only on particular holydays. By inserting the prayers for the Parliament into the Litany immediately after the prayer for the Royal Family, in this or the like form [That it may please thee to direct and prosper all the Confections of the High Court of Parliament, to the Advancement of thy glory, the good of the Church, the safety, honour and welfare of our Sovereign and his Kingdoms.] By omitting the two hymns in the Consecration of Bishops, and the Oration of Priests. That after the first Question in the Catechism, [What is your Name?] This may follow [When was this Name given you?] And after that [What was promised for you in Baptism?] Answer [Three things were promised for me, &c.] In the Questions before the Commandments it may be altered [You said it was promised for you, &c.] To the 14 Qst. [How many Sacraments hath Christ ordained?] The Answer may be [Two only: Baptism, and the Lord's Supper.]

§ 67. Upon Confusion we altered their paper in some things, and added some more (for we were held to those proposals) only leaving the point for Toleration to be debated with our Brethren of the Congregational way. And I privately acquaint-ed Dr. Owen with the substance of the business, and confuted him, that they might not fly, we neglected them. And we offered them the following form which was not what we desired, but more than Dr. Williams (after Bu. of Ch. &c.) would grant us, still professing himself willing of more, but that more would not pass with the Par-
Part Ill. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Parliament, and so would frustrate all our Attempts.)
§ 68. The paper offered by us.

1. Those who have been ordained only by mean Presbyters, or the Presidents of their Synods shall be instituted, and authorized to exercise their Ministry (and admitted to Benefices) therein in such manner as by his Majesty shall be therein appointed, by this form and words above [E. T. &c.] Provided that those who desire it, have leave to give in their professions that they renounce not their Ordination, nor take it for a Ministry, and that they take this, as the Augefracies Licence and Confirmation, and that they be not constrained to use any word or sentences which are not consistent with this profession.

2. All persons to be admitted by Ordination, Inagination, Licencet, or otherwise, into any Ecclesiastical situation and dignity, or to any preferment in either University, or to the Employment of a Schoolmaster, shall first take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and instead of all other Oaths, Subscriptions and Declarations (except the Ancient University Oath) shall be required only to subscribe to this form of Words:

J. A. B. Do hereby profess and declare my unengaged assent to the truth of all the holy Canonical scriptures, and to the Articles of the Creed [and to the Doctrine of the Church of England contained in the 36 Articles] or (to the Doctrinal part of the 39 Articles of the Church of England) or [excepting only the 3 Articles of Ceremonies and Prelacy.] And I do hold that the Doctrines, Worship, and Government there established doth contain all things absolutely necessary to salvation: And I will not knowingly by my self or any other, endeavour to bring in any Doctrine contrary to this aforesaid so established. And it is my true Resolution to hold Communion with the Churches of England, and faithfully to preserve the peace and happiness thereof.

And all those who are qualified with abilities according to the Law, and take the Oaths and Declarations above said, shall be allowed to preach Lectures and Occasional Cermiiim and to Catechise and to be presented and admitted to any Benefices, or to any Ecclesiastical, or Academical promotions, or to the teaching of Schools.

3. Every person admitted to any Benefice with care of Souls, shall be obliged himself, on some Lord's day, within a time prescribed to read the Liturgy appointed for that day (when it is faithfully altered), and the greater part of it in the mean time, and to be often present at the reading of it and sometimes to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the said Liturgies; And it shall be of some other awakened Minister be conscientiously used in his Church, and the Sacraments frequently administered as is required by the Law.

4. The 4th was against the Ceremonies without alteration, in their own words argue about basking at the Name itself, as after.

5. No Bishop, Chancellor, or other Ecclesiastical Officers shall have power to silence any allowed Minister, or suspend him ab officio vel beneficio, arbitrarily, or for any cause without a known Law: And in case of any such arbitrary or injurious silence and suspension there shall be allowed an appeal to some of his Majesty's Courts of Justice, so as it may be prosecuted in a competent time, and at a tolerable expense, being both Bishops and Presbyters and all Ecclesiastical persons are under the Government of the King, and punishable by him, for gross and injurious male-administrations.

5. Though we judge it the Duty of Ministers to Catechise, instruct, exhort, direct, and comfort the people personally, as well as publicly upon just occasion, yet left a pretended necessity of Examinations before the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or an unwarrantable Interdict should introduce Church-Tyranny, and wrong the faithful by keeping them from the Communion, let such those be admitted to the Communion who since their Infant baptism have by years of discretion manifested to the Bishop, or the Ministers of the Parish Church where they live, a tolerable understanding of the Effec tal points of Faith and Goodness, that is, of the Baptist Covenant, and of the nature and use of the Lord's Supper, and have perfectly owned before them or the Church, the Covenant which by others they made in Baptism, professing their Resolution to keep the same, in a Faithful, Godly, Righteous, Charitable and Temporal Life, and are not since this profession revolted to Atheism, Infidelity, or Error, (that is the denying of some Essential Article of faith) and live not impenitently in any gross and scandalous sin: And therefore in the Register of each Parish let all their Names be written, who have either before their Confirmation or at any other time this understandingly owned their Baptist Covenant, and a Certificate thereof from the Minister of the place shall serve without any further examination, for their admission to Communion in that or any other Parish Church where they shall after live, till the aforesaid revolts they have merited their dissolution.
The Life of the Part 1.

7. Because in many families there are more who can read or pray, or call to rememberance what they have heard to edify themselves and fnd the Lords day in holy exercises, and many of these live so far from the Church, that they go more seldom than the rest, and therefore have great need of the assistance of their Neighbours, it is not to be taken for a Contemptible or unlawful meeting when Neighbours shall peaceably join together in reading the Scripture or any good books, or repeating publick Sermons, and praying, and singing fjsals to God, while they do it under the infallition of the A infter, and not in opposition to the publick authorities. Nor yet that meeting where the Minifter shall presently Catechize his Neighbours, or pray with them, when they are in sickness, danger, or distress, the persons of several Families shall be present.

8. Whereas the Canon and Rubrick forbid the admiss of notorious scandalous fners to the Lords table, be it enabled that those who are proved to desire to ferve in Christianity, or the holy Scriptures, or the Life of Reward and Punishment, or the serious practice of a Godly Life, and ftrict obedience to Gods Commandes, shall be numbered with the Scandalous fners mentioned in the Canon and Rubrick, and not admitted, before repentence, to the holy Communion.

§ 69. The following paper will give you the reasons of all our alterations of their form of Words; but I must add this, that we thought not the form of Subscription fufficient to keep out a Papift from the established Miniftery (much less from a Toleration, which we needed not with). And here and in other alterations I bore the blame, and they told me that no Man would put in such doubts but I. And will here tell Pottery this Truth as a Mystery (yet only to the blind) which much not now be spoken, that I believe that I have been guilty of hindering our own Liberties in all Treaties that ever I was employ'd in: For I remember not one in which there was not some crevice, or contrivance, or terms offered, for such a Toleration, as would have let in the moderate Papists with us: And if we would but have opened the Door to let the Papists in, that their Toleration might have been charg'd upon us; as being for our fakes, and by our request or procurement, we might in all likehood have had our part. But though, for my own part, I am not for Cruelty againft Papists, any more than others, even when they are most cruel to us, but could allow them a certain degree of liberty, on Terms that shall secure the common Peace, and the People's Souls; yet I shall never be one of them that by any renewed prefures or severities, shall be forced to petition for the Papists liberty; if they must have it, let them Petition for it themselves: No craft of Jesuits or Prelates, shall thunder me, edgel me, or cheat me into the Opinion, that it is now neceffary for our own Miniftery, Liberty, or Lives, that we, I fay, we Nonconformists, be the famed Introducers of the Papists Toleration; that so neither Papists, nor Prelates may bear the odium of it, but may lay it all on us. God do what he will with us, his way is best, but I think that this is not his way.

§ 70. Upon these Alterations, I was put to give in my Reasons of them; which were as followeth.

The Reasons of our Alterations of your Proposals.

1. I put in [Presidents] &c. to avoid Dispute, whether such were mere Presbyters, or (as some think) Bifhops. 2. I leave out [times of disorder,] because it will else exclude all that were Ordained by Presbyteres since the King came in. 3. I put in [Instituted and Authorized] to intimate that it is not an Ordination to the Miniftery in general, but a designation to a particular Charge, and a legal License, &c. 4. [By such as by his Majesty, &c.] because it is not for us to offer our felves to a Diocfens Impofition of Hands in that manner; but if you put it in other Words, we cannot help it. 5. There are three things which the Nonconformists here fprue. 1. Renaming their Ordination; 2. Re-ordination (which is like Rebaptization.) 3. Owning the Diocafen Species of Prelacy; (for the Presbyters are against all Prelacy, and the Episcopal Nonconformists are against the English Frame, as contrary to that in the time of Cyprian, &c.) Therefore because these Words so much seem to express a Re-ordination by Diocfens, 1. by the Sign of Impofition of Hands. 2. by the Authorizing Words, and put in of purpofe to satisfy them that think the
Part III—
Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

the Presbyterians no Ministers. 4. In a time when this hath been so publickly declared; they cannot submit to all this without either a Declaration to the contrary in the Law, or a Liberty by the Law given them to profess their own Sense, in the three particulars questioned, that they renounce not their Ordination, nor like this as Re-ordination; nor own the Diocesan Prelacy, as defined from the old Episcopal (though they will submit to it.) 6. As by [insulted] we intend admissence to a Pastoral Charge, or Authority to administer Sacraments, we define that may be plainly infected, seeing be that only preach is as (as Prophets may do) hath no need of this, nor do any scruple to bear him. Or if they do, while be hath no charge, they may turn their back on him; while a Man is a Lecturer only to hear Volunteers, there is no use for this.

II. 1. We mention the University, because many were turned out of their Fellowships there for non-subscribing, &c. 2. We would have the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy made necessary. 3. The professed belief of the Scriptures and Creed, we take to be needful to Admissence: That which was the only ancient Catholic profession could not be left out of ours. 4. The professed Affirmation to the Doctrine of the Church of England, (and not only to approve it in tautum) is needful to satisfy the Sceptics, and to shut out Papists and Heretics from the comprehension.

6. Yet the word [approve] as related to the Worship and Government (though refrivitively) will on many Ac. counts be scrupled, and that is needless.

6. So [abolitely] as joined to [necessary] is needful to avoid Ambiguity and just Scruple. 7. The word [promise] required fuller certainty than [resolve] doth; and it binds us, not to alter our Judgments, which is not in our power in such a case. 8. The Word [continue] is a needless and entangling Word, and will deprive us of the use of the Indulgence, if we should ever change our minds.

But if (as some say) it be only the Communion of Faith and Love, such as we owe to Neighbour-Churches, and not Subjection, nor local presence in Worship, let that be but expressed, and every other Person will promise it. 9. To promise to [preserve the Peace and Happines of the Church] is a fuller Word than [to do nothing to disturb the peace;] and yet more clear, and plainly related to the whole Church.

III. We put [bowing at the Name of Jesus, rather than, &c.] to avoid the imputation of Impiety, lest we be thought to be against bowing at that Name; clearly, when it is but as comparatively and exclusively to others.

IV. 1. In case if it be thought fit, &c.] We must suppose it thought fit. 2. This whole Undertaking is proper only to them that take a Cure, and not for an occasional or yet Lecturer. 3. It will answer our Sense if you put it thus; [Shall read the Liturgy, when satisfactorily altered, and some considerable part till then, if it be delayed.] 4. The profession of the Lamb'ready is but a needless temptation, as to him that is bound actually to use it. 5. And the promise that it shall be constantly used may be hindered by sickness, or so many Casualties, that its much suffer to bind them only by a Law. 6. And then [the Event] only must be expressed [that it be used] by whose procurement (业者, so it be done. I may think it unlawful to procure another to do that, which I cannot do myself, and yet some other may procure it.

In the Second Article I forget to tell you, That we annex the grant of the desired liberty, after the Subscription, lest else our hopes be frustrate, when we have done all.

The Reasons of the added Articles are apparent in themselves.

The Sum of all our Reasons is, It is confessed that our Phrase will serve the Ends of our Superiors; and we are certain that they will satisfy a far greater number than the other will do, and to their greater ease and quiet of Conscience, that they may not feel themselves still pinched and uneasy, and kept under desires of further changes: And we are sure that we are much better able our selves, to plead down Men's Objections, if it be thus worded, than is the other way. And we would fain have this no patch or palliate Cure, but such as may cease the now drooping Difficulties, to rejoice under the Government, and to perceive it to be their Interest to defend it against all Attempters of a Change.

§ 71. But because the grand stop in our Treaty was about Re-ordination, and Dr. Wilkins still insisted on this, That those Conferences must be accommodated who took them for no Ministers who were ordained without Bishops, and some Words were
were put into their Proposals, which seemed to signify a Reordination; though he denied such a signification, we were put to give in this following Paper.

The Reasons why we cannot consent to Reordination.

I. We are not casuistically consent to the use of such Words as imply an untruth, viz. That such as were Ordained by Lawful Pastors, and the Presidents or their Synods, are not lawful Ministers of Christ, in an Ecclesiastical Sense.

II. We are not consent to the taking of God's Name in vain, by using holy Expressions, and a Divine Ordinance, either as a Sealed Form, or to confirm an Error.

III. We are not casuistically go against the Judgment of the Universal Church of all Ages, who have condemned Reordination, as they did Rebaptizitation. The Canons, called the Apostles, depose both the Ordainers, and the Ordained.

IV. We are not so far wrong the Protestant-Churches, as to do that which importeth, That their Ministry is null, and consequently all their Churches null (politically taken.)

V. We are not so far wrong all the People of England, and all other Protestant-Churches, who have lived under the Ministry of such Presbyters, or such Bishops as were ordained only by Presbyters, as to tempt them to think, that all the Sacraments were nullities which they received; and so that they are all unbaptized or unchristened: even Denmark, and those parts of Germany, which have some kind of Bishops, had their first Ordination of them by Pomeranus, and others, that were no Bishops. And most Protanists hold, That Baptism is null, which is not performed by a Minister of Christ. Because no one else is Authorized to deliver God's part of the Covenant, or to receive the Covenant, or invest him in the Christian State and Privileges.

VI. We are not so far strengthened the cause of the Anabaptists, as to declare thus far, That all the People of England, and all Protestant-Churches, as were Baptized by such as had not Ordination by Diocesan, are to be Rebaptized.

VII. We are not so far burdened the Papists, and answere their cause, nor tempt the People to Popery, as to seem to consent, that their Churches, Ministry and Baptism is true, and the Protestant Ministry, Churches and Baptism is false: Nor dare we teach them, if (which God forbid) they should get the power of governing us, to call us all again to be Re-ordained and Re-baptized: Our Liturgy binding us to take private Baptism as valid, [if the Child was Baptized by any Lawful Minister] intimation that else it is invalid: and so that seemeth the Judgment of the Church of England.

VIII. We are not tempt any other Sects, or Erasers to expel, that as oft as they can get the upper hand, we may be Re-ordained and Re-baptized at their pleasure.

IX. We dare not make a Schism in our Congregations, by tempting the Pastors to reject most of the People from the Communion, as Rebaptized Persons.

X. We dare not disannul the King and Parliament so far as to discourage them, to confirm these Errors by an Act of Parliament, Enabling (ready) Re-ordination.

And I R. B. must profess, That having eight Years ago, written a Treatise purposely to prove the validity of the late Ordination, by the Synods of Presbyteries in England (though I never practised any my self) and having openly called for some Cofumption of it, I never could procure any to this day: And therefore am the more excusable if I err. (Though I was my self Ordained by a Bishop.)

Note. That by Ordination, we mean the Solemn Separation of a Person from the number of the Laity, to the Sacred Ministry in general; and not the designation, appointment, or determination of him to this or that particular Flock or Church; nor yet a mere Ecclesiastical Confirmation of his former Ordination, in a double sense: Nor yet the Agitators Exeuse to exorcize the Sacred Ministry in his ommisions; All which we believe on such Occasion, may be frequently given and received: And we thereby profess to confess to no more.

§ 72. Besides the forefaid Alterations of their Proposals, we offered them this following Lamentation of the Liturgy, containing in some Points less, and in some Points more, than their own Proposals (for in this Dr. Wilkins was not right.)
The most necessary Alterations of the Liturgy.

That the old Preface be restored instead of the new one.

The Order for all Priests, Deacons, and Curates, to read the Liturgy once or twice every Day, to be put out.

The Rubrick for the old Ornaments, which were in use in the second Year of Edw. VI. put out.

The Lord's Prayer to be used intirely with the Doxologies.

Add to the Rubrick before the Communion thus: Nor shall any be admitted to the Communion, who are grossly ignorant of the Essential of Christianity: nor of that Sacrament; or who is an Atheist, Infidel, or Heretic: (that is, denyeth any Essential part of Religion) nor any that derideth Christianity, or the Holy Scriptures; nor the strict obeying of God's Commandments.

Read the Fourth Commandment as it is in the Text, *Ex. God blessed the Sabbath Day.*

Add to the Communion Rubrick; [None shall be forced to Communicate; because it is a high Privilege, which the Unwilling are unworthy of; and fo are those who are conscious that they live impenitently in any defect or open licentious sin: And become many confoundable Persons, through Melancholy, or too hard thoughts of themselves, have to great fears of unworthy receiving, that it were like to drive them to despair, or affliction, if they are forced to it before they are satisfied. Therefore let Popery and Prophaneness be expressed, by some fitter means than this.]

In the Prayer before the Consecration Prayer, put out [That our sinful Bodies may be made clean by his Body, and our Souls washed by his precius Blood.] and put it thus: That our sinful Souls and Bodies may be cleansed by his Sacrificed Body and Blood.

Let there be liberty to use Christ's own Form of Delivery, recited by St. Paul, Cor. 11, changing only the Person, [Take, Eat, this is Christ's Body, which, &c.] Let Christian Parents be permitted to offer their own Children to God in Baptism, and enter them into the Holy Covenant, by using those Words that are now imposed on the Godfathers.

That where any Minister dare not in Conscience Baptize the Child of proved Atheists, Infidels, gross Heretics, Fornicators, or other such notorious Sinners, as the Canon forbidth us to receive to the Communion (both Parents being such, and the Child in their power and possesion,) that Minister shall not be forced to do it; but the Parents shall procure some other to do it.

Alterations very desirable also.

The Lord's Prayer, and Gloria Patri, seldom used.

Begin with the Prayer for the second Sunday in Advent, for Divine Assistance, or some other.

Let more be forced to bear the Decalogue kneeling; because the Ignorant who take them for Prayers, are scandalized and hardened by it.

Let more be forced to use Godfathers at their Children's Baptism, who can (either Parent) be there to perform their Duty. Or, at least, let the Godfathers be but as the ancient Sponsors, whose Office was, 1. To attend the Parents Fidelity; 2. and to promise to bring up the Child in Christian nurture, if the Parents dye, or prove defectors.

Because Ministers subscribe to the 25th Article of the Church's Doctrine, which faith [Those Five, commonly called Sacraments, that is Confirmation, &c. are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Covenant, being sith have grown partly of the corruption following of the Apostles. For they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.] Therefore in the Collect for Confirmation, put our Upon whom after the Example of the Holy Apostles, we have now laid our Hands, to certify them by this sign, of thy favour and gracious goodnerf toward them.

Holidays left indifferent, save only that all be refrained from open labours, and temptation of them. Especially [Holy Innocents Day, St. Michael's Day, and All-Saints] because there is no certainty that they were Holy Innocents. And its hard to keep a Holiday for one Angel. And all true Christians being Saints, we keep Holidays for our selves.

The Book of Ordination, restored as it was.
For this shall be Baptized] put [All shall have this known Baptized.]

The Cross and the Suppliance left at liberty, and kneeling at the Act of Receiving, and bowing at the Name [Holy] rather than [Hrist, God, &c.]

After Baptism put [Seing this Child is Sacramentally Regenerated.] And in the Prayer following put it, [That it hath pleased thee Sacramentally to Regenerate and Adopt this Infant, and to incorporate him into thy Holy Church.]

Instead of the new Rubrick [it is certain by God's Word, &c.] put [True Christian Parents have no cause to doubt of the Salvation of their Children, dedicated to God in Baptism, and dying before they commit any actual sin.]

In the Exhortation put it thus, [Doubt not therefore, but earnestly believe, That if this Infant be sincerely dedicated to God, by those who have that power and trust, God will likewise favourably receive him, &c.]

Let not Baptism be privately administered, but by a lawful Minister, and before sufficient Witnesses: and when it is evident that any was so Baptized, let no part of the Administration be reiterated.

And to the Rubrick of Confirmation (or the Preface) [And the tolerable Understanding of the same Points, which are necessary to Confirmation, with this owning of their baptismal Covenant, shall be also required of those that are not confirmed before their admission to the holy Communion.]

It is lawful for the Minister to put other Questions besides those in the Catechism, to help the Learners to understand; and also to tell them the meaning of the Words as he goeth along.

Alterations in the Catechism (or another allowed.)

Q. What is your Name?

Q. When was this Name given you?

A. In my Baptism.

Q. What was done for you in your Baptism?

A. I was devoted to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and entered into his Holy Covenant, and engaged to take him for my only God, my reconciled Father, my Saviour, and my Sanctifier: And to believe the Articles of the Christian Faith, and keep God's Commandments sincerely all the Days of my Life; Renouncing the Devil, and all his works, the Pomp's and Vanities of this wicked World, and all the sinful Lusts of the Flesh.

Q. What are you receive from God in this Covenant of Baptism?

A. God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as my reconciled Father, my Saviour and my Sanctifier, did forgive my Original Sin, and receive me as a Member of Christ, and of his Church, and as his Adopted Child, and Heir of Heaven.

Q. Do you think that you are now bound to keep this Covenant, and to believe and live according to it?

A. Yes, Verily, &c.

Q. Rehearse, &c.

A. I Believe, &c.

Q. What, &c.

A. FIrst, &c.

Q. What be the Commandments of God, which you have Covenanted to observe?

A. The Ten Commandments written by God in Stone, besides Christ's Precepts in the Gospel.

Q. Which be the Ten Commandments?

After the Answer to [What is thy Duty towards God?] add, [And to keep holy the Day which he separateth for his Worship.] In the next, let [to bear no malice, &c.] be put before [to be true and just.]

In the Answer to the Quest. after the Lord's Prayer, after [all People] put [that we may Honour and Love him, as our God; That his Kingdom of Grace may be set up in our Souls, and throughout the World, and his Kingdom of Glory may come, and that God's Law, and not Men's sinful Lusts and Wills may be obeyed, and Earth may be liker unto Heaven. And I Pray, &c.]

Q. How
Q. How many Sacraments of the Covenant of Grace, hath Christ Ordained in his Church?

A. Two only, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

Q. What meaneth that, &c.

A. I mean that Solemn Covenanting with God, wherein there is an outward visible sign, of giving up our selves to Him, and of his giving his Grace in Christ to us, being ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive that Grace, and a pledge to allure us of it.

To Q. What is the inward Spiritual Grace?

A. The pardon of our Sins by the Blood of Christ, whose Members we are made, and a death unto sin, &c.

Q. Why are Infants Baptized?

A. Because they are the Children of the Faithful; to whom God's Promises are made, and are by them devoted unto God, to be entered into Covenant with Him, by his own appointment; which when they come to Age, themselves are bound to perform.

After the next Answer add, [And for our Communion with Him, and with his Church.]

To Q. What are the Benefits, &c.

A. [The renewed Pardon of our Sins, and our Communion with Christ, and his Church, by Faith and Love, and the strengthening, &c.

In the Visitation of the Sick, let the Minister have leave to vary his Prayer, as Occasions shall require. And let the Absolution be conditional, [If thou truly believe in God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and truly repentest of thy sins, I pronounce thee absolved through the Sacrifice and Merits of Jesus Christ.]

If any who is to be kept from the Communion, for Atheism, Infidelity, Heresie or Impenitency in gross sin, shall in Jackie's desire Absolution, or the Communion: and if any Minister intrusted with the power of the Keys, do perceive no probable sign of true Repentance, and therefore dare not in conscience absolve him, or give him the Sacrament, let him profane God's Ordinance, and harder the wicked in presumption and impenitency, not that Minister be forced to that Office against his conscience; but let the sick chase some other, as he please.

And at the Burial of any who were lawfully kept from the Communion, for the same causes, and not absolved, let the Minister be at liberty to change the words thus; [Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this world the soul of this deceased person, we commit his body, &c. believing a Salvation of the just and unjust, some to joy, and some to punishment.] And to leave out the Prayer [We give thee hearty thanks for that it hath pleased thee to deliver our brother out of the misery of this sinful world]. And instead of it put [And the fouls of the wicked to misery. We beseech thee to convert us all from sin, by true and speedy repentance: And teach us to spend this little time in an holy and serious conversation, that we may be always prepared for Death and Judgment; And ---] and in the next Collect to leave out [as our hope is this our brother doth.]

But in the Rubrick before Burial, instead of [Any that die unbaptized] put [Any that die unbaptized at years of discretion.]

That thine infants of Christian Parents who die unbaptized, be not numbered with the Excommunicate and Self-murderers, and denied Christian Burial.

Let the Psalms in the Parish-Churches be read in the Lit Translation.

Let the Liturgy either be abbreviated, by leaving out the short Versicles and Responses; or else let the Minister have leave to omit them: and in times of cold or bafe, to omit some of the Collects, as he beareth cause.

In Churches where no cannot read, let the Minister read all the Psalms himself: because the confused voice of the multitude is seldom intelligible.

Let the shorter confession, and the general Prayer, offered by the Commissioners 1660, be inserted as aliases, with the Confession and Litany, and liberty granted some time to use them.

All things in the Communion contrary to any thing in this Art to be void and null. And all things repeated in any former Law, that is contrary to this Art.
on the other part, because therein it was desired, that till the Liturgy was satisfactorily reformed, we should not be constrained to read it, but only sometimes the greater part of it: which words I offered my self, lest else the whole should have been fruitless; and because the very words of the Scripture (the Psalms, Sentences, Hymns, Chapters, Epistles, Gospels, &c.) are the far greater part of the Liturgy; so that by this we should not have been forced to use any more, or any thing scrupled.

§ 74. Before we concluded any thing, it was desired, that seeing the Earl of Man-
chester, Lord Chamberlain, had been our closest friend, we should not conclude without his notice: And so at a Meeting at his House, these two more Articles, or Proposals, were agreed to be added: viz.

"1. Whereas the Sentence of Excommunication may be passed upon very light Occasions; it is broadly defined, that no Minister shall be compelled to pronounce such sentence against his conscience, but that some other be thereunto appointed by the Bishop, or the Court.

"2. That no person shall be punished for not requiring to his own Parish-church, who goeth to any other Parish-church or Chapel within the Diocese.

(For by the Bishop's Doctrine it is the Diocesan Church that is the lowest Political Church, and the Parishes are but parts of a Church: for there is no Bishop below the Diocesan. Therefore we go not from our own Church, if we go not out of the Dioces.)

§ 75. When these Proposals were offered to Dr. Wilkins, and the Reasons of them:

1. He would not consent to the clause in the first Propos. [Provided that those who desire it, have leave to give in their Profession, that they renounce not their Ordination, &c.] Where was our greatest stop and disaffection.

2. He would not have had subscription to the Scriptures put in, because the same is in the Articles to which we subscribe; I answered, that we subscribed to the Articles because they were materially contained in the Scripture, and not to the Scriptures, because they were not in the Articles, I thought it needful for Order fake, and for the right description of our Religion, that we subscribe to the Scriptures first: And to this at last he consented.

3. He refused the last part of the fifth for Appeals to Civil Courts, saying there was a way of Appeals already, and the other would not be endured.

4. The two next (the 6th and 7th) he was not forward to, but at last agreed to them, leaving out the Clause in the 6th for Registring Names.

5. The two last added Articles also were excepted against. But in the end it was agreed (as they said, by the the Lord keeper's Consent) that Sir Matthew Hale Lord chief Baron of the Exchequer, should draw up what we agreed on into the form of an Act to be offered to the Parliament. And therefore Dr. Wilkins and I were to bring our Papers to him, and to advise further with him, for the wording of it, because of his eminent Wisdom and Sincerity.

§ 76. Accordingly we went to him, and on Consultation with him, our proposals were accepted, with the alterations following.

1. Instead of the Liberty to declare the validity of our ordination, which would not be endured; it was agreed that the terms of Collation should be these [Take then Legal Authority to preach the Word of God, and administer the Holy Sacraments in any Congregation of England, where there shall be lawfully appointed thereunto.] So that the word Legal might shew that it was only a general Licenfe from the King that we received, by what Minister forever he pleased to deliver it: And if it were by a Bishop, we declared that we should take it from him but from the King's Minster. For the Paper which I gave in against Re-ordination, convinced Judge Hale, and Dr. Wilkins, that the renunciation of former Ordination in England was by no means to be exacted or done.

2. Our Form of Subscriptions remained unaltered.

3. The Clause of Appeals we left out.

4. The fourth, fifth, and seventh failed, leaving out the Clause of Registring Names.
§ 77. Because they objected, That by the last Article we should befride the Papists, and especially by a Clause that we offered to be inferred in the Rubrick of the Liturgy, \[That the Sacrament is to be given to none that are unwilling of it,\] and I stood very much upon that with them, that we must not corrupt Christ's Sacrament, and all our Churches, and Discipline, and injure many hundred thousand Souls, only to have the better advantage against Papists; and that there were rather and better means to be used against them. Upon their Enquiry what means might be substituted, I told them, that besides some others, a Subscription for all the Tolerated Congregations or Ministers, distinct from that of the Established Ministry, as followeth, might discover them.

§ 78. The Subscription of the Established Ministry.

"I do hereby profess and declare my unfeigned belief of the Holy Canonical Scriptures, as the infallible, infirine, and perfect rule of Divine Faith, and Holy Living, supposing the Laws of Nature; and also my belief of all the Articles of the Creed, and of the 36 Articles of the Doctrines and Sacraments of the Church of England.

Or else the Subscription before agreed on (though this be much better;) supposing the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy also be taken.

The Subscription of all that have Toleration.

"I A. B. do hereby profess and declare, without equivocation and deceit, That I believe Jesus Christ to be the only Governing Head of the Universal Church; and the Holy Canonical Scriptures to be the infallible, infirine, and perfect rule of Divine Faith, and Holy Living, supposing the Laws of Nature; and that I believe all the Articles of the Ancient Creeds, called the Apostolic and the Nicene. And that I will not knowingly oppose any Article of the Said Holy Canonical Scriptures, or Creeds; nor of the Creed called Athanasius's: Nor will I publicly, sedulously, or unpeaceably deprave, or cry down the Doctrines, Government, and Worship Established by the Laws."

This doth exclude the Essentials of Popery, and yet is such as all sober, peaceable Persons that need a Toleration, may submit to.

§ 79. It hath oft times grieved me in former times, to hear how unskilfully some Parliament-Men went about to exclude the Papists, when they were contriving how to take off the Telf and Force of the Law, compelling all to the Sacrament. Some must have a Subscription that must name Purgatory and Images, and praying to Saints, and Justification by Works, and other Points, which they could neither rightly enumerate nor state, to fix them for such a use as this; but would have made all their work ridiculous, not knowing the Essentials of Popery, which are only to make up such a general Telf for their Exclusion.

§ 80. But I suppose the Reader will more feelingly think, when he findeth upon what terms we strive (and all in vain) for a little liberty to preach Christ's Gospel, even upon the hardest Terms that will but conflict with a good Confidence, and the safety of our own Souls; he will think, I say, what a cull such Ministers and such Churches now are in? And how strange (or rather fad than strange) is it, That..."
Christian Bishops, that call themselves the Pfaffs and Fathers of the Church, should put us on such Terms as these, when Acts 28, ult. Paul preached in his own House, to as many as came to him, none forbidding him, even under Heathens, &c. And if the Reader be so happy, as to live in Days of the Church's Peace, and Liberty, and Reformation, he will be apt to confine us for yielding to such hard Terms as here we do: Who if he had been in the time and place with us, and seen that we could have the Gospel upon no other Terms, he would pity rather than confine the Churches and us.

§ 81. Nay, how joyfully would (I believe 1200 of) the Nonconformable Ministers of England (at least) have yielded to these Terms, if they could have got them. But, alas! all this labour was in vain; For the active Prelates and Prelatifs do far prevailed, that as soon as ever the Parliament met, without any delay, they took notice, That there was a rumour abroad of some Motions or Act to be offered, for Comprehension or Indulgencie; and voted, That no Man should bring in such an Act into the House; and fo they prevented all talk or motion of such a thing; and the Lord Keeper that had called us, and set us on work, himself turned that way, and talk'd after, as if he understood us not.

§ 82. In April, 1668. Dr. Creighton, Dean of Wells, the most famous, loquacious, ready-tongu'd Preacher of the Court, who was used to preach Calvin to Hell, and the Calvinists to the Gallows; and by his formulous revilings and jells, to set the Court on a Laughter, was suddenly, in the Pulpit, (without any ticknifs) surprized with Ailonishment, worse than Dr. South, the Oxford-Orator, had been before him, and when he had repeated a Sentence over and over, and was so confounded, that he could go no further at all, he was fain, to all Men's wonder, to come down. And his cafe was more wonderful than almost any other Man's, being not only a fluent, extemporane Speaker, but one that was never known to want words, especially to express his Satyrical or bloody Thoughts.

§ 83. In July Mr. Taverner, late Minister of Oxtobridge, was sentenced to Newgate-Goal, for Teaching a few Children at Braintree; but paying his Fine prevented it: And Mr. Button of Braintree, (a most humble, worthy, godly Man, that never was in Orders, or a Preacher, but had been Canon of Christ's Church in Oxford, and Orator to the University,) was sent to Goal, for Teaching two Knight's Sons in his Houfe, having not taken the Oxford-Oath, by one Rof a Justice (a Scot, that was Library-Keeper at Westminster,) and some other Justices: And many of his Neighbours of Braintree were sent to the fame Prison, for worhipping God, in private, together; where they all lay many Months (as I remember.) And I name these, because they were my Neighbours; but many Countries had the like usage. Yea, Bishop Crofis, that had pretended great Moderation, sent Mr. Woodward, a worthy silenced Minister of Hereford-shire, to Goal for six Months. Some were imprisoned upon the Oxford-Act, and some on the Act against conventicles.

§ 84. In September, Col. Phillips (a Courtier of the Bed-chamber, and my next Neighbour, who spoke me fair,) complained to the King of me for Preaching to great numbers: but the King put it by, and nothing was done, at that time.

§ 85. About this time Dr. Manton (being nearest the Court, and of great Name among the Presbyterians, and being heard by many of great Quality,) was told by Sir John Haber, That the King was much inclined to favour the Non-conformists, and that an Address now would be accepted, and that the Address must be a thankful Acknowledgement of the Clemency of his Majesty's Government, and the Liberty which we thereby enjoy, &c. Accordingly they drew up an Address of Thanksgiving, and I was invited to join in the presenting of it (but not in the Penning, for I had mar'd their Matter oft enough;) But I was both fick and unwilling, having been oft enough employed in vain: But I told them only of my sickness. And to Dr. Manton, Dr. Bates, Dr. Jacobbe, and Mr. Emms, prefented it: what accepance it had with the King, and what he said to them, this Letter of Dr. Manton's will tell you. But the Copy of the Acknowledgment I cannot give you, for I never saw it, nor sought to see it, that I remember, for I perceived what it aimed at.
Dr. Manton's Letter to me at Acton.

SIR,

I was under restraint till now, and could not send you an account of our reception with the King. It was very gracious; He was pleased once and again to signify, how acceptable our Address was, and how much he was persuaded of our PeaceableMents; saying, that he had known us to be so ever since his return; promised us, that he would do his utmost to get us comprehended within the Publick Establishment, and would remove all Bars, for he could wish that there had been no Bounds nor Bars at all, but that all had been Sea, that we might have bad liberty enough; but something must be done for publick Peace: However, we could not be ignorant, that this was a work of difficulty and time, to get it fully effectual for our Affairs: And therefore we must wait till Business could be ripened. In the mean time be with us to use our Liberty temperately, and not with such open Offence and Scandal to the Government: He said our Meetings were so numerous, and so (besides that they were against Law) gave occasion to many clamorous People to come with complaints to him, as if our design was wholly to undermine the Church, and to say, SIR, These are they that you protect against the Laws. He intimated in the folly of Varrington's Preaching in the Play-House: We told him we all disliked the AllIn, and that he had been sorely seduced for affronting the Government under which we live, with so much peace, (but I forgot to disclaim him.) He intimated in one more, (but with a Preface, that he had a great respect for the Person, and his Worth and Learning) who drew upon all the Country round about him, this Person is Mr. Baxter of Acton; he intimated in him, because of a late Complaint from a Justice of Peace, who had a mind to be nailing at him, but feared it would be with the offence of his Majesty; we imagine Rolls to be the person. I replied, That you went to the publick, did it in the interval, between Morning and Evening Service, beginning at Twelve. That the first Intention was for the benefit of your own Family; that this great Company was not invited by you, but intruded upon you, that it was hard to exclude those, who in Charity might be supposed to come with a thirst after the means of Education. I alleged the general necessity, and that Nonconformists were not all of one piece, and if people of sober principles in Religion were permitted to preach, a necessity lay upon us, to take the like liberty, that those who have imprudent scruples against the publick way, may not be left as a prey to those who might leave bad impressions upon them, which would neither be so safe for Religion, nor the publick peace. To which His Majesty replied, That the true office of the people was not of such Consideration, they being apt to run after every new Teacher; but people of Quality might be intreated to forbear to meet, or at least not in so many multitudes, left the publick Scandal taken thereby, might obstruct his Intentions and Designs for our good: He seemed to be well enough pleased, when I suggested that our Society of Doctrine, and medling only with weighty things, and remembrance of him in our prayers, with respect, preferred an account of his Person and Government in the Hearts of his people, and that possibly people of another humour might season them with worse Inquisitions: Then Arlington niece'd him by the Court, as desiring him to note it. Firstly, I told him, That you would have waited upon him with us, if you had not been under the Confinement of a Disease: This is the same, express words I have not bound my self unto, only kept as near as I can remember: Since this our Address has been considered by the Council Council, and approved; the Business was debated, whether it should be made publick; moth were for that Opinion, but the final result was, that we should be left at liberty to speak of it with such Restrictions as our Wisdom should suggest. We met him privately in my Lord Arlington's Lodgings. I am now in very great haste, I must abruptly take leave of you, with the profession that I am,

Sir, Your Faithful Brother and Servant.

Some other things, when they come to mind, I will acquaint you with.

Covent-Garden, this Friday Morning.

§ 86. But
§ 86. But the Minister that offered this acknowledgment did neither publish it, nor give out any Copies of it, I suppose, lest they should be thought to be the Per sons that were opening the Door to a Toleration which should take in the Papists: For ever since the King himself published a Declaration of his purpose to give such a Liberty as they also should have their part in, and by the Observation of all that passed before and since, by-standers made this Epitome of their Expectations.

1. The Papists must have the Liberty of exercising their Religion.
2. The State must not be reproached by it, as intending Popery.
3. The Bishops must not have no hand in it, lest they be taken to intend the same, which, some of the People are already too apt to believe, especially since they refused Con cord with the Ministers, and are for their silencing, and so great severities against them.
4. The Papists must not be seen in it themselves, till they can be sure to carry it, lest it stir up the Parliament and People against them.
5. Therefore it must be done by the Nonconformists.
6. The Presbyterians are four and will not.
7. The Independent Leaders are for the doing it, but they dare not say so, for fear of becoming odious with the Presbyterians, Parliament and People: (And they intend no good to the Papists by it when they have done, but to strengthen themselves) Therefore they dare not appear in it till the Presbyterians join with them.
8. When the smart of the Presbyterians is greater, it may be their Stomachs will come down: Who knoweth whether Extremities may not force them, rather to divide a part in a common Liberty, than to see others have it while they lie in Goals.
9. At least when they wait and beg for their own Liberty, that which is given to all others, will seem to be given chiefly in compassion to them that were the sufferers; and their Necessities will make it said, that they were the Causes.
10. And when it is granted, it is safe to distinguish, &c. And the Presbyterians are the backslider on these two accounts. 1. When they are known to be the most adverse to Popery, and to have made their Covenant, and opposed the Bishops, &c. on that account, and suspect the Bishops to design again such a Confederacy as Heylin defendereth and contempeth, and to have promoted their silencing to this end; after all this to force these sufferers to take on them the task and odium of procuring the Papists Liberty, while they that would have it, cry out again it; because to them it is intolerable an Injury, that they cannot willingly submit to. 2. Because if they had a part in a common Toleration they believe it is very easy to turn them out of it quickly, and leave the Papists in, by some Oath which shall be digestible by a Papist, and not by them (such as, the Oxford Oath, or some others)
11. But either they are mistaken in some of these Conclusions, or else the Papists desire to have two Strings to their Bow. For Heylin (in Lond's Life) and Thomdike (in three late Books) do plainly tell the World, that one Balneis to be done is, to open the Door of the Church of England so wide, by reconciling means, that the Papists might be the cashier brought in to us, and may find nothing to hinder the moderate sort from coming to our Assemblies (by the Pope's consent) and so all notes of Distinction may so far cease. But one part of the Papists themselves are, as high to the Bishops, as the Bishops to us; nothing but all will serve their turns: Whether they will have Wit enough to take leaves at the first, I hope yet the Wisdom of the Superiors will keep us from knowing by experience.

But after all this, we were as before, and the talk of Liberty did but occasion the writing many bitter Pamphlets against Toleration: And among others, they have gathered out of mine, and other Mens Books all that we had then said against Liberty for Popery, and for Quakers railing against the Ministers in the open Congregations, and this they applied now, as against a Toleration of our selves; because the bare name of Toleration did from in the People's Ears to serve their turn, by signifying the same thing. And because we had said, that Man should not be tolerated to preach against Jesus Christ and the Scriptures, they would thence justify themselves for not tolerating us to preach for Jesus Christ, unless we would be deliberate Liers, and use all their Inventions. And those
Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Part III.
he speaketh to the Nonconformists in general (though acknowledging some sober Persons to be amongst them) that which is nothing to the cause of Non-conformity; and laboureth to prove that the Religion of the Non-conformists is foolish, ridiculous, &c. As if he should have sought to prove the Religion of Christians, or Protestants foolish, because there are ignorant persons among them. And instancing in things that concern not Non-conformity, but Prayer, and Preaching, and Discourse of Religion, the Book did exceedingly fit the humour not only of the haters of the Non-conformists, but also of all the prophane despisers and deriders of serious Godliness: So that it was greedily read by all that desired matter of Contempt and Scorning both Non-conformity and Pity; and was greatly fitted to exasperate them to further Perfections, and to harden them in impenitency, who had already made such doleful havoc in the Church. It was as if he were an Engine to destroy Christian Love on both sides, and to engage Men in those ways which still more destroy it, as any thing of long time hath been published. It is true, that in many things they were real weaknesses which he detected, and that he knew more himself than most of those whom he exposed to scorn: And it is true, that many of them by their confounding the Non-conformists, did too much infligate such Men: But it is as true, that while Christ's Flock consists of weak ones in their Earthly State of Imperfection, and while his Church is an Hospital, and he the Physician of Souls, it ill becometh a Preacher of the Gospel to teach the Enemies of Christ and Holiness, to cast all the reproach of the Difamef upon the nature of Health, or on the Physician, or to expost Christ's Family to scorn for that weaknesses which he pitteth them for; and is about to cure; if he had told us where we might find a better sort of Men than these faulty Christians, or could prove them better who meddle with God, and Heaven, and Holiness, but formally and complimentally on the by, he had done something. And it is certain that nothing scarce hardened the faulty persons more in their Way and weaknesses, than his way of reprehending them. For my part I speak not out of partiality; for he was pleased to single me out for his Commendations, and to exempt me from the Accusations. But it made my Heart to grieve to perceive how the Devil only was the gainer, whilst Truth and Godliness was not only pretended by both parties, but really intended.

§ 89. Yea it would have grieved the heart of any sober Christian to observe how dangerously each party of the Extremes did tempt the other to impenitency and further Sin! Even when the Land was all on a Flame, and were all in apparent danger of our ruin by out Sins and Enmities, the unhappy prelates began the Game, and cruelly cast out 1800 Ministers: and the people thereupon core the Wolves, and malignant preachers, fled from them as the Sheep will do from Wolves, not considering, that notwithstanding their Personal Sin, they still (outwardly) professed the same Protestant Religion; and when any Prelate told the Sectaries of their former Sin (Rebellions or Divisions) they heard it as the words of an Enemy, and were more hardened in it against Repentance than before; yea, were ready to take that for a Virtue which such Men reproached them for, when as before they had begun from Experience to repent: And on the other side, when the Prelates law what Crimes the Army-party of the Sectaries had before committed, which they aggravated from their own Interest, they noted also all the weaknesses of Judgment and Expression in Prayer, which they met with, not only in the weaker sort of Ministers, but of the very Women, and unlearned People also, and turned all this not only to the reproach of all the Sectaries, but (as their Passion, Interest, and Faction led them) of all the Non-conformists also, of whom the far greater part were much more innocent than themselves.

§ 90. And so subtil is Satan in using his Instruments that by their wicked folly crying out maliciously for repentance, they hindered almost all open Confession and Prophecy of repentance, on both sides. For these selfish Exalters did make their own Interests and Opinions to pass with them for the sure Exposition of the Law of God and Man: And they that never truly understood the old Difference between the King and Parliament, did take the Crime according to their own hollow passionate conceits, and then in every book crying out, Repeat, Repent, Repeat, of all your Rebellions from first to last; you Presbyterians began the War, and brought the King's head to the block, tho' the Independents cut it off: And as they put in Lies among some truths,
Part III. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

so the people thought they put in their Duties among their sins, when they called them to repent; And if a man had professed repentance for the one without the other, and not mentioned all that they expected, and made his Confessions according to their precepts, they would have cried out, Traytors, Traytors, and have professed every word to be the Proclamation of another War; So that all their calling for repentance was but an *Antipaste* and Snare, and most effectually prohibited all open repentance, because it would have been Treason if it had not come up to their most unjust measures; And *all men* thought silence fitter with fich men, than Confession of sin: (And the Sectaries were the more persuaded that their sin was no sin): And this occasioned the greatest obduracy of their Enemies, who cried out, None of them all repenteth, and therefore they are ready to do the same again; And so they justified themselves in all the Silencings, Confinings, Imprisonments, &c. Which they inflicted on them, and all the odious representations of them.

§ 91. But that great Lie that the Presbyterians in the English Parliament began the War, is fuch as doth as much tempt men that know it, to question all the History that ever was written in the World, as any thing that ever I heard spoken: Reader, I will tell it thee to thy admiration. When the War was first raised, there was but one Presbyterian known in all the Parliament; There was not one Presbyterian known among all the Lord Lieutenant whom the Parliament Committed the militia to: There was not one Presbyterian known among all the General Officers of the Earl of Essex Army; nor one among all the English Colonels, Majors or Captains, that ever I could hear of (There were two or three swearing feet, of whom Orrey turned to the King: What their opinion was I know not, nor is it considerable). The truth is, Presbytery was not then known in England, except among a few feditious Scholars, nor well by them. But it was the moderate Conformists and Episcope Prosectants, who had been long in Parliaments crying out of Innovations, Aminilaniams, Popery, but specially of Monopolies, illegal taxes, and the danger of Arbitrary Government, who now raised the War against the ref who took to be guilty of all these things: And a few Independents were among them, but no considerable Number. And yet thef Conformists never cry out [*Repeal ye episcopal Conformists, for it was you that began the War.*] Much less [*Repeal ye renominian, Crotian, innovating prelates, who were reducing us so near Rome as Heylin in the Life of Land descript; for it was you that kindled the Fire, and that set your own party thus against you, and made them wish for an Episcopacy doubly reformed 1 with better Bishops 2 with least secular power, and smaller Dioceses.*]

§ 92. Some moderate worthy men did excellently well anfwer this Book of Dr. Patrick's; fo as would have flated matters rightly; but the danger of the Times made them fupprefs it, and fo they were never printed; But Mr. Forlles late Minister at Thiftleworth printed an Answer, which sufficiently opened the futilines of what he wrote againft; but wanting the Masculine strength, and cattoloufnes which was neceffary to deal with fuch an Adverfary, he was quickly anfwered (by ftriking on the weakest parts) with new reproach and triumph; And the Author was doubly expos'd to fuffering: For whereas he was fo near Conformity as that he had taken the Oxford Oath, and read fome Common prayer, and therefore by conivance was permitted to preach in South-Work to an Hospital, where he had 12. per mn. and was now in expectation of Liberty at a better place in Bridewell, he was now deprived of that: And yet had little relief from the Nonconformists, becaufe he Conformed fo far as he did *; And having a numerous family was in great want.

§ 93. The next year came out a far more virulent book called Ee Church Polity, written by Sam. Parker a young Man of pregnant parts, who had been brought up among the Sectaries, and being some weakneffes among them, and being of an eager Spirit, was turned with the Times into the contrary extreme for which he giveth thanks to God; And judging of those called Puritans and Nonconformists by the people that he was bred amongf, and being now made Arch-Bishop Sheldon's household Chaplin, where fuch work was to be done, he wrote the moft scornfully, and rashly, and prophanely, and cruelly, againft the Nonconformists, of any man that ever yet affailed them (that I have heard of:) And in a fluent fervent ingenious style of Natural Rhetorick, poufed out floods of Odious reproaches, and (with incautious Extremities) faith as much to make them hated, and to fli the Parliament to defroy them as he could well speak: And all this was to play the old game, at once to pleae the Devil, the Prelates and the prophanee, and fo to twist all three E f f f into

* He after Conform ed.
into one party; than which if prelacy be of God, a greater injury could not be done to it; being the fairest tried way to engage all the Religious, if not the sober alfo of the Land against it.

§ 93. Soon after, Dr. John Owen first tried to have engaged me to answer it, by telling me and others that I was the first Man in England for that work (on what account I now enquire not). But I had above all men been oft enough search'd in the malignant fire, and contended with them with so little thanks from the Independents (tho they could say little against it) that I resolved not to meddle with them any more, without a clearer call than this: And besides Patrick and that Party by excepting me from them whom they reproached (in respect of Doctrine, disposition and practice) made me the unoffefted person to rise up against them: Which if I had done, they that applauded me before, would soon have made me seem as odious almost as the rest: For they had some at hand, that, in evil speaking, were such Masters of Language, that they never wanted Matter, nor Words, but could say what they lifted as voluminously as they defir'd.

§ 94. Whereupon Dr. Owen answerd it himslef, selecting the most odious Doctrinal Affertions, (with some others) of Parker's book; and laid them so naked in the Judgment of all Readers that ever I met with, that they concluded Parker could never answer it: Especially because the Answer was delayed about a year. By which Dr. Owen's oft and now was much advanced with the Nonconformists.

§ 95. But Parker contriv'd to have his Answer ready against the Sessions of the Parliament (in Octob. 1672.) And shortly after it came out: In which he doth with the most voluminous torrent of natrural and malicious Rhetoric spake over the same things which might have been Compriized in a few Sentences; viz. The Nonconformists, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Hugonots, are the most villanous unoffeetable fort of fanftified Fools, Knaves, and unquiet Rebels that ever were in the World: With their naughty Godhuns, and holy Hypocrifies and Villains, making it necessary to fall upon their Teachers, and not to Spare them; for the Conquering of the reft. But yet he putted more Exceptions here of the Soberer, honest, peaceable fort (whom he loveth but pittyeth for the unhapnees of their Education) and in particular speaketh kindly of me) than he had done before. For when he had before perfid'd men to fall upon the Minifters, and said [What are an hundred men to be valued, in Comparison of the safety of the whole.] When Dr. Owen and others commonlie understood him as meaning that there was but a 100 Nonconformable Minifters (when 1800 were silenced) he found out this shift to abate both the Charge of malignant Cruelty, and Untruth, and faith that he meant that he hoped the feditious but headed party that milled the people were but a few: Whereby he vindicated fifteen hundred Nonconformable Minifters against thofe Charges which he and others frequently lay on the Nonconformists (by that name.)

But the second part of the Matter of his book, was managed with more advantage; because of all the Men in England Dr. Owen was the Chief that had Headed the Independents in the Army with the greateft height, and Confidence, and Applaus, and afterward had been the greateft perifher of Thedward, Dedworth end the reft of the Officers of the Army who were his Gathered Church, to Compel Rub. Cromwell to diflolve his Parliament, which being done, he fell with it, and the King was brought in: So that Parker had so many of his Parliament and Army Sermons to cite in, which he urg'd them to Juflice, and prophesy'd of the ruin of the Western Kings, and tell'd them that their work was to take down Civil and Ecclefaiftical Tyranny, with fuch like, that the Dr. being neither able to repent (lutheror) or to justify all this must be silent, or only plead the Art of Oblivion: And if I fear his unfairnes for this Work was a general injury to the Nonconformists.

§ 96. And here I think ought to give Poffecry notice, that by the Prelatift's malice, and unreaflonable implacable Violence, Independency and Separation got greater advantages, againft Presbytery, and all fettled accidental extrin fick order and meanes of Concord, than ever it had in thofe Kingdoms since the World began. For powerful and Golly Preachers (though now most silenced) had in twenty years liberty brought fuch numbers to fuch Godlines, that it was vain for the Devil or his Servants to hope that fuffering could make the moft for fuche it. And to the Prelatifts they would never turn, while they faw them for the fale of their owne Wealth and Friendships, and a few Forms and Ceremonies, fitle moft hundred worthy felf-defending Minifters, that had been Inftuments of their Good, and to become the Child of the prophane malignant Enmity to the far greateft part of the moft feries Religio
Religious People in Three Kingdoms. And Presbyterians were forced to forbear all Exercise of their way: they durst not meet together (Synodically) unless in a Goal. They could not (ordinarily) be the Pupils of Parish-Churches, no not for the private part of the Work, being driven five Miles from all their former Charges and Auditors, and from every City and Corporation: Which Law, while they durst not (for the most part of them) obey, they were fain to live privately, as still flying from a Goal, and to preach to none but those that sought to them, and thrift in upon them. So that their Congregations were, through necessity, built of Independent and Separating Shape, and outward Practice, though not upon the same Principles. And the common People (though pious) are apt to be led by outward palpable Appearances, that they forgot both former Principles, and edifying Effects and Practices (though such as one would think should never have been forgotten, at least by them who suffered all these Confusions and Calamities as the Fruits;) yea, more than fo, 1. the Sense of our common Faults; 2. and the necessity of our present Concord; 3. and the harshnes of grating upon suffering Persons; 4. and the reconciling nature of our common Sufferings; made us think it unfeamly and sinful (though after ten Years) to tell one another never so gently of our former Faults, or to touch upon our different Principles: but 'twas thought best to bury all in silence, whilst the Fruits of them spread more, and leavened a great part of the Religious People of the City, yes, of the Land.

§ 97. And it was a great Advantage to them, that their selected Members being tied by Covenants, stuck close to them, and the Presbyterians Assemblies (unless they gathered Churches in their way) were but unknown or uncertain People for a great part: And so the only order seemed to be left in the gathered Churches.

§ 98. And another Advantage was, That being more than the rest against the Bishops, Liturgies, Ceremonies, and Parish-Communion, they agreed much better with the disposition and passions of most of the Religious-suffering People. And those of us that were of another mind, and refused not Parish-Communion in some places and Cafes, were easily represented by them to the People, as like-warm Temporizers, Men of too large Principles, who kept the Anti-christian Portage, though they would not eat the Fleth. And a few such Words behind our backs, wrought more on the Minds of many, especially of the meaner and weaker sort of People, than many Volumes of Learned Argument: This weakness we cannot deny to their Accusers.

§ 99. But whoever be the Sect-Masters, it is notorious, That the Brelates (tho' not they only) are the Sect-makers, by driving the poor People by violence, and the vicious Rolls of too many of their Infrumens, into these alienations and extremities: (though I confess that Men's guilt, in the Days of Liberty of Conscience, must silence both Masters and Disciples from justifying themselves.) When I think of our Cafe, and think of Christ's way of using Parables, I am inclined to interpose a few.

§ 100. In the West-Indies, the Natives make Bread of a Root which is poison, till corrected, and then it is tolerable Bread: The Europeans had a Controversie with the Indians, and another among themselves: The Indians said, That their Roots were the better, because our Wheat consisted of so many small insipid Grains, and was edible even unto Atoms: To prove which, they'd grind it to Flower on the Mill, and then triumphing cried, 'I see what Duft your Corn is come to! The Christians said, that their Wheat was better than the Indian's Roots, as being more agreeable to the Nature of Man; and that all those Atoms might be condensed by a skillful hand, and fermented into a wholesome Maff, and baked into better Bread than theirs. On the other side, in a Place and Year where English Corn was scarce, some of the Christians did eat of the Indian Bread, but the rest maintained that it was unlawful, because the Root had poison in it, and therefore they would rather live without. The other answered them, That the Poison was easily separable from the root, and a wholesome Bread made of it, though not so good as ours. The Contention increased, and the Refusers called the other Murderers, as persuading Men to eat Poison: And the other called them ignorant Self-Murderers, who would famish themselves and their Families. When the reviling and cenfire had continued a while, the Famine grew so hot, that one half of the Refusers dyed, and the rest by pinching hunger and dear-bought Experience, were first induced to
try, and after to feed on the Indian Bread, to the preservation of their Lives. But e'er long, the English Wheat prospered again; and then the Europeans fell into three Parties among themselves. One Party joined with the Indians, and said the Indian Bread is best; for that saved our Lives when the English failed us: Therefore it shall be made Banishment or Imprisonment to sow or speak for the English (or European) Grain or Bread.

Another Party reviled those that drew their Fathers to eat Indian Bread, and said, shall we be befooled, and go against our Nature, and our common Sons, our Taffe, our experience of Strength and Vivacity? Do we not see that the English is best? Therefore they were Traversors that drew our Fore-fathers to eat the others, and these are inhuman Tyrants that now compel Men to it.

But the third party said, The English Bread is best, which we never denied; but the Indian Bread was a thousand fold better than none; we only used it when we could get no better; which was no changing of our Minds, but of our Practice. And we will do the like in the like case of necessitie. Yea, though it grieved us to be put to it by our own Country-men, we will rather eat now the Indian Bread, than be famished by Banishment, or in a Prison. How this Controversie will end, time will shew: But every side hath so learned Men, that it's never like to end by Disputing; for every one can blame his Adversary's Words. But either another Gaming, or a plenty of European Bread, with liberty to use it, is like to end it, if it ever end.

§ 101. The like Controversie fell out in the Indies, whether Aifes or Horses were to be preferred, as fittest for Man's life. The Indians said Aifes, because it had been their Country's use; and Horses were so unruly, that they would run away with the Rider, and caft their Burdens, to the danger of Man's Lives. The Europeans said, the Horses might be so used, as to be more tame, and so made far more useful than the Aifes; and some little Inconveniencies and perils must be endured for a greater good. At last, all the European Horses dyed; and then the English fell into Difference, whether it were lawful to ride on Aifes: Some said no, and aggravated their benefic: Some said yea, when we can have no better. But when the Land was again bored with European Horses, the English fell into just such a Difference as before. Some would have all the English Horses kill'd, and those banished or imprisoned that would use them. And they said, Do we not see by long experience, that Colts cannot be tamed, nor made tractable, except to a few, that use to ride them? And all that never had skill to tame them, or that had ever catch'd a fall by them, were on this side. Others said, it was not lawful to use an Aife, but yet they would have none denied liberty herein, save only that the Boys that fee him, should have leave to hoot. The third fort preferred Horses, but yet would have every Man have liberty to use a Horsie or an Aife as he pleased, and none to have liberty to hoot at them, or openly deride them on either side. The Matter came before the Judges. The first fort confesed, that Horses made a fairer show, but that was their Hypocrisie, and that they went swifter, but it was to the Rider's overthow: And said, what need you more than all our Experience; when all we have been call'd by, to the hazard of our Lives: And we only are the King's belt Subjects, and therefore by casting you we would depose the King, and whatever you pretend, you are Traversors, and this lyeth at the bottom. For no Subjects, by no King; and if we must ride on Horses, we shall be no Subjects long. And to have some use Horses and some Aifes, will breed Contentions and endless Divisions amongst us; and what a ridiculous Monister will it make the Kingdom? They that use Horses will still be deriding them that ride on Aises, &c. The other answered them, that the main cause of their misfortunes came from their own unskillfulness, and dislike, who had not Patience to learn to ride, nor Humility to confess their unskillfulness. And that it were better for the Kingdom, that those that have more skill to tame Colts, and ride Horses, were suffered to furnish the King and Kingdom with that nobler Breed, than to disfigure it, and wrong so many, to serve the ignorance or sluggisness of some.
The first urged their Experience; and the latter urged their contrary Experience; till the Judge, being a wise Man, would have seen the Experience of the latter fort, and have permitted them to ride a while before them. But the other urged, [Will not all our past Experience warn you? Will you yet be guilty of those Men’s Blood?] The Judge answered, It will be but the Rider’s, and none of yours: Why pretend you to be more careful of their Lives, than they are of their own; even when you would have them Imprisoned or Banished? So it came to the Tryal; but the Accusers would needs choose the Horses; and they chose none for the Tryal but unbroken Colts. The other only desired, that either they might have time to break those Colts first, at their own peril, or else might be tried with such as they themselves had broken. But the other cried out, Do you not hear now, my Lord, the impudence and unreasonable of these brazen-faced Villains, that will never be content? Did we not tell you, That nothing would satisfy them, if you granted their Desires. You have granted them a Tryal, and now if they may not have their own Terms, they are as unquiet as before: Are these Fellows fit to be suffered in a peaceable Common-wealth.

But the King himself interposed, as wiser than them all, and said, I will try them both on Colts and Horses: so it came to the open Tryal; and it so strangely happened, that all the tamed Horses were ridden in a blameless Order, and the Colts themselves cast not one of their Riders; but only some time kick’d, and bit at those that came too near them, and it prove a little against the Bit.

This Experience had like to have carried it for Horses; for the Judge said, I see now it is but the Accusers fault, that they have sped worse. And the Defendants said, We confess, my Lord, that Colts are Horses, and must have labour, and also that some Horses are too hot mettled, and we are contented that you lay by those few, if they prove untameable; but not to banish all Horses, and their Riders for their sakes.

This Motion seemed reasonable to some, and I am persuaded it had prevailed, but for two unhappy Arguments at the last. 1. Said the Accusers, my Lord, you see that these Horses, even the half ridden of them all, are Falsies: They make a difference between the King’s Subjects; they will be ruled indeed, but it is only by these Fellows that are used to them; they would quickly cast it off, if we should ride them: And then they say, it is our unskilfulness, when it is nothing but their feditious unrum honour. My Lord, We can name you as worthy Men, and skilful Riders, as any are in the World, that have been cast by Horses. And moreover, it appeareth, That Nature never made them for Man’s use; for they have not their Gentleness as the Aes have by nature, but only by much force and use: And who knowest not forced things will quickly return like an unfringed Bow, to their natural state, which here is nothing but unruly fierceness. And besides, when in all Ages, it must cost so much ado to tame them, with the hazard of Men’s lives, Men will at last be weary of so much pains as well as we. 2. But if all this will not do, in a word, if you banish them not, you are not Caesar’s Friend, for we can tell you of a Horse that once caft an Emperor, to the loss of his life, who was as good and as skilful a Rider, as any in the World. This last Word rapt the Defendant’s Mouths. For though they whispered among themselves, 1. That the main fault was in the Riders, that should have better tamed that Horse for the Emperor, 2. And that a Man in white was seen to put Nettles under the Horses Tail, and continually to keep and prick in his side, and to beat him on. 3. That many thousand Die-hard-Men frighted him with Guns and Fire-balls, ’till he was not himself. 4. That it was an extraordinary fierce natur’d Horse. 5. The Accusers themselves were the unskilful Riders, who first spoiled them. 6. That it hath been revenged already by the Blood of many, who had the last Hand in spoiling the Horse. 7. That they abhor the Thoughts of the Action, as well as the Accusers; and are content, that as First Laws be made as may be, for skilful Riders, and for a careful choice for the King’s own Saddle] with more such like; yet this was so tender a Point, that very few of the Defendants durst speak out; and so ————

And
And here also the defendants fell into differences among themselves; when the point of necessity, some that had pleaded most for Horsey, would make use of Alls rather than none: And others for it, called them Turn-Coats, and the Servants of Tyranny. But how the Controversie is like to end, I told you before.

I have but one word to say, for expounding my Parable, that by Horsey I do not mean Non-conformists, (unless as any of them fall under another Genre.) It is furious, Religious Persons that I mean, who are scorned as Puritans, Zealots, and Precilians, because they set not as light by Heaven as others, and will go further in Religion than dead Formality, and Imagery.

§ 102. But I must return and say something of my own affairs: Whilst I lived at Allen, as long as the Act against Conventicles was in force, though I preached to my Family, few came to hear me of the Town; partly because they thought it would endanger me, and partly for fear of suffering themselves, but especially because they were an ignorant poor People, and had no Appetite to such things. But when the Act was expired, there came so many that I wanted room; and when once they had come and heard, they afterward came constantly. Informed that in a little time there was a great number of them that seemed very seriously affected with the things they heard, and almost all the Town and Parish, besides abundance from Brainford, and the Neighbour Parishes came; And I know not of three in the Parish that were Adversaries to us or our Endeavours, or with us III.

§ 103. Experience here convinced me that the Independent separating rigour is not the way to do the People good. After Dr. Kent, Mr. Nye, and Mr. Elford, two able Independents had been the settled Ministers at Allen; and when I was there, there remained but two Women in all the Town, and Parish, whom they had admitted to the Sacrament (whereof One was a Lady that by alienation from them turned Quaker, and was their great Patronesses, and returned from them while I was there, and heard me with rest.) This rigour made the People think hardly of them; and I found that the uncharitable conceit, that the Parishes are worse than they are, doth tend to make them as bad as they are thought. I am sure there were many that spake to me like ferious Christians, of the poorer sort, and few that were scandalous, and many I could comfortably have Communicated with. And when Threatenings increased, they continued still to hear with diligence, so that my Rooms would not contain them. And had I continued there longer, I should have hoped by those beginnings, that experience might convince Men, that Parish-Churches may consist of capable materials.

§ 104. The Parson of the Parish was Dr. Rice, Dean of Windsor, Dean of Waterhampton, Parson of Horsey, and of Aldon, Chaplain in ordinary to the King, &c. His Curate was a weak, dull young Man, that spent most of his time in Ale-houses, and read a few dry Sentences to the People, but once a day: But yet because he preached true Doctrine, and I had no better to hear, I constantly heard him when he preached, and went to the beginning of the Common Prayer; and my House facing the Church-Door, within hearing of it, those that heard me before, went with me to the Church; scarce three that I know of in the Parish refusing, and when I preached after the publick Exercise, they went out of the Church into my House. It pleased the Dr. and Parson that I came to Church, and brought others with me: But he was not able to bear the sight of Peoples crowding into my House, though they heard him also; so that though he spake me fair, and we lived in Reniting Love and Peace (while he was there) yet he could not long continue it. And when I had brought the People to Church to hear him, he would fall upon them with groundless Reproaches, as if he had done it purposely to drive them away, and yet thought that my preaching to them, because it was in a House, did all the mischief, though he never accused me of any thing that I spake. I preached nothing but Christianity and Submission to our Superiors: Faith Repentance, Hope, Love, Humility, Self-denial, Meekness, Patience, and Obedience.

§ 105. But he was the more offended because I came not to the Sacrament with him. Though I communicated in the other parish-Churches at London, and elsewhere. I was liable to offend him by giving him the Reason; which was that he being commonly reputed a Swearer, a Curs, a Railer, &c. in those
Part III  Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

47
tender times it would have been so great an offence to the Congregational Brethren, if I had Communicated with him (and perhaps have hastened their sufferings who durst not do the same) that I thought it would do more harm than good.

§ 105. The last year of my abode at Alton, I had the happiness of a Neighbour whom I cannot easily praise above his worth: Which was Sir Wst. Hale Lord chief Barons of the Exchequer, whom all the Judges and Lawyers of England admired for his skill in Law, and for his Justice, and Scholars honoured for his Learning, and I highly valued for his sincerity, mortification, self-denial, humility, confcienciousness, and his close fidelity in friendship. When he came first to Town, I came not near him left being a silenced and suspected person (with his Superiors) I should draw him also under suspicion, and do him wrong: Till I had notice round about of his desire of my Acquaintance; And I scarce ever conversed so profitably with any other person in my Life. *

§ 107. He was a Man of no quick utterance, but often hesitant; but spoke with great reason. He was most precisely just; inomuch as I believe he would have left all that he had in the World rather than do an unjust Act: Patient in hearing the trickishest speech which any Man had to make for himself! The pillar of Justice, the Refuge of the subject who feared Oppression, and one of the greatest Honours of his Majesty's Government: For with some more upright Judges, he upheld the honour of the English Nation, that it fell not into the reproach of Arbitrariness, Cruelty and utter Confusion. Every Man that had a just cause was almost past fear, if they could but bring it to the Court or Affize where he was Judge (for the other Judges seldom contradicted him.) He was the great Instrument for rebuilding London: For when an Act was made for deciding all Controversies that hindered it; it was he that was the constant Judge, who, for nothing followed the work, and by his Prudence and Justice removed a multitude of great impediments. His great advantage for innocency was that he was no Lover of Riches or of Grandeur. His Garb was too plain; He studiously avoided all unnecessary familiarity with great persons, and all that manner of Living which signifieth Wealth and Greatness. He kept no greater a family, than my self. I lived in a small house, which for a pleasant back-side he had a mind of: But caused a stranger (that he might not be suspected to be the Man) to know of me whether I were willing to part with it, before he would meddle with it; In that house he liveth contentedly, without any pomp, and without costly or troublesome retinue or visitors; but not without Charity to the poor: He continueth the study of Physicks and Mathematicks still as his great delight: He hath himself written four Volumes in Follo (three of which I have read) against Athelkm, Sadducean and Infidels, to prove first the Deity and then the immortality of Man's Soul, and then the truth of Christiand and the holy Scripture, anfwering the Infidels Objections against Scripture; It is strong and masculine, only too tedious for impatient Readers: He faith, he wrote it only at vacant hours in his Circuits to regulate his meditations, finding that while he wrote down what he thought on, his thoughts were the edifier kept close to work, and kept in a method, and he could after try his former thoughts, and make further use of them if they were good. But I could not yet persuade him to hear of publishing it.

The Conference which I had frequently with him, (mostly about the immortality of the Soul, and other Foundation points, and Philosophical) was so edifying, that his very Questions and Objections did help me to more light than other men's solutions. Those that take no Men for Religious who frequent not private Meetings, &c. took him for an Excellently righteous moral Man: But I that have heard and read his serious Expressions of the Concernments of Eternity, and seen his Love to all good Men, and the blamlessness of his Life, &c. thought better of his Piety than mine own. When the People crowded in and out of my Houfe to hear, he openly shewed me so great repect before them at the Door, and never spake a word against it, as was no small encouragement to the Common People to go on; though the other fort mattered that a Judge should seem so far to countenance that which they took to be against the Law. He was a great Lamenter of the Extremities of the Times; and the violence and foolishness of the predominant Clergy, and a great deliver of such abatements as might restore us all to serviceableness and Unity. He had got but a very small Estate (though he had long the greatest Practice;) because he would take but little Money, and undertake no more busines than he could well dispatch. He often offered to the Lord Chancellor to resign his place, when he was blamed for doing that which he supposed was Justice.

* I have since written my knowledge of him.
Justice. He had been the Learned Selden's intimate friend, and one of his Executors: And because the Hobians and other Infidels would have perfused the World that selden was of their mind; I defired him to tell me truth therein: And he affured me that Selden was an earneft Professor of the Christian Faith, and so angry an Adversary to Hobbs that he hath rated him out of the Room.

§ 108. This year 1669 the Lord Mayor of London was Sir William Turner, a Man Conformable, and supposed to be for Prelacy; but in his Government, he never disturbed the Nonconformable Preachers, nor troubled men for their Religion; And he so much denied his own gain, and fought the Common good and punished vice, and promoted the rebuilding of the City, that I never heard nor read of any Lord Mayor who was so much honoured and beloved of the City: Insomuch that at the End of his year, they chose him again and would have heard of no other, but that he absolutely refused it, partly as being an usual thing, and partly (as was said) because of a Melliage from his superiors: For the Bishops and Courtiers who took him for their own, were most displeased with him.

§ 109. The liberty which was taken by the Nonconformists in London, by reason of the plague, the fire, the convinvice of the King, and the resolved quietness of the Lord Mayor, did set so many Preachers through the Land (as is said) on the same work, that in Likelyhood many thousand Souls are the better for it; And the predominant Prelates murmured and feared: For they had observed that when serious Godliness goeth up, they go down. So that they belittled themselves diligently to save themselves and the Church of England from this dreaded danger.

§ 110. At this time our Parson Dean Rowe got this following advantage against me (As I had it from his own mouth). At Wolverhampton in Staffordshire where he was Dean, were abundant of Papists, and Violent Formalists: Amongst whom was one Brtestfield an Apothecary, who in Conference with Mr. Reigholds (an able Preacher there silenced and turned out) by his bitter words tempted him into so much insincerity as to say that [the Nonconformists were not so contemptible for Number and Quality as he made them, that most of the people were of their mind, that Cromwell tho an Usurper had kept up England against the Dutch, &c. And that he marvelled that he would be so hot against private Meetings, when at London the Dean suffered them at the next door.] With this advantage Brtestfield wrote all this greatly aggravated to the Dean. The Dean hastens away with it to the King as if it were the discovery of a Traison. Mr. Reigholds is questioned, but the Justices of the Country to whom it was referred, upon hearing of the busines, found meer imprudence heightened to a Crime, and so releaved him: But before this could be done, the King exasperated by the name of Cromwell and other unadvised words, as the Dean told me, bid him go to the Bishop of London from him, and him to the suppression of my Meeting (which was represented to him also as much greater than it was) whereupon two Justices were chosen for their turn to do it: One Rofs, of Brainford, a Scot, before-named, and one Phillips, a Steward of the A. Bishop of Canterbury.

§ 111. Hereupon Rofs and Phillips send a Warrant to the Constable to apprehend me and bring me before them to Brainford. When I came, they shew out all persons from the Room, and would not give leave for any one person, no not their own Clerk or Servant, or the Constable to hear a Word that was laid between us. Then told me that I was accused of keeping Conventicles contrary to Law, and so they would tender me the Oxford Oath. I defired my Accusers might come face to face, and that I might see and speak with the Witnesses that testified that I kept Conventicles contrary to the Law; which I denied, as far as I understood the Law; but they would not grant it. I preffed that I might speak in the hearing of some Witnesses, and not in secret; for I supposed that they were my Judges, and that their presence and busines made the place a place of Judicature, where none should be excluded, or at least some should be admitted. But I could not prevail: Had I resolved on silence, they were resolved to proceed, and I thought a Christian should rather submit to violence, and give place to Injuries, than stand upon his right, when it will give others occasion to account him obfinate. I asked them whether I might freely speak for my self, and they said yea, but when I began to speak, still interrupted me, and put me by: Only they told me, that private Meetings had brought us to all our Wars, and it tended to raise new Wars, and Rofs told me what he had suffered by the War, (who it's said was but a poor Boy, and after a Schoolmaster) and Phillips having but one Leg,
Leg, told me he had lost his Leg by the Wars; and I thought then there
was no remedy, but Preachers must be silenced, and live in Goals. But with
much importunity I got them once to hear me, while I told them why I took not
my Meeting to be contrary to Law, and why the Oxford Act concerned me not,
and they had no Power to put that Oath on me by the Act: But all the Anliver
I could get, was, That they were satisfied of what they did. And when among other rea-
nonings against their course, I told them I thought Chrift's Minifters had in
many Ages been Men esteemed, and used as we now are, and their Affiftors have in-
fuled them, the Providence of God hath still so ordered it, that the Names and
Memory of their Silencers and Affiftors have been left to Poffeffory for a
Reproach, infomuch that I wondered that they that fear not God, and care not
for their own, or the People's Souls, should yet be fo careful of their fame,
when Honour feemeth to great a matter with them. To which Rofs anfwered, that he
didfidered no greater Honour to his Name, than that it fhould be remembered of him, that
he did this againft me, and fuch as I, which he was doing. Then they asked me afho-
other would take the Oath, I named a difficulty or two in it, and defired them to
tell me the meaning of it. They told me, that they were not to expound it to
me, but to know whether I would take it. I told them it muft be taken with un-
derftanding, and I did not undcrftand it. They faid I muft take it according to the
proper fenee of the Words. I asked them whether the proper fence of thofe
Words [I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of Government in the Church]
was [of my time] univerfally as it's fpoken; they faid yea: I asked them,
whether it were in the Power of the King and Parliament to make fome alteration
of Church-Government; Rofs firft faid, that before it was fettled it was -- But
better bethinking himself, faid, Yea: I told him the King once gave me a Com-
miffion to endeavour an alteration of the Liturgy, and allowance to endeavour the
alteration of Church-Government, as may be feen in His Majesty's Declaration about
Ecclefiaflcal Affairs. If he fhould command me the like again, am I not sworn by
this Oath, if I take it, to defobey him; yes, or if the Law-makers change
the Law, &c. At this Rofs only laught and derided me, as speaking a ridiculous fup-
position, and faid, that could not be the Sense. I told him, that then he muft
confefs the Error of his Rule, and that the Oath is not to be understood,
according to the proper meaning andufe of thofe Words. And I bad them take no-
tice that I had not refufed their Oath, but defired an explication of it, which they
refufed to give, (though I had reafon enough to refolve me not to take it, how-
ver they that were not the makers of the Law, fhould have expounded it.) And fo
Philips prefently wrote my Mittimus, as followeth,

§ 112. To the Keeper of his Majesty's Goal commonly called the New-Prifon in
Clerkenwell.

Middlesex. VV

Heres it hath been proved unto us, upon Oath, that Richard
Baxter, Clerk, hath taken upon him to preach in an unlawful As-
sembly, Conventicle, or Meeting, under colour or pretence of Exercise of Religion,
contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom, at Axton, where he now lieth (in
the said County) not having taken and subscribed the Oath by All of Parliament, in that
cause appointed to be taken. And whereas we having tender'd to him the Oath and De-
claration appointed to be taken by such as shall offend against the said All, which he hath
refufed to take, we therefore send you herewith the Body of the said Richard Baxter
strictly charging and commanding you in his Majesty's Name to receive him the faid
Richard Baxter into his Majesty's said Prifon, and him there safely to keep for six Months
without Bail or Mitimprize. And hereof you are not to fail at your Peril. Given at Brent-
ford the Eleventh of June, in the one and twentieth year of the Reign of our Sovereign
Lord Charles the Second.

J. Philips.
Tho. Rofs.

§ 113.
§ 113. Here it is to be noted that the Act against Conventicles was long ago expired; that I was never Convict of a Conventicle while that Law was in force. nor were: that the Oxford Act suppose me Convict of a Conventicle; and doth not enable them to Convict me, without another Law: That really they had none but Rofe's Man to witnesse that I preached, who crept in but the Lord's Day before, and heard me only preach on this Text. Matt. 5. Blesfed be the meek, for they shali inherit the Earth.] prelath especially Quickehefs and Patience towards our Governmenters, and denying all turbulent, unpeaceable, and seditious dispositions and practices.

§ 114. They would have given me leave to stay till Monday before I went to Goal, if I would promise them not to preach the next Lord's Day, which I denied to promise, and so went away the next Morning.

§ 115: This was made a heinous Crime against me at the Court, and also it was said by the --- that it could not be out of Confidence that I preached, else why did not my Confidence put me on it so long before. Whereas I had ever preached to my own Family, and never once invited any one to hear me, nor forbid any: So that the difference was made by the people, and not by me. If they come more at laft than at first, before they had ever heard me, that signified no change in me. But this must we be judged of, where we are absent, and our Adversaries present; and there are many to speak against us what they please, and we are banished from City and Corporations, and cannot speak for our selves.

§ 116. The whole Town of Allen were greatly exasperated against the Dean, when I was going to Prifon; infomuch as ever since they abhor him as a Jellyfish Per- cutour: Nor could he devise to do more to hinder the faccefs of his (Rellom) Preaching there: But it was his own choice, Let them hate me, fo they fear me: And so I finally left that Place, being grieved mof that Satan had prevailed to stop the poor People in such hopeful beginnings of a common Reformation, and that I was to be deprived of the exceeding grateful Neighbourhood of the Lord Chief Baron Hale, who could feacre refrain Tears when he did but hear of the firft Warrant for my appearance.

§ 117. I knew nothing all this while of the rife of my trouble; but I resolved to part in Peace on my part with the Dean, not doubting but it was his doing. And so I went to take my leave of him, who took on him to be forry, and swore it was none of his doing, and to prove it, told me all the Story before mentioned; that such a Letter he received from W audiohampton, and being treasonable, he was faied to acquaint the King with it: And when he saw my Meeting mentioned in the Letter, he examined him about them, and he could not deny but they were very numerous; and the King against his Will sent him to the Bishop of London, to fee it suppreft. I told him that I came not now to expoftulate or express any Offence, but to endeavour that we might part in Love. And that I had taken that way for his affifance, and his Peo- ple's good, which was agreeable to my Judgment, and now he was trying that which was according to his Judgment; and which would prove the better the end will shew. He expostulated with me for not receiving the Sacrament with him, and offered me any Service of his which I desired, and I told him I desired nothing of him, but to do his People good, and to guide them faithfully, as might tend to their Salvation, and his own, and so we parted.

§ 118. As I went to Prifon I called of Serjent Fountain, my Special Friend, to take his Advice (for I would not be so injurious to Judge Hale) And he perused my Principals, and in short advised me to seek for a Hobbes Corpus, yet not in the usual Court (the King's Bench) for reasons known to all that know the Judges, nor yet in the Exchequer, lest his Kindnefs to me should be an Injury to Judge Hale, and so to the Kingdom (and the Power of that Court therein is question'd) but at the Common-Pleas, which he said might grant it, though it be not usual.

§ 119. But my greatest doubt was whether the King would not take it ill, that I rather fought to the Law than unto him; or if I fought any requef rather than continued in Prifon. My Imprifonment was at present no great Suffering to me, for I had an honest Jury, who shewed me all the Kindnefs he could; I had a large room, and the liberty of walking in a fair Garden; and my Wife was never so cheerful a Companion to me as in Prifon, and was very much against my seeking to be releafed, and she had brought so many Neccefa ries, that we kept
Hence as contentedly and comfortably as at home, though in a narrower room, and I had the sight of more of my Friends in a day, than I had at home in half a Year; And I knew that if I got out against their Will, my sufferings would be never the nearer to an end. But yet on the other side, 1. It was in the extreme heat of Summer, when London was wont to have Epidemical diseases: And the hope of my trying in Prison I have reason to think was one great inducement to some of the Instruments, to move to what they did. 2. And my Chamber being over the Gate, which was knock'd and opened with noise of Prisoners just under me allmost every Night, I had little hope of sleeping but by day, which would have been likely to have quickly broken my strength, which was so little, as that I did but live. 3. And the number of Visitors by day, did put me out of hope of Studying, or doing any thing but entertain them. 4. And I had neither leave at any time to go out of Doors, much less to Church on the Lord's Day, nor on that Day to have any come to me, nor to Preach to any but my Family.

Upon all these Considerations, the advice of some was, that I should Petition the King, but that to I was averse, 1. Because I was indifferent almost whether I came out or not; and I was loth either to seem more afflicted or impatient than I was, or to beg for nothing. 2. I had avoided the Court, and the Converse of all great Men so many years on purpose, that I was loth to creep to them now for nothing. 3. And I expected but to be put upon some promisc which I could not make, or to be rejected. 4. I had so many great Men at Court who had profelt extraordinary Kindness to me, (tho' I was never beholden to one Man of them all for more than Words) that I knew if it were to be done, they would do it without my seeking. And my Counsellor, Serjeant Fountain, advised me not to seek to them, nor yet refuse their Favour 'if they offered it, but to be wholly passive as to the Court: but to seek my Freedom by Law, because of my great weaknesses, and the probability of future Peril to my Life. And this Counsel I followed.

§ 120. The Earl of Otey I heard, did earnestly and speedily speak to the King how much my Imprisonment was to his dis-service. The Earl of Manchester could do little, but by the Lord Arlington, who with the Duke of Buckingham seemed much concerned in it: But the Earl of Lauderdale, (who would have been a forward had he known the King's mind to be otherwise) said nothing. And so all my great Friends did me not the least Service, but made a talk of it, with no Fruit at all. And the moderate honest Part of the Episcopal Clergy were much offended, and said, I was chosen out designedly to make them all odious to the People. But Sir John Baker often visiting me, assured me, That he had spokon to the King about it, and (when all had done their best) he was not willing to be seen to relax the Law, and discourage Justices in executing it, &c. but he would not be offended if I fought my Remedy at Law (which most thought would come to nothing.)

§ 121. Whilst I was thus unresolved which way to take, Sir John Baker describing a Narrative of my Cafe, I gave him one, which he shew'd the Lord Arlington; which I will here insert, and I will join with it two other Scrip's, one which I gave as Reasons to prove, That the Act against Conventicles forb'd not my Preaching: Another which I gave all my Counsellors when they were to plead my Cause about the Error of the Brittins.

§ 122. The Narrative of my Cafe.

The Oath cannot be imposed on me by the A.Ob.

First, Because I never kept any Conventicle or Unlawful Assembly proved.

1. By Conventicles and Unlawful Assemblies for Religions Exercise, the Laws do mean only the Meetings of Recusants, Separatists, or such as Communicate not with the Church of England, or such Assemblies as are held in opposition to the Church-Assemblies, and not such as are held only by the Conformable Members of the Church, in mere Subordination to the Church-Assemblies, to promote them. But all Meetings which I have held are only of this latter sort.
The former Proposition is thus proved.

1. The Canons give the Sense of the Word [Conventicles] (for it is a Church-Term, about Church-Matters.) But the Canons mention but two sorts of Conventicles, one of Presbyters, when they meet to make Orders or Canons for Church-Discipline; the other of People who meet under the Profession of being a Church distinct from the Church of England; (and neither of these is my Case.)

2. The Statute of the 35 of Eliz. expoundeth it accordingly; charging none of Unlawful Assemblies, but such as Separate, or Communicate not with the Church.

3. There is no other Statute that faith otherwise.

4. The Rubrick and Law alloweth Conformable Ministers to keep many Religious Assemblies, which are not in the Church, being but Subordinate, &c. At the Visitation of the Sick, where no numbers of Neighbours are prohibited to be present: Sermons at the Spittle, Sturbridge-Fair, &c.

2. At private Baptisms.

3. At private Communions, where any Family hath an importent Person that cannot Communicate at Church.

4. At the Roration Perambulations, where it was usual to Feast at House in their way, and there for the Minister to instruct the People, and to Pray, and sing Psalms.

5. The Laborious sort of Conformable Ministers, have many of them used to repeat their Sermons to all that would Assemble at their Houses: Which Repeating was as truly Preaching, as if they had Preached the same Sermon in several Pulpits. Therefore all Meetings, besides Church-Meetings, are not Conventicles, nor those that are in Subordination to them.

5. Even the late Expired Act against Conventicles, forbidden no Religious Exercises, but such as are otherwise than the Liturgy or Practice of the Church; and distinguishing expressly between the Exercises and the Numbers, doth forbid no number, when the Exercises are not otherwise, as aforesaid, tolerating even unlawful Exercises to the number of Four, but not to more.

The Second Proposition [That my Meetings were never Unlawful Conventicles] is proved.

1. I do constantly join with the Church in Common Prayer, and go at the beginning.
2. I Communicate in the Lord's Supper with the Church of England.
3. I am no Nonconformist in the Sense of the Law, because I Conform as far as the Law requireth me (having been in no Ecclesiastical Promotion, May 1, 1662. the Law requireth me not to subscribe, declare, &c. till I take a Care or Lecture, &c.)
4. I sometimes repeat to the Hearsers, the Sermon which I heard in the Church.
5. I exhort the People to Church-Communion, and urge them with sufficient Arguments, and Preach ordinarily against Separation, and Schism, and Sedition, and Divinity.
6. I have commanded my Servant to keep my Doors shut at the time of Publick Worship, that none may be in my House at that time.
7. I go into the Church from my House, in the Peoples sight, that my Example, as well as my Doctrine, may persuade them.
8. In all this, I so far prevail, that the Neighbours who hear me, do commonly go to Church, even to the Common-Prayer; and I know not three, or two of all the Parish, that use to come to me, who refuse it: which success doth shew, what it is I do. 9. I have long offered the Pastor of the Parish (the Dean of Windsor) that if he would but tell me, that it is his Judgment, that I hinder his Success, or the People's Good, rather than help it, I will remove out of the Parish, which he never yet hath done. 10. I have the New-Arch-Bishop's Licence (not reversed, nor disenabled) to Preach in the Diocess of London, which I may do by Law if I had a Church. And I offered the Dean to give over my Meetings in my House, if he would permit me to Preach (without Hire) sometimes occasionally in his Church, which I am not disenabled to do. By all this it appeareth, that any Meetings are not Unlawful Conventicles.
11. And riotous they are not, for my House being just before the Church Door, the same Persons go out of the Church into my House, and out of my House into the Church.
Part III. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Church; so that if one be riotous, both must be so. And I perform no Exercise at all, contrary to the Doctrine or the Practice of the Church; but when the Curate readeth only in the Evening, and doth not Preach or Catechize, when he hath done one part, I do the other which he omitted.

2. The Oath cannot be imposed on me, because I am none of the three sorts of Offenders there mentioned. The first sort in the Act are such as have not Subscribed, Declared, and Conformed, according to the Act of Uniformity, and other Acts; I am none of them, because the Laws require it not of me (being, as aforesaid, in no Church Promotion on May 1, 1662.) The second sort, are other Persons not Ordained according to the Order of the Church, but I am so Ordained. The third sort is School-Teachers, which is not my Case: (though I have also a Licence to Teach School.) And that the two Descriptions of the Conventicles in the Preamble, are to be the Expositions of the following prohibitory Parts of the Act, is plain by the answerable distinction of them. And also, 1. Because the very Title and plain design of this Act, is only to restrain Nonconformists. 2. Because the express end and main object of it, is to preferve People from Seditious and Poisonous Doctrine. But the Clergy which are not Nonconformists, are not to be imposed to be defamed, or suspected by the Laws, of Preaching poisonous seditious Doctrine, nor can it be imagined, that they mean to drive them five Miles from all their Parishes in England, if they should once be at a private Meeting, or put the Act. Fine on them, if they preach one Sermon after such Meeting, to their Parishes, before they have taken the Oath, though no Man offer it them, which would follow if it extended to them. And I am exempted from the Suspicion of that Preaching.

1. By being chosen and Sworn His Majesty's Chaplain in ordinary, and Preaching before Him, and Publishing my Sermons by His Special Commands, and never since accused of ill Doctrine, but the sharpest Debates written against Nonconformists, do quarrel with them, for quarrelling with my Doctrine.

2. Some think the words [have kept] in the Act, refer to the time past before the Act; and then 'tis nothing to me.

3. Should I not have been Convict in my preface of some one unlawful Conventicle, and of not departing after five Miles from the place: for how should I be bound to forsake my Dwelling, as an Offender, before I knew of my Offence?

Lastly, I told the Justices, That I did not refuse the Oath, but professed, that I understood it not, and desired time to learn to understand it, if I could; which they denied me; and would neither tell me who were my Accusers, or Witnesses, nor shew me the Words of the Accusation or Depositions, nor suffer any Person but as three (themselves and me) to be at all present, or to hear anything that was said by them or me. And though I shall never take Oaths which I cannot possibly understand, nor in a Sense which is contrary to the plain meaning of the Words, till they are so expounded, nor shall ever number deliberate Lying, or Perjury, with things indifferent; yet I do far defer any Accuser, who will question my Loyalty, that (as I have taken the Oaths of Supremacy and of Allegiance, and a special Oath of Fidelity, when I was Sworn (I know not why) as His Majesty's Servant) I am ready to give a much fuller signification of my Loyalty than that Oath, if I had taken it, would be: And to own all that is said, for the Power of Kings, and of the Subject's Obedience and Non-resistance, by any (or all), the Councils and Confessions of any Christian Churches upon Earth, whether Greek or Roman, Reformed, Episcopal, Presbyterian, or any that are fit to be owned as Christians (that ever came to my notice) besides what is contained in the Laws of our own Land. And if this will not serve, I shall patiently wait in my Appeal, to the An-surring Universal Judgment.

§ 123. 2. [In other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy or Practice of the Church of England—— At which Conventicle, Meeting, or Assembly, there should be Five Persons, or more, Assembled over and above those of the Household.

Poz. 1. To Preach or Teach in a House not Consecrated for a Temple, is not contrary to the Liturgy and Practice of the Church of England.
Arg. 1. That which the Scripture expressly alloweth, is not contrary to the Liturgy and Practice of the Church of England. But to Preach and Teach (even Multitudes) in Houses (and other places) not so Consecrated, the Scripture expressly alloweth: Ergo ----.

The Major is proved, 1. Because the Book of Ordination requireth, that all that are Ordained, shall promise to Instruct the People out of the Holy Scripture, being prefcribed that they contain sufficiently all Doctrine required of Necessity to Salvation; and to teach no other: And with all Faithful Diligence to banish all Doctrines contrary to God's Word: And to use both public and private Monitions and Exhortations, as well to the Sick as to the whole, as need shall require, and occasion shall be given.

2. The same Sufficiency of the Scripture is asserted in the 6th Article of the Church. And Article 20, bindeth us to hold, That it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing contrary to God's written Word. So Art. 21. more.

3. The said Scriptures are appointed by the Rubrick to be read as the Word of God himself.

4. The Law of the Land declareth, That nothing shall be taken for Law which is contrary to the Word of God.

5. The First and Second Homily shew the sufficiency of it, and necessity to all Men.


3. From the Expository Practice of the Universal Church in all Ages.

4. From the Expository Practice of the Church of England, who Preached in Houses in the time of their late Restraint by Cromwell.

Arg. 2. The Church of England bindeth Ministers to Teach both publicly and privately, in their Ordination, as afore recited.

2. In the Liturgy for the Visitation and Communion of the Sick, it alloweth private Exhortation, Prayer, and Sacraments.

3. The 13 Canon requireth that the Lord's Day, and other Holy-Days, be spent in publick and private Prayers. And the very Canon 71, which most restraineth us from Preaching and Administering the Sacrament in private Houses, doth expressly except Times of necessity, when any is so impotent as he cannot go to Church, of dangerously sick, &c.

4. The instructing of our Families, and Praying with them, is not disallowed by the Church. And I my self have a Family, and Persons imployed therein (who cannot go to Church) to Teach.

Arg. 3. The 76 Can. condemneth every Minister, who voluntarily relinquisheth his Ministry, and liveth as a Lay-Man: Ergo, We must forbear no more of the Ministerial Work than is forbidden us.

Ref. 2. The number of Persons present above Four, cannot be meant by this Act, as that which maketh the Religious Exercises to be [in other manner than allowed by the Liturgy or Practice of the Church.]

Arg. 1. Because the manner of the Exercise, and the number of Persons are most expressly distinguished: And the restraint of the number is expressly affixed only to them who shall use such unallowed manner of Religious Exercises, not meddling with all others. The Words [at which Convention, &c.] do shew the Meeting to be before
before described by the manner of Exercise. Otherwise the Words would be worse than Non-Sens. 2. Because if the Words be not so interpreted, then they must condemn all our Church Meetings for having above four. As if they had said [where Five are met, it is contrary to the Liturgy of the Church] which cannot be.

If it be said, That for above Four to meet in a House is not allowed by the Church.] I Answer;

1. That is a Matter which this Act meddleth not with, as is proved by the foregoing distinguishing the manner of Exercise, from the number of Persons.
2. Nor doth the Act speak of private Houses, or put any difference between them and Churches, but equally restraineth Meetings in Churches, which are for disallowed Exercises of Religion.
3. Nor is it true in it self, that the Church disalloweth the number of Five in private Houses, as is proved before. But it contrarily requireth, that at private Communions there shall be [Neighbors got to Communicate] and not fewer than three or two.] And at private Baptism, and other occasions, the number is not limited by the Church at all.
4. Because the Act is directed only against seditious Sectaries, and their Conventicles.

Because the Words of the Act shew, that the Law-makers concur with the fence of the Church of England, which is no where so strict against Nonconformity as in the Canons: And in these Canons, viz. 73, and 11. A Conventicle is purposely and plainly defiibed to be such [other Meetings, Alienblies or Congregations, than are by the Laws held and allowed, which challenge to themselves the Name of true and lawful Churches.] Or else secret Meetings of Priests or Minifters to consult upon any matter, or course to be taken by them, or upon their motion or direction by any other, which may any way tend to the imprisonment, or depriving of the Doctrine of the Church of England, or the book of Common-Prayer, or of any part of the Government and Discipline] of the Church. So that where there is no such Consultation of Minifters, nor no Alienbler that challenge to themselves the Name of true and lawful Churches, different from the allowed Assemblies, there are no Conventicles in the fence of the Canons of the Church of England, which this Act professeth to adhere to.

The same Sense is express also in Can. 10, which describeth Schismaticks: [Whosoever shall affirm that such Minifters as refuse to subscribe to the Form and manner of God’s Worship in the Church of England, prefigured in the Communion-Book, and their Adherents may truly take unto them the Name of another Church, not established by Law; and dare presume to publish, that this pretended Church hath long groaned under, &c.] And in the 9th Canon, where the Authors of Schism are thus described; [Whosoever shall separate themselves from the Communion of Saints, as it is approved by the Apostle’s Rules in the Church of England, and combine themselves together in a new Brotherhood, accounting the Christians who are conformable to the Doctrine, Government, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Church of England, to be prophane, and unmeet for them to join with in Christian Profef-

Pro. 3. If our manner of Religious Exercises did differ in some more degrees or Circumstances from that which is allowed by the Liturgy, and Practice of the Church, it ought not no be taken to be the thing condemned in this Act.

Arg. 1. Otherwise the Justices themselves, and almost all his Majesty’s Subjects, either are already obnoxious to the Mullets, Imprisonments, and Banishments, or may be they know not how soon.

Arg. 2. And otherwise no Subject must dare to go to Church, for fear of incurring Imprisonment or Banishment.

The reason of both is visible. 1. Almost all conformable Minifters do either by some omissions of Prayers, or other parts of the Liturgy, or by some alterations,
ons, many times do that which is dissonant from the Liturgy, and practice, or Canons of the Church. I have seldom been present where somewhat was not contrary to them. 2. Because most conformable Ministers do now Preach without Licences; which is contrary to the express Canons of the Church. 3. Because few of the King's Subjects, or none can tell when they go to Church, but they may hear one that hath no Licence, or that will do somewhat dissonant from the manner of the Church.

Proc. 4. Preaching without Licence bringeth me not within the Penalty of the Act.

Arg. 1. Because I have the Archbishop's Licence.

Arg. 2. Because a Licence is not necessary for Family Instruction.

Arg. 3. Because else most of the Conformists would be as much obnoxious, which is not so judged by the Bishops themselves.

§ 124. (3.) The Errors of the Militiam, with the explication of the Oxford Act.

This Act containeth, I. The end and Occasion; that is, the preferring of Church and Kingdom, from the Danger of poisonous Principles.

II. The Description of the dangerous Persons. 1. in the Preamble: Where they are 1. Non-conformists, or such as have not subscribed and declared according to the Act of Uniformity, and other subsequent Acts. 2. They, or some of them, and other Persons not ordained, according to the Form of the Church of England, who have since the Act of Oblivion preached in Unlawful Assemblies, and have setted themselves in Corporations.

2. In the Body of the Act, where are two parts answering the two aforesaid in the Preamble. 1. The first Subject described is, Non-subscribers, and Non-declarers, according to the Act of Uniformity, &c. That is, Non-conformists; who also have not taken the Oath, (which is here preferred as a preventing Remedy. 2. The second Subject is [All such Persons as shall Preach in unlawful Meetings, contrary to Laws, which must needs refer to the second branch of the Preamble, and mean only [such Nonconformists, and unordained Persons as shall so Preach] the Word [shall] signifying that it must be after the passing of this Act.

III. The Offence prohibited is being, or coming after March 24. 1665, within five Miles of any Corporation, or of any place, where since the Act of Oblivion, they have been Parsons, Vicars, Lecherers, &c. Or have preached in any unlawful Assembly, contrary to the Laws, before they have in open Sessions taken the Oath. That is, who have done this since the Act of Oblivion before this Act (it being the purpose of this Act to put all those who shall again after this Act Preach in Conventicles, in the same Cafe with them, who since the Act of Oblivion were Parsons, Vicars, &c. That is, that none of them shall come within five miles of any place where they were either Incumbents, or Conventicles, before this Act since the Act of Oblivion.

IV. The Penalty is, 1. 40 l. for what is past, (which the after taking of the Oath will not save them from.) 2. And six months Imprisonment also for such of them as shall not Swear, and subscribe the Oath and Declaration offered them.

So that in this Act the offence itself prohibited is Coming within five miles, &c. But the qualification of the subject offending, is absolutely necessary to it.

So that the Militiam for an offence against this Act, must signify, That N. N. having not subscribed and declared, according to the Acts of Uniformity, and other subsequent Acts; or being not ordained according to the Form of the Church of England
England, and having since the Act of Oblivion preached in an unlawful Assembly; and also hath so preached since this Act; and hath not taken the Oath there required, is proved by Oath to us to have been, or come since Mar. 24. 1665. Within five Miles of a Corporation, or in a place where he was an incum- bent, or preached in a Conventicle, before this Act since the Act of Oblivion; and also hath refused before us to swear and subscribe the said Oath, &c.

Now in this **Mittimus.** 1. Here is no mention that R. B. hath not subscribed and declared already according to the Act of Uniformity; or is a Non-conformist; nor yet that he is not ordained according to the Form of the Church of Eng.

land. But we shall first shew that he hath preached in an unlawful Assembly since the Act of Oblivion, a concept, and according to the Act, (which must be said) he hath now dwelt, and there is no mention that he hath taken the Oath before he took it. 2. Nor is there any mention that he hath preached in an unlawful Assembly since the Act of Oblivion, much less, since this Act, (which must be said) he hath now dwelt, and there is no mention that he hath taken the Oath before he took it. 3. Nor that ever they had proof of his not taking the Oath before, or that ever he was Convict of Preaching before he took it. 4. The **Offence itself** is not here said to be proved by Oath at all, viz. Coming or being within five Miles, &c. But another thing, viz. his Preaching in an unlawful Meeting, is said to be proved by Oath, which this Act doth not enable them to take such proof of.

As for the Word in the **Mittimus,** [*where he now dwelleth*] it cannot be understood as a part of Deposition. 1. Because it is expressed but as the Justice's Affection, and not so much as an [*and*] or Conjunction *et* before it to shew that they had Oath made of it, as well as of Preaching. 2. Because the Word [*now dwelleth*] must be taken strictly or laxly; if strictly, it referreth to the time of the Writing of the **Mittimus,** which was two days after the Constable's Warrant; and no Accuser, Witness, or other Person was sufferer to be present; and therefore it must needs be but the Justice's own Words, or Affection, without proof. Or if [*now dwelleth*] be taken laxly for a distant time; then note, that here is not any mention of Proof that there was any just or considerable distance between his [*Preaching*] and his [*dwelling here*] but he might go away the next hour after his Preaching, notwithstanding any thing here mentioned. For any Man that *Preached,* is in the place where he *Preacheth* while he *Preacheth,* and if he go away the next hour, it must be considered in what time he can go five Miles. But if [*now*] be taken for the Witness's Words, here is no intimation of the least distance. And none can imagine that the Law meaneth that the Preacher shall be five Miles off the next Minute, or Hour. And indeed, if no Man can tell how many hours must be allowed, it is plain that the Act meaneth that the Person must be first legally *Convict* of Preaching in an unlawful Assembly and also of not having conformed or taken the Oath before the *Oath is made* of his not removing five Miles.

3. This Act, not at all enabling the Justices to take Oath about the Conventicles; but only about [*not coming* within five Miles] and there being but one Deposition mentioned [*where he now dwelleth*] being a very part of that one Testimony, if it be not the Justice's own Words; it followeth that this Oath must be made before the Act against Conventicles was expired; because no other Act enabled them to take such an Oath: And then the [*now dwelleth*] will signify long ago, without any notified distance from his Preaching.

4. If [*where he now dwelleth*] be part of the Deposition, then so must the following Words [*not having taken and subscribed the Oath,*] which Charity forbiddeth us to believe that they were, seeing I was never accused of it, and it's not possible that they, or any Man living should know that I have not taken it heretofore.

5. Here is no Oath that Richard Baxter Preached in a Conventicle before this Act, which is to be proved as well as that he did it after.

The great difficulty in this Act is, whether the general Words [*all such Persons as shall take on them to Preach*] be not to be taken as expounded in the Preamble limited to Non-conformists, and the un-ordained, as aforesaid. And it's plain, that it's not to be extended to Conformists. 1. Because the Law doth not disown them so far as to suspect them of poisons Principles. 2. Else what ruin would it make in the Church, when every Pastor must no more come within five Miles of his Charge (no not the dignified Clergy) if any Enemy shall secretly swear that they once preached in an unlawful Assembly. 3. All the Conformable Clergy.
and their Council are of this mind: For none of them take this Oath at the Sessions; and therefore none of them think they are bound to take it. Note, it is to be taken unoffered; and that on the Penalty of 40 l. if they come within five Miles of their Charge, though they were never so willing to take it after.

**Objection 1.** The Conformists need it not, because they keep no Conventicles.

**Answer 1.** They are commanded many private Meetings, as private Visitations of the Sick, Baptisms, Communions, Perambulations in the **Rotation-Week** (when they use in Houes by the way to spend the time in Pious Instructions, Prayers, &c.) And many of them repeat their Sermons in their Houes, which is as much Preaching as any thing I have ever done.

2. And there are few publick Assemblies, where some-what is not done contrary to the Liturgy, by Omissions, &c.

3. And every Man hath some Enemy, who may Swear that these are unlawful Assemblies.

**Obj. 2.** The Conformists have already Subscribed.

**Answer 2.** That proveth that this Act intendeth them not, (and therefore not me, who Conform as far as any Law requireth me.)

2. It is one thing to [say I am of Opinion] and another thing to [Swear that so it is.]

3. I may say that [the Covenant bindeth me not to endeavour any Alteration of Church-Government] easier than Swear [That I will never at any time endeavour it] when we once already so far endeavoured it by Command, 1660. as His Majesty's Gracious Declaration about Ecclef. Affairs expresseth; even while contrary Laws were in force.

§ 125. While I stayed in Prison, I saw some-what to blame my self for, and some-what to wonder at others for, and some-what to advise my Visitors about.

1. I blamed my Self that I was no more sensible of the Spiritual part of my Affliction, such as was the interruption of my Work, and the poor People from whom I was removed, and the advantage Satan had got against them, and the loss of my own publick Liberty, for worshipping in the Assemblies of his Servants.

2. I marvelled at some who suffered no more than I, (as Mr. Rutherford, when he was confined to Aberdeen) that their Sufferings occasioned them so great Joys as they express'd which was from the Free Grace of God, to encourage others by their Examples, and not that their own Impatience made them need it much more than at other times. For surely so small a Suffering needeth not a quarter of the Patience, as many poor Nonconformable Ministers (and Thousands others) need, that are at liberty; whose own Houes, through Poverty, are made far worse to them, than my Prison was to me.

3. To my Visitors I found Reasos. 1. To intreat my Allot-Neighbours, not to let their Passion against their Parson, on my account, hinder them from a due regard to his Doctrine, nor from any of the Duty which they owed him.

2. To blame some who aggravated my Sufferings, and to tell them, That I had no mind to fancy my self hurt before I felt it: I used at home to confine my self voluntarily almost as much: I had ten-fold more publick a Life here, and converse with my Friends, than I had at home: If I had been to take Lodgings at London for six Months, and had not known that this had been a Prison, and had knock'd at the Door and ask'd for Rooms, I should as soon have taken this which I was put into, as most in Town (Save only for the Interruption of my sleep:) That it sheweth great weakness to magnifie a small Suffering, and much worse to magnifie our selves and our own Patience, for bearing so small a thing; (than which most poor Men in England bear more every Day.)

I found Cause to desire my Brethren, that when they suffered, they would remember that the design of Satan was more against their Souls than their Bodies: and that it was not the least of his hopes to destroy their Love, which was due to those by whom they suffered, and to disownour Superiors, and by aggravating our Sufferings, to render them odious to the People: As also to make us take such a poor Suffering
Suffering as this, for a sign of true Grace, instead of Faith, Hope, Love, Mortification, and a Heavenly Mind; and that the loss of one Grain of Love, was worse than a long Imprisonment: And that it much more concerned us, to be sure that we despaired not Suffering, than that we be delivered from it, and to see that we wronged not our Superiors, than that they wrong not us: seeing we are not near so much hurt by their Severities, as we are by our Sins. Some told me, that they hoped this would make me stand a little further from the Prelates and their Worship, than I had done. To whom I answered, That I wondered that they should think that a Prison should change my Judgment: I rather thought now it was my Duty to set a stricter watch upon my Passions, left they should pervert my Judgment, and carry me into Extremes, in opposition to my Affiliators. (And not past a Year and half after, two Gentlemen turned Quakers in Prison.) If Passion made me lose my Love, or my Religion, the loss would be my own. And Truth did not change, because I was in a Goal. The temper of my Visitors called me much to this kind of talk.

§ 126. When I was in Prison, the Lord Chief Baron, at the Table at Serjeant’s Inn, before the rest of the Judges, gave such a Character of me openly, without fear of any Man’s displeasure, as is not fit for me to own, or recite, who was so much reverenced by the rest (who were very one Strangers to me, save by hearing) that I believe it much settled their Resolutions. The Lord Chief Justice Vaughan was no Friend to Nonconformity, or Puritans, but he had been one of Sel’s Executors, and so Judge Hall’s old Acquaintance: Judge Tyrrel was a well-affected sober Man, and Serjeant Fountain’s Brother-in-Law by Marriage, and sometime his Fellow-Commissioner for keeping the Great Seal and Chancery: Judge Archer was one that privately favoured Religious People: And Judge Wild, though greatly for the Prelates way, yet (was noted for) a Righteous Man. And there were the Four Judges of the Court.

§ 127. My Habecor Corpus being demanded at the Common Pleas, was granted, and a Day appointed for my Appearance: But when I came, the Judges, I believe, having not before judged the Oxford Act, when Judge Wild had first said [I hope you will not use to trouble this Court with such Causes,] asked whether the King’s Council had been acquainted with the Case, and seen the Order of the Court; which being denied, I was remanded back to Prison, and a new Day set: They suffered me not to stand at the Bar; but called me up on the Table (which was an unnatural respect;) and they sent me not to the Flect, as is usual, but to the same Prison, which was a greater favour.

§ 128. When I came next, the Lord Chief Justice coming towards Westminster Hall, went into White-Hall by the way, which caused much talk among the People. When he came, Judge Wild began, and having shewed that he was no Friend to Conventicles, opened the Act, and then opened many defaults in the Mitimus, for which he pronounced it invalid; but in Civility to the Judges said, that the Act was so penned, that it was a very hard thing to draw up a Mitimus by it (which was no Co-operation to the Parliament.) Judge Archer next spake largely against the Mitimus, without any word of disapprobation to the main Cause: And so did Judge Tyrrel after him (I will not be so tedious as to recite their Arguments.) Judge Vaughan concluded in the same manner, but with these two Singularities above the rest.

1. That he made it an Error in the Mitimus, that the Witnesses were not named; seeing that (the Oxford Act giving the Judges so great a power,) if the Witnesses be unknown, any innocent Person may be laid in Prison, and shall never know where, or against whom to seek remedy (which was a Matter of great moment.)

2. That when he had done with the Cause, he made a Speech to the People, and told them, That by the appearance, he perceived that this was a Cause of so great Expectation as had been before them, and it being usual with People to carry away things by the halves, and their misfortunes might indue others, he therefore acquainted them. That though he understood that Mr. Baxter was a Man of great Learning, and of a good Life, yet he having this singularity, the Law was against Conventicles, and it was only upon the Error of the Warrant that he was releaved; and that they use in their Charge at Assizes to inquire after Conventicles, and they are against the Law; so that if they that made the Mitimus had but known how
The was had Gratitude have loft I had knew had In I was fpunous mull to "Caufe there {hall Perfori Charges. the better fmaVr, though that °'' answers Yearns tff for place expired to my Jail Imprifonment, I tell them in the place with eft, I fan from the place in great pains one quarter of a year by a fole, and from there Nation, and ater Scenioes, which God hath delivered me from, and ater the world, and of many felf, and the world, and of many felf.

Charges. 

§ 13. When the fame Jusiffes law that I was thus dillihed, they were not exifihed to have driven me from, but they made a new Atrites (which the Ay in another Convention as the common law), the on place with eft, I fan from the place in great pains one quarter of a year by a fole, and from there Nation, and ater Scenioes, which God hath delivered me from, and ater the world, and of many felf, and the world, and of many felf.

§ 15. Gratitude commanid me to tell the World, who became the benefactors of me, that I was on fole of a year before or after, I am more exaltated, and in the World, and of many felf, and the world, and of many felf.
bred; his upholding Mercy under such continued weaknesses, with tolerable, and seldom disabling Pains, hath been unvaluable.

§ 154. I am next to give some short account of my Writings since 1665. 1. A small MS. lyeth by me, which I wrote in Answer to a Paper which Mr. Caryl of Suffolk sent me, written by Caryl (called now Serenius) about Popery.

§ 155. 2. Mr. Tates of Hamblin, Minifter, sending me the Copy of a Popish Letter, as spread about Oxford, under the Mask of one doubting of Christiannity, and calling the Scholars to a Trial of their Faith, in Principles, did by the Juggling Fraud, and the lightness of it, provoke me to write my book called, The Reasons of the Christian Religion. And the Philosophy of Gassendi, and many more besides the Hobbians, now prevailing, and inclining men to Sadducism, induced me to write the Appendix to it, about the Immortality of the Soul.

§ 156. 3. Oft Conference with the Lord Chief Baron Hale, put those Cates into my mind, which occasioned the writing of another short Piece, of the Nature and Immortality of the Soul, by way of Question and Answer (not printed.)

§ 157. 4. The great Weaknesses, and Passions, and Injudiciousness of many Religious Persons, and the ill effects; and especially perceiving that the Temptations of the Times, ye the very Reproofs of the Conformists, did but increase them among the separating party, caused me to offer a book to be Licensed, called, Directions to weak Christians how to grow in Grace, with a second part, being Sixty Characters of a Sound Christian, and the Hypocrite; Which I the rather writ to imprint on men's minds a right apprehension of Christiannity, and to be as a Confession of our Judgment in this malignant Age, when some Conformists would make the World believe, that it is some monstruous thing composed of Folly and Sedition, which the Nonconformists mean by a Christian and a Godly Man. This Book came forth when I was in Prison, being long before refus'd by Mr. Grigg.

§ 158. 5. A Christian Directory, or Sumn of Practical Divinity in Folio, hath lain unfinished by me, many years; and since twice printed.

§ 159. 6. My Bookfeller desiring some Additions to my Sermon before the King, I added a large Directory of the whole Life of Faith, which is its Title, which is published.

§ 160. 7. Abundance of Women first, and Men next growing at London, into separating Principles; Some thinking that it was sin to hear a Conformist; and more, That it is a sin to pray according to the Common Prayer with them; and yet more, That it is a sin to Communicate with them in the Sacrament: And the Conformists abominating their House-Meetings as Schismatical; and their Distance and Passions daily increasing, even among many, to earnish desires of each other's Ruine, I thought it my Duty to add another part to my Book of Directions to weak Christians, being Directions what course they must take to avoid being Dividors, or troubleers of the Churches: The rather because I knew what the Papilts and Infidels would gain by our Divisions, and of how great necessity it is against them both, that the honest moderate part of the Conformists, and the Nonconformists, be reconciled, or at least grow not into mortal Enmy against each other. This Book was offered to Mr. Sam. Parker, the Archbiwp's Chaplain to be Licensed, but he refus'd it, and so I purposed to call it by: But near two years after, Mr. Grose, the Bishop of London's Chaplain (without whom I could have had nothing of mine Licensed, I think) did I confent to it, and it was published; of which more anon.

§ 161. 8. About this time I heard Dr. Owen talked very vehently, of a Concord between the Independents and Presbyterian (which all seemed willing of.) I had before, about 1648, written somewhat in order to Reconciliation; and I did (by the invitation of his Speeches) offer it to Mr. Geo. Grisseth to be considered: And near a twelve-month after he gave it me again, without taking notice of any thing in it. I now resolved to try once more with Dr. Owen: And though all our busines with each other had been contradiction, I thought it my Duty without any thoughts of former things, to go to him, and be a Seeker of Peace: which he seemed to take well, and expressed great desires of Concord, and also many moderate Concessions, and how heartily he would concur in any thing that tended to a good agreement. I told him, That I must deal freely with him, that when I thought of what he had done formerly, I was much afraid left one that had been so great a breaker, would not be made an Instrument in healing; But in other Respects I thought him the fittest man in England for this Work; partly because he could understand the Cafe, and partly, because his
his Experience of the Humours of Men, and of the mischief of dividing Principles and Practices, had been so very great, that if Experience should make any man wise, and fit for an healing Work, it should be him: And that a book which he had lately written (a Catechism for Independency) offensive to others, was my chief Motive to make this Motion to him; because he there giveth up two of the world of the Principles of Popularity; acknowledging,

1. That the People have not the Power of the Keys.
2. That they give not the Power of the Keys, or their Office-Power to the Papists.

I told him that I had before this driven on an Agreement between the Freeholders and Independents, in another manner, but that I plainly saw, that while the Lord Chancellor, and such others, were still talking of Plots and Conspiracies, they would be so jealous of our Union, that they would give out, that we were strengthening our selves by it, as a Confederacy against the King; and it would have tended to the sudden increase of our Suffering. He answered me, That for his part, he thought the Work so necessary, that he would trust God, and over-look such dangers. I told him, That the danger being so visible, Prudence in the management of the Work was our Duty, though not carnal Policy to desert it. The great difficulty had always been to find out the Terms on which we must be United, if ever it be done: This was it which could not be done in the Assembly at Westminster, nor in all the Years of our Liberty and Difference ever since. And this is a thing which a few Hands may dispatch, much better than many. I told him therefore, that my Opinion was, That he and I only should first try whether we could come to Agreement in Principles; and that none living might know of our Attempt till it was finished; that if we could not agree, the notice of our Failing might not be a hindrance to others, nor a reproach to our selves; but if we did agree, it were easy to make use of the Terms agreed on, when ever Prudence should tell us it was conducive to our Ends; and to get two or three of a side to Subscribe it first, till it were fit to make it publick for the use of more.

This much we agreed on, and our next Question was of the method. I told him that as to the positive Terms of Concord, I thought that those Essentials of Religion and Communion, which are the Terms that all Christians must agree in, must be ours, and that we had not any new Terms to devise; but only some new Means to bring us to content to Communion upon those Terms. To which end I thought it would be a good way to draw up a Writing, containing all the Points of Discipline, which the two Parties are really agreed in (great and small,) that while the World feeth the extent of their Agreement, the few things which they differ in may seem to small, among all those, and not to be sufficient to hinder their Communion. He approved of the Motion, and desired him to draw it up; which when he purposed, I desired that each of us might bring in a Draught; but he would needs call it on me alone.

When I had drawn up abundance of These as the Matter of our common Concord, and left them with him, the next time I came to him, he commended the thing, but said, that they were too many, and I could do it in a narrower room. I perceived by this, that his Thoughts were, that many that were among them, would not grant all those Points, and so it must be wiser yet. I told him, that if he changed the Delign, we must change the Means; if he thought the better way to draw up only those Points which are necessary to our Agreement, then we must do it in as narrow a compass as may be; which being determined of, I urged him again in vain to do it; but he call it upon me, and I brought him a draught of so many of the things which both Freeholders and Independents are agreed in, as are necessary to their Practical Concord and Communion, with respect to the things in which they are, or seem disagreed. When he had kept them a few Weeks, I waited on him again and again; and he told me, that it was the fairest offer, and the likeliest Means, that ever he yet saw; and he saw nothing yet but that it might well conduz to the End intended. I desired him to give me his Animadversions; 1. Of all that he took to be talse or unsound in it. 2. Of all that he thought the two Parties were not agreed in. 3. Of all that he thought inconvenient and unwise to the End intended. 4. Of all that he thought unnecessary: which he contented to, and shortly after sent me this Letter (which intimated his purpose of coming to me, because I invited him to take the Country Air with me, in a Cold that he had, &c.)
§ 142. Sir R.

The continuance of my Cold, which yet holds me, with the severity of the Weather, have hitherto hindered me from answering my purpose of coming unto you at Action: but yet I hope ere long to obtain the advantage of enjoying your Company there for a Season. In the mean time I return you my Thanks for the Communication of your Papers; and find on every occasion manifest, that you have no occasion to question, whether I were in earnest in what I proposed, in reference to the Concord you design. For the desire of it is continually upon my Heart, and to express that desire on all occasion, I often one part of that Profession of the Gospel which I am called unto. Could I contribute any thing towards the Accomplishment of so holy, so necessary a Work, I should willingly spend myself, and be spent in it. For what you design concerning your present Essay, I like it very well, both upon the Reasons you mention in your Letter, as also that all those who may be willing and desirous to promote so blessed a Work, may have Copies by them to prepare their Thoughts in reference to the whole.

For the present, upon the Liberty granted in your Letter (if I remember it aright) I shall tender you a few Queries; which if they are useless or needless, deal with them accordingly.

1. Are not the Severals proposed or insinuated on, too many for this first Attempt? The general Heads I conceive are not; but under them, very many Particulars are not only included, which is unavoidable, but expressed also, which may too much dilate the original Consideration of the whole.

2. You expressly exclude the Papists, who will also fare enough exclude themselves, and do, from any such Agreement: But have you done the same as to the Socinians, who are numerous, and ready to include themselves upon our Commission? The Creed, as expounded in the Four [sic] Councils will do it.

3. Whether some Expressions failed to prevent future Divisions and Separations, after a Concord is obtained, may not at present, to avoid all exasperation, be omitted, as seeming reflictive on former Additions, when there was no such Agreement among us, as is now aimed at?

4. Whether insinuating in particular, on the power of the Magistrate, especially as under civil Correction and Punishment, in cases of Error or Hereafter, be necessary in this first Attempt? These Generals occurred to my Thoughts, upon my first reading of your Proposals. I will now read them again, and set down, as I pass on, such apprehensions in particular, as I have of the Severals of them.

To the first Answer, under the first Question, I assent; so also to the first Proposal, and the Explanation: Likewise to the second and third. I thought I have proceeded this throughout; but I fore-see my do doing would be tedious and useless; I shall therefore mention only what at present may seem to require second Thoughts. As,

1. To Propos. 9. by those Instances [what Words to use in Preaching, in what Words to Pray, in what decent Habit do you intend Homilies, preferred Forms of Prayer, and Habit's superadded to those of vulgar decent use? Preacht Controversies will suggest in especial Sense under general Expressions.

2. Under Prol. 13. Do you think a Man may not leave a Church, and join himself to another, unless it be for such a Cause or Reason, as be sufficient sufficient to destroy the Being of the Church? I meet with this now answered in your 18th. Prol. and so shall forbear further particular Remarks, and pass on.

In your Answer to the Second Qn. Tour 10th. Position hath in it some-what that will admit of fuller consideration, as I think. In your Answer to the 3d. Qn. have you sufficiently expressed the accountableness of Churches mutually, in case of Offence from Male-Administration and Church Censures? This also I now see in part answered, Prop. 5th. I shall forbear to add any thing as under your Answer to the last Question, about the power of the Magistrate, because I fear, that in that matter of punishing, I shall some-what differ from you; though as to meet Correction I shall in some Cases agree.

Upon the whole Matter, I judge your Proposals worthy of great Consideration, and the most probable medium for the attaining of the End aimed at, that yet I have perused. If God give not an Heart and Mind to desire Peace and Union, every Expression will be displeased, under pretence of Truth and Accuracy: But if these things have a place in us favourable to that which they enjoy in the Gospel, I see no reason why all the true Disciples of Christ
Christ might not upon these, and the like Principles, condescend in Love unto the Pratical Concord and Agreement, which not one of them dare deny to be their Duty to Aim at.

Sir, I shall Pray that the Lord would guide and prosper you in all Studies and Endeavours, for the Service of Christ in the World, especially in this your Desire and Study for the Introducing of the Peace and Love promised amongst them that Believe, and do beg your Prayers.

Your truly affectionate Brother,

Jan. 25. 1668.

And unworthy Fellow-Servant,

John Owen.

§ 143. For the Understanding of this, you must know, 1. That the way which we came to at last, for the publication of the Terms, if he and I had agreed secretly, should be, That as I had Printed such a thing called Universal Concord, 1662, which was neglected, so I would Print this as the Second Part of the Universal Concord, that it might lye some time exposed to view in the Shops, before we made any further use of it, that so the State might not suspect us for our Union, as if we intended them any ill by doing our Duty: which course he approved. 2. That I oft went to him, and he had written this Letter ready to send me, and so gave it me into my hand; but we first debated many things in presence, in all which there remained no apparent Disagreement at all, so far as we went: And in particular, the great Point about separating in the Caffes enumerated, he objected no more but what I answered, and he seemed to acquiesce. 3. But for much feared that it would come to nothing, that I ventured to tell him what a difficulty I feared it would be to him to go openly and fully according to his own Judgment, when the Reputation of former Actions, and present Interest in many that would censure him, if he went not after their narrowed Judgment, did lye in his way, and that I feared these Temporations more than his Ability and Judgment. But he professed full Resolutions to follow the Business heartily and unbyassedly, and that no Interest should move him. And so I desired him to go over my Proposals again, and reflect upon every Word that was either unform'd, or hurtful, or unapt, or unnecessary, and every such Word should be altered: which he undertook to do; and so that was the way that we agreed on: but when I came home, I first returned him this following Answer to his Letter and Exceptions.

Feb. 16. 1668.

S I R,

Upon the perusal of Yours when I came home, I find your Exceptions to be mostly the same which you speak; and therefore shall be the briefer in my Answer, upon Supposition of what was said.

To your First Qu. I answer, I am as much for Brevity as you can possibly wish: so be it our Agreement be not thereby frustrated, and made insufficient to its ends. I would desire you to look over all the Particulars, and name me not only every one that you think unform'd, but every one which you judge to profit us or needful. But if we leave out that which must, or may be requisite, and none have any thing against it, it will but spoil our Work, and make Men judge of it, as you did of the want of a longer Profession than the Scriptures against Saintans: And it will contradict the Title, The just Terms of Agreement: For our Terms will be insufficient.

And as to your Words [the first attempt] my business is to discover the sufficient Terms at first, that so it may facilitate Content: For if we purposely leave out any needful part as for [a second attempt] we bring contempt upon our first Effay; and before
Part III. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

before the second, third, and perhaps twentieth Attempt have been used to bring us to Agreement, by Alterations, and crofs Humours, and Apprehensions, things will go as they have done, and all be pulled in pieces. Therefore we must, if possible, find out the sufficient Terms before too many hands be ingaged in it. Your own Exceptions here say, That if too many Explications had not afterward occurred, you had been unsatisfied in that which went before. And you know what Mr. Nye is wont to say againſt drawing a Hoſe over our Differences (though for my part I know no other way where we agree not in particulars, but to take up with an Agreement in Generals.) But where indeed we do agree in Particulars, I know no Reason why we should hide it, to make our Difference to feem greater than it is.

2. The Reasons, why I make no larger a Profession necessary than the Creed and Scriptures, are, becaufe if we depart from this old ſufficient Catholic Rule, we narrow the Church, and depart from the old Catholicity: And we shall never know where to ref: From the fame Reasons as you will take in Four Councils, another will take in Six, and another Eight, and the Papifts will say, Why not the ref, as well as these?

3. Because we should Sin againſt the Churches 1200 Years Experience, which hath been torn by this Conceit, That our Rule or Profession must be altered to obviate every new Hereſie. As if you could ever make a Creed or Law which no Offender shall mut-interprete, nor hypocratically profefs. By this means the Devil may drive us to make a new Creed every Year, by Sowing the Tares of a new Hereſie every Year. Hilary hath faid so much againſt this, not fparring even the Nicole Creed it ſelf, that I need ſay no more than he hath done upon that Argument of Experience, but only, that if 30 or 40 Years Experience so much moved him againſt new Creed-making, what should 1200 Years do by us?

4. And the Means will be certainly Fruitleſs, seeing that Hereticks are uſually Men of wide Conſcienſes, and if their Intereſt require it, they will Equivocate, as Men do now with Oaths and Subscriptions, and take any Words in their own Sense.

5. And the Means is needleſs, seeing there is another and fitter Remedy against Hereſie provided, and that is not making a new Rule or Law, but judging Hereticks by the Law of God already made. Either they are Hereticks only in Heart, or in Tongue also, and Exprefſion: If in Heart only, we have nothing to do to Judge them. Heart-Insidels are and will be in the Churches. If they be proved to be Hereticks in Tongue, then it is either before they are taken into the Commuſon of the Church, or after. If before, you are to uſe them as in caſe of proved Wickedneſs; that is, call them to publike Repentance before they be admitted: If it be after, they must be admoſtioned, and Rejected after the First and Second contempted ADMISSION: And is not this enough? And is not this the certain regular way? Is it not conſufion to put Law for Judgment, and fay there wants a new Law or Rule, when there wants but a due Judgment by the Rule in being.

6. Lastly, We shall never have done with the Papifts, if we let go the Scripture-Sufficiency. And it is a double Crime in us to do it, who Diſpute with them fo vehemently for it. And we harden and juſtíſe Church-TRYanny and Impoſitions when we will do the like ourselves.

If there be nothing againſt Socinianism in the Scripture, it is no Hereſie: If there be (as sure there is enough, and plain enough) Judge them by that Rule, and make not new ones.

But if any will not hold to this truly Catholicke Cours, I shall next like your Motion very well, to take up with the Creed, as Expounded in the 4 First Councils, called General: which I can readily subſcribe my self, but it's better let them all alone, and not to be so fond of one only Engine, which hath torn the Church for about 1200 Years. I mean departing, from the Ancient Rule, and making new Creeds and Forms of Communion.
To your Third Qu. I suppose you observe that what I say about Separation, is not under the third Head (of the Concord of Neighbour Churches; but under the second Head of the Concord of Members in the same particular Churches) and were you not heretofore at Agreement in your own Churches? And is it not the Duty and Interest of your own Churches to keep Unity, and that the Members separate not unjustly whether you agree with other Churches or not?

2. Either what I say about Separation is that which we are all (now Uniters) agreed in, or not: If it be, it berows our Brethren to profess it, and can be no Reproach or Offence to them to declare it: If any have lined against their own present Judgment, I hope they are not so Impenitent, as to desire us to forbear agreeing with their own Judgments, because it is against their former Sins. And here is no Word said Historically to upbraid any with these Sins at all. But if we are not all agreed thus far against Separation, I desire you to name the Terms which we agree not in, and then we shall see whether we may leave them, or whether it render our Concord deaderate and impossible (of which anon.)

To your Fourth Qu. The Jealousies and Errors of these Times do make it necessary to our Peace, to make some Profession of our Judgment about Magistracy, and I think there is nothing questionable in this. I am sure there is nothing but what many of the Congregational-Party do allow; but if you come to Particulars, I shall consider of them again.

The particular Exceptions which you Obliterate not your selves are but these.

1. To Qu. Prop. 9. Whether I mean preferred Forms, and Homilies, and Habits, by the Terms [what Words to use in Preaching and Prayer, &c.] Answer. That which I say as plain as I can is, 1. That a determination of such Circumstances is not a sinful Addition to God's Word, nor will allow the People therefore to avoid the Churches Communion. 2. That it belongs to the Pastor's Office to determine them (what Words he shall Preach and Pray in, &c.) Therefore you have no cause to ask my meaning about imposing upon him, but only whether he may so far impose upon the Flock, as to use his own Words in Preaching, Prayer, &c. 3. That yet if the Pastor determine these Circumstances defirately, the People have their Remedy. And is not this enough? Why must I tell you whether you may read a Sermon (or Homily) of your own Writing, or another Man's unto the People? Or if you do, whether they must separate? Or else if you read a Prayer, &c. Either you determine these things to the Churches by art, or not? If not, why should they blame you, or Separate? If you do, they have their Remedy. But whether you do or not, I now decide not. If we meddle with all such Particulars, we shall never agree: more than these must be left to liberty. You think our Particulars are too many already, and would you have more? And if the Controversies of the Times will tempt any to Expound our General Terms of Agreement amiss, we must not go from Generals for that.

To the Tenth Prop. You say there is something that will admit of a farther Consideration: Whereupon I considered it, and have added [Supposing it be a public Profession of Christianity which is made:] Because, though the People are not bnd to try the Persons before-hand, that are so to be received to Communion, yet they may ordinarily expect, that when they are admitted, their Profession be public, or made Known to the Church, which I imply'd before.

And now, Sir, I pray give me leave to speak some-what freely to the Caufe it self, (affuming you I shall patiently, if not thankfully receive as free Language from you or others.) I shall 1. mention what it is that we have to do; and 2. what Reasons we have for doing it.

Our Business is to heal Church-Divisions, and Heart-Divisions; therefore you must give us leave to say much against Divisions or Separations which are unjust, because this is our end, and all the rest is but the mean; and if you would have us leave out that, it is all one as to say [I do not agree to have no Agreement or Unity;] or [we will be beleaguered, so we may continue to be unhealed;] or, [do but excite us from Concord,
Part III. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter. 67

cord, and we will agree with you.] The Reason why we would bear with other Differences, is because we cannot bear with the Absence of Unity, Love and Peace, else we may let all go to Divisions, without any more ado.

And the great things which hinder the Presbyterians and Moderate Episcopalians, from doing with you, are principally these.

1. Because they think that your way tends to destroy the Kingdom of Christ, by dividing it, while all Excommunicate Persons, or Heretics, or Humorous Persons, may at any time gather a Church of such as separate from the Church which they belonged to, though it be on the account of Ungodliness, or Impatience of Discipline, &c. and then may stand on equal Terms with you; especially when you are not for the constant Correspondency of Churches in Synods, by which they may strengthen themselves against them.

2. They think, while you seem to be for a stricter Discipline than others, that your way (or usual Practice) tendeth to extirpate Godliness out of the Land; by taking a very few that can talk more than the rest, and making them the Church, and shutting out more that are as worthy, and by neglecting the Souls of all the Parish else, except as to some publick Preaching; against which also you prejudice them by unjust Rejections; and then think that you may warrantably account them unworthy: because you know no worthies by them, when you estrange your selves from them, and drive them away from you. They think that Parish-Reformation tendeth to the making Godliness universal, and that your Separation tendeth to dwindle it to nothing. I know that some of you have spoken for endeavouring the good of all; but (pardon my plainness) I knew scarce any of you that did not by an unjust estrooping of your few, do the People a double injury, one by denying them their Church-Rights, without any regular Church Justice, and the other by lazily omitting most that should have been done for their Salvation. In our Country almost all the rest of the Ministers agreed to deal seriously and orderly with all the Families of their Parishes (which some did to their wonderful benefit) except your Party, and the highly Episcopal, and they stood off. The doubt was when I came to Kidderminster, Whether it were better to take 20 Professors for the Church, and leave a Reader to head and gratifie the rest? Or, to attempt the just Reformation of the Parish? The Professors would have been best pleased with the first, and I was for the latter, which after full tryal, hath done that which hath satisfied all the Professors: So that professed Piety, and Family-Worship (in a way of Humility and Unity) was so common, that the few that differ among some Thousands are most ly ashamed of their Difference on the account of Singularity, and would seem to be Godly with the rest.

The last Week I had with me an honest Scotchman, and one of my Acot Neighbours, and I asked him how their Nation came to be so unanimous in the approbation of Godliness without any Seet. And he told me that usually they had twelve Elders in a Parish, and every one took their Division and observed the manners of the People, and if any Family prayed not, &c. They admonished them, and told the Pastor; and that the Pastor then went to them (though many Miles off) and taught them to Pray, and led them in it, and set them upon other means as we teach Children to read: And that once a Week they had a meeting of the Elders, to consult about the good of the Parish, and once a Week a meeting of the People to pray and confer, and receive resolution of Doubts, before the Pastor, and every Lord's Day after Sermon, they rayed to discourse of the things Preached of, that Objections might be answered, and those urged to their duties that had nothing to say against it. This, and more, the Scotchman averred to me. My Acot Neighbour told me, that there is now but one Person (a Woman) in all this Town and Parish that was here admitted to the Sacrament, and that the rest were partly by this course (and other reasons) disfavored, and their dislike encreased, and partly neglected and left to themselves: That of rich Families, (Mr. Rous, Major Skippens, Collonel Sely, and Mr. Humpehrys) were admitted while the rest were refused, or neglected: And that one surviving Person who was admitted, it but a Sojourner here. Whereas upon a little Tryal, I am able to say, that there are comparatively few openly scandalous Persons in the Town; that there are many who, I have reason to believe do seriously fear God, and are fit for Church-Communion: That almost the whole Town and Parish (even those that seemed most averse) are desirous and diligent...
diligent to hear, even in private, and seem to be deorsous of Family-helps, and
desire good Books to read in their families. And I hear not of one Perfon (or
hardly any if one) that speaks against the strictest Godliness, but commonly rather
take part with those that are judged to fear God. Even the very Inns and Ale-hou-
ses themselves do signify no Opposition or ill-mill: In a word, the willingnes seem-
eth so great and common, that if I were their Pastor, and had time to go to them
in private, and try, and promote their Knowledge (which comes not at once)
I see no reason to doubt but Godliness might become the common Composition of
the Parish. I speak this to show you (if Experience signify any thing with you,)
that your separating way tendeth to Laziness, and the grievous hinderance of that
Godliness which you seem to be more zealous for than others, and that the way of
Reforming Parish-Churches, is not so hopeless as you make your selves believe.
It is, Some one wrote lately Exceptions to Mr. Elfor upon his Proposals, in which he asks
him, [What shall one, or two, or three in a parish do, who usually are as many in
most, or many Parishes as are fit for Communion, &c.] Men first estrange themselves
from the poor People, whom they should teach with tenderness, and diligence;
and then they think their ignorance of the People ground enough to judge them igno-
rant, and talk of one or two in a Parish. But Christ will find many more, I am
past doubt, even Members of his Mystical Church, than these Men can do of the
visible, which is much larger. And you cannot say, if there be any difference of
Successes, that it is only from the difference of Persons, and not of the seve-
ral ways : For here where I live were two of the worthifh Perfons of your way
(Mr. Nye, and Mr. Elfor) whose ability and Piety were beyond all question,
and fo was their great advantage then. But your way is your disadvantage, and,
Christ's Friends should suspect that way of honouring Godliness, which tendeth
to diminish it, or suppress it.

I tell you some few of the things offensive to your Brethren, that you may see
wherein our Agreement must give Satisfaction. The rest I now omit.

That I thought to have laid more of the Reasons why you should heartily pro-
mote it. But I will now say but these two things. 1. That he that can consider
what the effects of our Divisions have been upon Church and State, and the Lives
of some, and the Souls of Thousands, both of the openly ungodly, and Professors;
and that knows how great a Reproach they are now to our Profession, and harden-
ing of the Wicked, and hinderance to that good, even of the best, and yet doth
not thrive to see them healed, hath small sense of the interest of Christ, and Souls.

2. That he, that considereth what it was to continue such Divisions unheald for
20 Years, under such Warnings and Calls to Unity; and to do what we have done
against our selves and others, after such smart, and in such a manner to the laft, is
most dreadfully impenitent, if Repentance do not now make him zealous for a
Cure. And in particular, if you, and Mr. Nye, and I, be not extraordinary zealous
for this work, there are scarce three Men to be found in the World, that will be
more haunously guilty, and without excuse: (I need not tell you why.) And truly,
if we have zeal, and yet not skill for such a Cure, (when all say that the People
are willing than the Passors) it will be a shame for us to cry out on them, that Silence
us; as if such Shepherds were necessary to the flock, that have skill to wound,
and none to Cure. Therefore, as I am heartily glad of your forwardness and willing-
ness to this Work, pardon me for telling you, I will Judge of it by the Effects. I
address my self to you alone, because I know that Understanding and Experience are
great Assistants (to lead on Charity) in this Work; and there is no dealing with
them that understand not the Cafe. And I will hope that the Effect will show, that
no Humours of others (Men of narrow Minds, and Interests, and injudicious Passors)
shall prevail with you against so great a work of Repentance, and Love to God and
Godliness, and the Souls of Men. Again, Pardon this Freedom used by

Your much Honouring

And Unworthy Brother,


§ 144. After
§ 144. After this I waited on him at London again, and he came once to me to my Lodgings, when I was in Town (near him;) And he told me, that he receiv'd my chiding Letter, and perceived that I suspected his Reality in the Business; but he was so hearty in it, that I should see that he really meant as he spake, concluding in these Words [You shall see it, and my Practice shall reproach your Difference.] I told him, That if I fore-saw his Temptations, and were willing to help him by Premition to overcome them, I meant not that as an Acquaintance; but I thank'd him for his Promise, to reproach my Difference by his Practice, and such an Event would be his Honour, and let it reproach me and spare not, so be it the Work were done. But again, I feared that no one living might know of it, till he and I had finnish'd our attempt. And thus I waited for his Animadversions.

§ 145. About a Month after I went to him again, and he had done nothing, but was still hearty for the Work. And to be short, I thus waited on him time after time, till my Papers had been near a Year and quarter in his Hand, and then I desired him to return them to me, which he did, with these Words, [I am still a well-wisher to those Mathematicks;] without any other Words about them, or ever giving me any more Exception against them. And this was the issue of my third Attempt for Union with the Independents.

§ 146. Having long (upon the Suspension of my Aphorisms) been purposing to draw up a Method of Theology, I now began it: I never yet saw a Scheme, or Method of Phylicks or Theology, which gave any Satisfaction to my Reason: Though many have attempted to exercize more accurateness in Diftribution, than all others that went before them, (especially Dadies, Fenner, Tsegedote, Solinus, Gomara, Amelius, Trelewius, Wollenbus, &c. and our present buffe-boaster, Dr. Nich. Gibson, in his Scheme;) yet I could never yet see any whole Confusion, or great Defects, I could not easily difcover, but not so easily amend. I had been Twenty Six Years convinced that Dichotomizing will not do it; but that the Divine Trinity in Unity, hath express it self in the whole Frame of Nature and Morality: And I had so long been thinking of a true Method, and making some small Attempts, but I found my self insufficient for it; and so continued only thinking of it, and studying it all these Years. CampbeL I saw had made the fairest Attempt that ever I saw made, in the Principles of Nature (and Communis after him;) but yet as I believe, he quite mist it in his first operative Principles of Heat and Cold (mistaking the nature of Cool and Darkness;) so he run his three Principles, which he calleth Principles, into many subsequent Notions, which were not provable or coherent: Having long read his Phylicks, Metaphysicks, de Sensu rerum, and Alhetismus Trinitatis, I found him mention his Theology, which put me in hope, that he had there also made some Attempt, but I could never hear of any one that had seen any such Book of his: At last Mr. Geo. Laenfor's Theopolitikes came out, which reduced Theology to a Method more Political and righter in the main, than any that I had seen before him: But he had not hit on the true Method of the Pellegra Trinitatis; and some long Debates by Writing between him and me, which had gone before (about 7 Years) had engaged him to make good his first Papers, in those mistakes about the Office of Faith in Justification (as Justifying only as Christ's Propitiation as the Object of it:) Of which in that Book he faith so much (to the pity rather than satisfaction of the Judicious:) his Book being otherwise the foundest, and most abounding with Light of any one that I have seen. But the very necessity of explaining the Three Articles of Baptism, and the Three Summaries of Religion (the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Decalogue) hath led all the common Cathecisms that go that way (of which Officina Corrected by Parsons is the chief) into a truer Method, than any of our exaftest Dichotomizers have hit on, (not excepting Trelewius, Solinus, or Amelius, which are the best.)

§ 147. The Nature of things convinced me, That as Phylicks are presupposed in Ethicks, and that Morality is but the ordering of the Rational Nature and its Actions, so that part of Phylicks and Metaphysicks, which opened the Nature of Man, and of God, which are the Parties contracting, and the great Subjects of Theology and Morality, is more nearly pertinent to a Method of Theology, and should have a larger place in it, than is commonly thought and given to it: Yet I
The Life of the Part III

148. In the same time and place, I also wrote a large Apology for the Nonconformists: Partly, to prove it their Duty to Exercise their Ministry as they can when they are Silenced; and partly to open the State of the Prelacy, the Subscriptions, Declarations, &c. which they refuse: for the furious Revilings of Men did so increase, and their Provocations, and Accusations, and Infiltings, were so many and great, that it drove me to this work as it was against my will: But when I had done it, I saw that the Publication of it would (by Imprisonment or Banishment) put an end to my other Labours, which made me lay it by; for I thought that the finishing of my Methodus Theologica was a far greater work: But if that had been done, I think I should have published it whatever it had cost me.

149. This Year 1670 my forementioned Cure of Church Divisions came out, which had been before cai by, which occasioned a Storm of Obloquy among almost all the separating Party of Professors, and filled the City and Country with matters of Discontent: which fell out to be as followeth. I had long made use of two Bookellers, Mr. Tyton, and Mr. Sinnes, the former, lived in London and the later in Kidderminster: But the latter removing to London, they envied each other, in a meer desire of gain, one thinking that the other got more than he was willing should go besides himself. Mr. Tyton first refused an equal Co-partnership with the other: Whereupon it fell to the others share to Print my Life of Faith, and Cure of Church Divisions, after my Directions to weak Christians, together: Which occasioned Mr. Tyton to tell several that came to his Shop, that the Book, as he heard, was against private Meetings, at least, at the time of Publick, and made those Schimatics that used them: Mr. Simmons met with a credible Citizen that gave it him under his Hand, that Mr. Tyton said that he might have had the Printing of the Book, but would not, because it spake against those things which he had seen me practice &c.; which were all gros Untruths; for the Book was never offered him, nor had he ever been a word of it, or ever spoke with any one that had seen it, and told him what it was in it. Mr. Tyton being a Member of an Independent Church, this sort of People the caillier believed this; and so it was carried among them from one to one, first that I wrote against private Meetings, and then that I accused them all of Schism, and then that I wrote for Conformity, and lastly, that I conformed; so that before a Line of my Book was known, this was grown the common Fame of the City, and thence of all the Land, and sent as certain into Scotland and Ireland: yes, they named the Text that I preached my Recantation Sermon on before the King, as stirring him up to Cruelty against the Nonconformists. So common was the Sin of Back-biting and Slander among the Separating Party, so it were but done at the second hand; and they that thought themselves too good to join with the Conformists, or use their Liturgy, or Communion, yet never think at the common carrying of all these FALSEHOODS, because they could say, a good man told it me. So that Thousans made no bones of this, that would not have defiled themselves with a Ceremony, or an imposed Form of Prayer, by any means. Yes, the Streets rang with reproaches against me for it, without any more proof.

Some said that I took part with the Enemies of Godliness, and countenanced their Church-Tyranny; and some said that I fought to reconcile my self to them, for fear of further Suffering: And thus the Chrislains that were most tenderly afraid of the Liturgy and Ceremonies, were so little tender of receiving and vendering the most dificcnguous
Part III. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Ingenious Falshoods, as if they had been no matter of Scruple. So cæsæ is a sinful Zeal, and so hardly is true Christian Zeal maintained.

§ 150. At the same time there fell out a Case which tended to promote the Cause. The old Reading Vicar of Kidderminster dyed, about the Day of the Day of the Act against Conventicles (Sir Ralph Clare, his chief Friend, and my Applauder, but Remover, being dead a little before; the old Patron, Collonel John Bridges, Sold the Patronage to Mr. Thomas Foley, with a condition, that he should present me next, if I were capable; which he promised, as also, that he would present no other but by my content. Because I had done so much before to have continued in that place, and had desired to Preach there but as a Curate, under the Reading Vicar, when I refused a Bilhropick, and the Vicaridge was now come to be worth 200 l. per Annum, and this falling void at the same time, when the Independents had filled the Land with the Report that I was Writing against them for Conformity; hereupon the Bishops themselves believed it, that the love of Kidderminster would make me Conform; and they concurred in vinding the Report, infomuch that one certainly told me, that he came then from a worthy Minifter, to whom the Arch-bishop of York (Sterne) spake these Words, [Take it on my Word, Mr. Baxter doth Conform, and is gone to his Beloved Kidderminster.] And so both Parties concurred in the false Report, though one only railed it.

§ 151. Another Accident fell out also, which promoted it. For Mr. Crofton having a Tryal, (as I hear upon the Oxford Act of Confinement) at the King's Bench, Judge Keeling said, You need not be so basely, for I hear that Mr. Crofton is about to Conform.] And Judge Morton said, [And I hear that Mr. Baxter hath a Book in the Press against their private Meetings; Judge Rainfard said somewhat, that he was glad to hear it; and Judge Morton again, That it was but time, for the Quakers in Buckinghamshire, he was confident were Acted by the Papists; for they spake for Purgatory already.] This Talk being used in so high a Court of Justice, by the Grave and Reverend Judges, all Men thought then that they might lawfully believe it and report it. So Contagious may the Breath of one Religious Man be, as to infect his Party; and of that Religious Party, as to infect the Land, and more than one Land, with the belief and report of such ungrounded Lies.

§ 152. At the same time, in the end of my Life of Faith, I Printed a Revocation of my Book called Political Aphorisms, or A Holy Common-wealth; which exasperated those who had been for the Parliament's War, as much as the former, but both together did greatly provoke them. Of which I must give the Reader this Advertiffement. I wrote that Book 1659, by the provocation of Mr. James Harrington, the Author of Oceania; and next by the Endeavours of Sir John Vane for a Common-wealth: Not that I had any Enmity to a well ordered Democracy; but I knew that Cromwell and the Army, were resolv'd against it, and it would not be. And I perceived that Harrington's Common-wealth was fitted to Heathenism, and Vane's to Panticifon; and neither of them would take: Therefore I thought that the improvement of our Legal Form of Government was best for us: And by Harrington's Scorn (Printed in a half Sheet of Gilbey's) was then provoked to write that Book. But the madness of the several Parties, before it could be Printed, pull'd down Rich. Cromwell, and chang'd the Government so oft in a few Months, as brought in the King, contrary to the hopes of his closest Adherents, and the expectations of almost any in the Land.

And ever since the King came in, that Book of mine, was preached against before the King, spoken against in the Parliament, and wrote against by fiehe as defcred my Raine: Morley, Bishop of Woresher, and many after him, branded it with Trafon, and the King was fill told that I would not retractor, but was still of the same mind, and ready to raise another War, and a Perfom not to be inducred. New Books every Year came out against it; and even Men that had been taken for Sober and Religious, when they had a mind of Preferment, and to be taken notice of at Court, and by the Prelates, did fall on Preaching or Writing against me, and specially against that Book, as the probablest means to accomplish their Ends. When I had endured this ten Years, and found no Stop, but that still they proceeded to make me odious to the King and Kingdom, and seeking utter ruine this way, I thought it my Duty to remove this stumbling Block out of their way, and without recanting any particular Doctrine
Doctrine in it, to revoke the Book, and to disown it, and desire the Reader to take it as now Scripture, and to tell him that I repented of the writing of it. And so I did: Yet telling him, That I had retraced none of the Doctrine of the first Part, which was to prove the Monarch of God; but for the sake of the whole second Part, I repented that I wrote it: For I was resolved at least to have that much to say, against all that after wrote, and preach'd, and talk'd against it, That I have revoked that Book, and therefore shall not defend it. And the ineffectual bloody Malice of the Reproacers, made me heartily wish, on two or three accounts, that I had never written it. 1. Because it was done just at the fall of the Government, and was buried in our ruins, and never, that I knew of, did any great good. 2. Because I found it hell for Ministers, to meddle as little as may be with Matters of Policy, how great ever their Provocations may be: and therefore I wish that I had never written on any such Subject. 3. And I repented that I meddled against Vane and Harrington (which was the fe-

Not that cond Part) in Defence of Monarchy, seeing that the Consequences had been no better, and that my Reward had been to be silenced, imprisoned, turned out of all, and reproached implacably, and incessantly, as Criminal, and never like to see an end of it: He, that had wrote for so little, and so great displeasure, might be tempted as well as I, to wish that he had set for; and let God and Man alone with Mat-

ters of Civil Policy. Though I was not convinced of many Errors in that Book, so called by some Aenemies to recant, yet I repented the writing of it as an infidelity, and as that which did no good but hurt.

§ 153. But because an Appendix to that Book had given several Reasons of my adhering to the Parliament at first, many thought I changed my Judgment about the first part of the Parliament's Cause: And the rather, because I disclaimed the Army's Rebellious Overthrows of Government (as I had always done,) I knew I could not revoke the Book, but the bafte peevishness of cenfurous Professors would fall upon me as a Revoler. And I knew that I could not forbear the said Revocation, without those ill Effects which I supposed greater. And which was worse of all, I had no possible Liberty further to explain my Reasons.

§ 154. When my Care of Church Diversions came out, the sober Party of Ministers were reconciled to it; especially the Ancients of that sort, and those that had been the Evils of Separation: But some of the London Ministers, who had kept up Publick Affemblies, thought it should have been less sharp; and some thought because they were under the Bishop's Severities, that it was unfeasible. For the Truth is, most Men judged by sense, and take that to be good or bad, which they feel do them good or hurt at the present: And because the People's Alienation from the Prelates and Liturgy, and Parish-Churches, did seem to make against the Prelates, and to make for the Nonconformist's Interest, they thought it not Prudence to gratifie the Prelates so far as to gain-fay it. And so they considered not from whence dividing Principles come, and to what they tend; and what a disgrace they are to our Cause, and how one of our own Errors will hurt and diliparse is more, than all the cruelty of our Adversaries; and that sinful means is seldom bleffed to do good.

§ 155. But upon fore-fight of the tenderness of Professors, I had before given my Book to the Peacul of Mr. John Corbet, my Neighbour, (accounted one of the most Calm, as well as Judicious Nonconformists) and had altered every Word that he wished to be altered: And the same I had done by my very worthy Faithful Friend, Mr. Richard Fairclough, who Perused it in the Press, and I altered almost all that he wished to be altered, to take off any Words that seemed to be too sharp. But all did not satisfy the guilty and impatient Readers.

§ 156. For when the Book came out, the Separating Party, who had received before an odious Character of it, did part of them read and interpret it by the Spectacles and Commentary of their Pallions and fore Conciles; and the most of them would not read it all, but took all that they heard for granted: The hottest that was against it was Mr. Ed. Innism, a young Man, who had written formerly against Monarchy, had afterward written for me against Bishop Morley; and being of a resolute Roman Spirit, was sent first to the Tower, and then laid there in the horrid Dungeon (where the damp calling him into the Hemorrhoids, the Pain caus'd that Sweat which saved his Life:) Thence he was removed to Southwark-Castle, near Portsmouth, in the Sea, where he lay Prisoner many Years; where Physic for Poxes (an honest injudicious Zealot of Wales) being his Companion, heightened him in his Opinions. He
He wrote against me a Pamphlet to full of Untruths and Spleen, and so little pertinent to the Cause, as that I never met with a Man that called for an Answer to it: But yet the ill Principles of it made me think, that it needed an Answer, which I wrote. But I found that Party grow so tender, expecting little but to be appalled for their Godliness, and to be flattered, while they expected that others should be most sharply dealt with, and indeed to be utterly impatient of that Language, in a Confutation which had any suitableness to the defect of their Writings, that I purposed to give over all Controversial Writings with them, or any other, without great necessity: And the rather, because my own Style is apt to be guilty of too much freedom and sharpness in Disputings.

§ 157. The next to Mr. Bagshaw (now again in Prison for not taking the Oath of Allegiance it self,) who behind my Back did most revile my Book, was Dr. Owen; whether out of Design or Judgement, I cannot tell; but ordinarily he spake very bitterly of it; but never wrote to me a Word against it: He also divulged his distant from the Proposals for Concord, which I offered him, though he would say no more against them to my self, than what I have before expressed.

§ 158. At this time also one Henley of Norfield, near Worcester-shire, desiring to be taken notice of, wrote a virulent Book against the Nonconformists, and particularly some Falsehoods against me, and a vehement Invitation to me to publish the Reasons of my Nonconformity; when he could not be so utterly ignorant as not to know, that I could never get such an Apology Licensed, and that the Law forbade me to Print it unlicensed, and that he himself took it for a Sin to break that Law. But such impudent Perjuries were still clamouring against us:

§ 159. By this time my own old Flock at Kidmerston began (some of them) to Censure me: For when the Bishops, and Deans, and many of their Curates, had preached long to make the People think me a Deceiver; as if this had been the only way to their Salvation, the People were hereby so much alienated from them, that they took them for Men unreasonable, and little better than mad; insomuch as that they grew more alienated from Prelacy than ever. Also, while they continued to repeat Sermons in their Hounfes together, many of them were laid long inJailes, among Thieves and common Malefactors; which increased their Exasperations yet more. They continued their Meetings whilst their Goods were Seized on, and they were Fined and Punished again and again. These Sufferings so increased their Aversion, that my Book against Church-Divisions coming out at such a time, and a Preface which I put before a Book of Dr. Reyner's, in which I do but excuse his Speaking against Separation, they were many of them offended at it as unreasonable; and judging by feeling Interest and Passion, were angry with me for strengthening the Hands of Persecutors, as they call it; whereas if I had called the Bishops all that's nought, I am confident they would not have blamed me. And they that fell out with the Bishops for casting me out, and speaking ill of me, were (some of them) ready to speak ill of me, if not to cast me off, because I did but perjure them of the Lawfulness of Communicating in their Parish-Church, with a Conformable Minister in the Liturgy.

§ 160. At this time, as is said, the old reading Vicar dying it was cast on me to chuse the next: But the Religious People (who were the main Body of the Town, and Parish) would not so much as chuse a Man, when they might have had their choice; no, nor so much as write or send one word to one about it, left they should seem to consent to his Conformity, or to be obliged to him in his Office. Whereupon I also refused to meddle in the Choice, and the rather because some of the malignant flanderous Prelatists who write of me, as Dule, E'rengis, and many others have done, would in likelihood have said, that I contracted for some Commodity to my self; and because Mr. Foley the Patron was a truly honest Religious Man, who, I knew would make the best choice he could.

§ 161. When he had chosen them a Minister (whom they themselves commanded for an honest Man and a good Preacher, and rather wished him than another) I wrote a Letter to them to advise them to join with the said Minister in Prayers and Sacrament; because I had before advised them not to own the Ministry of Mr. Dance, for his utter incapacity and insufficiency, but if ever they had a
tolerable Man, to own him, and Communicate with him. And because he was the best, that the Patron by their Consent, could chuse, and for many Reasons, which I gave them. But their Sufferings had so far alienated them from the Prelates, that the very rumour of this Letter was talkt of as my Book against Divisions was, so that it was never so much as read to them.

§ 162. And here it is worth the nothing, how far Interest secretly swayeth the judgments of the belt. A few Ministers, who have a more taking way of Preaching than the rest, and being more moving and affectionate, are for that way now, which most suiteth with the inclination of the People who most esteem them, which is to go far enough from the Conformists, (or too far) but the rest who are left followed by the People, are generally more for Peace and Moderation.

§ 163. This Year the Act against Conventicles was renewed, and made more severe than ever: And (as all that ever I spake with of it, supposed) with an Eye upon my Cafe, they put in divers Clauses: As that the fault of the peraninson should not disable it; that all doubtful Clauses in the Act should be interpreted, as would most favour the Suppression of Conventicles; that they that fled or removed their Dwelling into another County, should be punished by Execution, (to this Sentence) What a Beast is a Man in among People of such Extremes? One side pitieth us with implacable Wrath, while we are charged with nothing but Preaching Christ's Gospel in the most peaceable manner we can: And the other confirruth us, as Compliers with Persecutors and Enemies to Piety, because we desire to live peaceable with all Men, and to separate from them no further than they separate from God.

§ 164. Their own Laws against Conventicles hinder us from doing their own Wills. They write and daimour against me for not perwading the People to Conformity: And when I would draw them but to that Communion, which I had within my self, the Law disabled me to Communicate a Letter to them, seeing no more than four must meet together; which way among many hundred or thousand Dissenters, would make many Years work of Communicating that one part of my Advice. Thus do our Shepherds me the Flocks.

§ 165. At this time Mr. Giles Firmin, a worthy Minister that had lived in New-England, writing against some Errors of Mr. Hooker, Mr. Shepherd, Mr. Daniel Rogers, and Mr. Perkins, gave me also also a gentle reprooff, for trying Men too strictly to Meditation; whereunto I wrote a short answser, called, A Review of the Doctrine of Meditation.

§ 166. A worthy Lady was perverted from the Lord's Day to the Saturday-Sabbath, desiring my Judgment, and Mr. Francis Banfield, a Minster, who had him about seven Years in Dorchester-Goal (the Brother of Sir John Banfield, deceased) being gone to the same Opinion, and many following them, I wrote by the Perwiation of some Friends, a small Tractate also on that Subject, to prove the divine appointment of the Lord's Day, and the cession of the Jewish Sabbath.

§ 167. Dr. Manton (though he had the greatest Friends, and promise of Favour of any of the Presbyterians) was sent Prisoner to the Gatehouse for Preaching the Gospel in his own House, in the Parish wherewith he had been called formerly to the Ministry, and for not taking the Oxford-Oath, and coming within five Miles of a Corporation; where he continued six Months: but it proved convenient to his cafe, because those six Months were spent in London, in a hot pursuit of such private Preaching, by Bands of Soldiers, to the terror of many, and the death of some.

§ 168. Madam, the King's Sifter dyed in France, when the returned from visiting His Majesty in England, to his very great grief.

§ 169. Sir John Ribor talkt'd to the Lord Arlington of our late Tract upon the Lord Keeper's Invitation, with Bishop Wilkins; wherupon Dr. Manton sent to me, as from him, to Communicate the Terms and Papers. But they were at Alton from whence they had driven me, and I had medled enough in such Matters only to my self. So that though he said the King was to see them, I could not then answere his desire, and I heard no more of it.

§ 170.
§ 170. Upon the Publication of my Book against Divisions, and the Rumour of my Conforming, the Earl of Lauderdale invited me to speak with him: Where he opened to me the purpose of taking off the Oath of Canonical Obedience, and all Impositions of Conformity in Scotland, save only that it should be necessary to fit in Presbyteries and Synods with the Bishops and Moderators (there being already no Liturgy, Ceremonies, or Subscription save only to the Doctrine of the Church.) Hereupon he expressed his great Kindness to me, and told me he had the King's Consent to speak with me, and being going into Scotland, he offered me what place in Scotland I would choose, either a Church, or a College in the University, or a Bishoprick: And shortly after, as he went thither, at Barnet he sent for me; and I gave him the Answer following in these Papers, besides what I gave him by word to the same purpose. But when he came thither, such Acts against Conventicles were presently made, as are very well worthy the Reader's serious Perusal, who would know the true Complexion of this Age.

§ 171.

My Lord,

Being deeply sensible of your Lordship's Favour, and in special of your Liberal Offers for my Entertainment in Scotland, I humbly return you my very hearty Thanks: But these Considerations forbid me to entertain any hopes or further thoughts of such a remove.

1. The Experience of my great Weakness and decay of Strength, and particularly of this late Winter's Pain, and how much worse I am in Winter than in Summer, doth fully persuade me, That I shall live but a little while in Scotland, and that in a disabled, useless Condition, rather keeping my Bed than the Pulpit.

2. I am engaged in Writing a Book, which if I could hope to live to finish, is almost all the Service that I expect to do God and his Church, more in the World, (A Latin Methodus Theologiae:) And I can hardly hope to live so long, (it requiring yet near a Years labour more.) Now if I should go spend that one Half Year, or Year, which should finish that Work in Travel, and the trouble of such a Removal, and then having intended Work undone, it would disappoint me of the ends of my Life: (For I live only for Work, and therefore should remove only for Work, and not for Wealth and Honour, if ever I remove.)

3. If I were there, all that I could hope for were liberty to Preach the Gospel of Salvation, and especially in some University among young Scholars. But I hear that you have enough already for this Work, that are like to do it better than I can.

4. I have a Family, and in it a Mother-in-Law of 80 Years of Age, of Honourable Extract, and great Worth, whom I must not neglect, and who cannot Travel. And it is to such a one as I, so great a business to remove a Family, and all our Goods, and Books so far, as deterreth me to think of it (having paid so dear for Removals these 8 Years, as I have done, and being but yesterday settled in a House which I have newly taken, and that with great trouble and loss of time.) And if I should find Scotland disagree with me (which I fully conclude of) to remove all back again.

All this concurreth to deprive me of this Benefit of your Lordship's Favour. But, my Lord, there are other Fruits of it, which I am not altogether hopeles of Receiving. When I am commanded to pray for Kings, and all in Authority, I am allowed the Ambition of this Preferment (which is all that ever I aspired after) to live a quiet and peaceable Life, in all Godliness and Honesty. Dix nimis habitu sit anima mea inter fores pacis.

I am weary of the Noise of contentious Revilers, and have oft had Thoughts to go into a Foreign Land, if I could find any where I might have a healthful Air, and quietness, that I might but Live and Die in peace. When I sit in a Corner, and
mingle with no Body, and hope the World will forget that I am alive, Court, City, and Country is still fill'd with Clamours against me; and when a Preacher wanteth Preferment, his way is to Preach, or write a Book against the Nonconformists, and me by Name. So that the Menftrus of the Preach (and Pulpits of some) is some Bloody Invectives against myself, as if my Peace were inconftant with the Kingdom's Happines; And never did my Eyes read such impudent Untruths in Matter of Fact, as these Writings contain; and they cry out for Answers and Reasons of my Nonconformity, while they know the Law forbideth me to answer them. (Unlicensed. I expect not that any Favour or Juflice of my Superiors should Cure any of this: But,

1. If I might but be heard speak for myself, before I be judged by them, and such things believed. (For to coffain the Judgment of my Rulers, is to difhonour them.)

2. I might live quietly, to follow my private Study, and might once again have the use of my Books (which I have not seen these ten Years, and pay for a Room for their standing at Riferminfter, where they are eaten with Worms and Rats, having no security for my quiet Abode in any place, enough to encourage me to fend for them:) And if I might have the Liberty that every Beggar hath, to Travel from Town to Town, I mean, but to London, to over-see the Preach, when any thing of mine is Licentied for it. And,

3. If I be sent to Newgate for Preaching Chriff's Gospel; (For I dare not fcrip- legiously renounce my Calling to which I am Confeffed, for Sacrament Ordinis) if I have the Favour of a better Prison, where I may but walk and write; Then I should take as very great Favour, and acknowledge your Lordship my Benefactor if you procure them. For I will not do much injure you as to desire, or my Reason as to expect, any greater Matters; no not the Benefit of the Law. I think I broke no Law in any of the Preachings which I am accused of; and I most confidently think, that no Law impofeth on me the Oxford-Oath, any more than any Conformable Minifter; and I am past doubting the present Mittimus for my Imprifonnement is quite without Law. But if the Justices think otherwife now, or at any time, I know no Remedy. I have yet a License to Preach publickly in London-Diocefs, under the Arch-bishop's own Hand and Seal, which is yet valid for occifional Sermons, tho' not for Lectures or Cures: But I dare not use it, because it is in the Bishop's power to recall it. Would but the Bishop (who one would think should not be againft the Preaching of the Gospel) not re-call my License, I could preach occifional Sermons, which would abfolve my Confcience from all Obligations to private Preaching. For 'tis not Maintenance that I expect: I never received a Farthing for my Preaching, to my Knowledge, since May 1. 1662. I thank God I have Food and Raiment without being chargeable to any Man; which is all that I desire: had I but leave to Preach for nothing; and that only where there is a notorious Nefecity. I humbly Crave your Lordship's Pardon for the tediousnes; and again return you my very great Thanks for your great Favours, remaining

My Lord,

Your Lordship's Humble,

June 24. 1670.

Much Obliged Servant,

Richard Baxter.
Another Letter to the E. of Lauderdale.

I scarce account him worthy the Name of a Man, much less of an English-man, and least of all of a Christian, who is not sensible of the great Sins, dishonours and Calamity of our divided and dissatisfied Condition in his Majesty's Dominions. The Sin is a Compendium of very many licentious Crimes: The Calamity is 1. The King's, to have the trouble and peril of Governing such a divided People; 2. The Kingdom's, to be as Guelphs and Gibelites, hating and reviling one another, and living in a Heart-War, and a Tongue-War, which are the Sparks that usually kindle a Hand-War; and I tremble to think, what a Temptation it is to Secret and to Foreign Enemies, to make Attempts against our Peace; and to read Infallibility it itself pronouncing it, a Maxim which the Devil himself is practically acquainted with. Tha a Hont or Kingdom divided against itself, cannot stand. 3. The Churches: To have Pastors against Pastors, and Churches against Churches, and Sermons against Sermons, and the Bishops to be accounted the pernicious Enemies of the People's Souls, and the Wolves that devour the Flock of Christ, and so many of the People to be accounted by Bishops to be Rebellious, Schismatics, and Fanatics, whose Religiousnefs and Zeal is the Plague of the Church, and whose ruin or depression is the Pastor's Interest, against whom the most vicious may be employed, as being more truely and obedient to the Orders of the Church! How doleful a Cafe is it, that Christian Love, and delight in doing good to one another, is turned almost every where into wrath and bitterness, and a longing after the downfall of each other; and to hear in most Companies, the edifying Language of Love and Christianitv, turned into most odious Decripitions of each other, and into the pernicious Language of Malevolence and Calumny? It is to sober Men a wonderful fort of wickednefs, that all this is so obstinately persevered in, even by those that decay the evil of it in others: And to one fort all seemeth justified, by laying, that others are their Inferiors; and to the other by saying, that they are Perfected. And 'tis a wonderful fort of Calamity, which is so much loved, that in the face of fuch Light, and in the fore-sight of fuch Dangers, and in the present Experience of fuch great Conclusions and Confusions, the Peace-killers will not hold their hands.

My Lord, Many fober Eu-flanders think, That this Sin might ceafe, and this misery be healed, at a very cafe Rate, and therefore that it is not fo much Ignorance as Interest, that hindereth the Cure: And they wonder who thofe Perfons are who can take fuch a State as this to be their Interest. Sure I am, That Peace-makers fhall be bleffed as the Children of God; that safe and honest Terms might easily be found out, if Men were impartial and willing; and that he that fhall be our Healer, will be our Deliverer; and if your Lordship could be Instrumental therein, it would be a greater honour to you in the Eftimation of the true Friends of the King, and Kingdom, and Church, and a greater Comfort to your Confeience, than all worldly Gratufes can afford. For the Means, I am not fo vain as to prehime to offer you any other Particulars, than to tell you, that I am perfuaded, That if there were firt a Command from His Majesty to the Bishops of Chefter and Norwich on one fide, and two Peaceable Men on the other, freely to Debate and offer fuch Expedients as they think moft proper to heal all our Divifions, they would soon agree: And when they had made that Preparation, if some more fuch Moderate Divines were joyed
to them (as Dr. Stillingfleet, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Ottram, Dr. Piersen, Dr. Whitecôt, Dr. Nore, Dr. Worthington, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Barlow, Dr. Tidly, Mr. Gifford, &c. on one side; and Dr. Comart, Dr. Dillingham, Dr. Langley, and many more that I could Name on the other side;) they would quickly fill up, and Confirm the Concord. And such a Preparation being made, and shewed His Majesty, certainly he would soon see that the Inconveniences of it, will be so great, as the MilkChiefs of our Divisions are, and are like to be (for the further they go, as a Torrent, the more they will swell, and Violence will not end them, when it seemeth to allay them.) And oh! what a Pleasure would it then be to His Majesty, to Govern a Concordant People, and to feel the Affections and Strength of a United Kingdom, and to have Men's Religious Zeal engage them in a Fervency for his Love and Service! And what a Joy would it be to the Pastors to be Beloved of their Flocks! And what a Joy to all the Honest Subjects, to live in such a Kingdom, and such a Church! And that this Work may not seem over-difficult to you, when your Lordship shall Command it, I shall briefly tell you, what the generality of the Sober Nonconformists hold; and what it is that they desire, and what it is that they refuse as sinful, that when they are understood, it may appear how far they are from being intolerable, either in the Kingdom or the Church. My Lord, Pardon this boldness of

June 24. 1670. Your Humble Servant


To the Right Honourable, the E. of Lauderdale,
His Majesty's Commissioner for Scotland.

§ 172. When the E. of Lauderdale was gone into Scotland, Sir Rob. Murrey, (a worthy Person, and one of Gregham-Colledge-Society, and the Earl's great Confi dent) sent me the Frame of a Body of Church-Discipline for Scotland, and defined my Animadversions on it. I had not Power to Transcribe them, or make them known; but you may Conjecture what they were by my Animadversions. Only I may say, That the Frame was very handsomely contrived, and much Moderation was in it, but the main Power of Synods was contrived to be in the King.

To the Honourable Sir Rob. Murrey, this present.

I. The External Government of the Church, is so called, 1. From the Object, because it is about the Body; and so it belongeth both to the King, and to the Pastor, who speak to Men as sovereign and corporal. 2. Or, from the Act of Government; and so it belongeth also to both. For to Preach, and Administer, and give the Sacrament of Baptism, by the Key of Admition, and to Excommunicate, are outward Acts. 3. From the Matter of Punishment, when it is the Body immediately, or the Goods that are meddling with it by Penalty: And to the Government belongeth to the King and Magistrates alone. But this is much planter and fier disinguished (as Bishop Bilson frequently, and Protestants ordinarily do) by the Terms of Governing, by the Sword, and by the Word: Or, by Co-adjutor, and Spiritual and Pastoral Government (which is by Authoritative Persuasion, or by God's Word applied to the Conscience.)

II. Though
III. Though there be an External Government in the two first Senses, given by Christ, as immediately to the Patrons as to the Prince, (they having the Keys of the Church, as immediately committed to them, as the Sword is to the Prince;) yet in the Exercise of their Office, in Preaching, Sacraments and Discipline, they are under the Civil Government of the King, who as he may see that Physiarchs, and all others in his Kingdom, do their Duties without gross abufe, so may he do by Patrons, tho’ he cannot either allume to himself their Office, or prohibit it, yet he may govern them that use it, and see that they do it according to Christ’s Law: So that under that Pretence he take not their proper Work into his own hand, nor hinder them from the true Exercise.

III. Though there be many things in the Frame of Canons which I am une capable of judging of, as concerning another Kingdom, whose Case and Customs I am not perfectly acquainted with, yet I may say these three things of it in general.

1. That I am very glad to see no enbarring Oaths, Declarations, Professions or Subscriptions in it; no not so much as a Subscription to these Canons themselves. For peaceable Men can live quietly and obediently under a Government, which hath many things in it which they desire not justifie or approve of. It is our Work to obey; it is the Magistrate’s Work, and not ours to justify all his own Commands and Orders before God, as having no Errors. Therefore it is pity to see Subjects do put upon that which is not their Work, upon the terrible Terms as some-where they are.

2. I conceive that this Frame will make a Nation happy or miserable, as the Men are who shall be chosen for the Work. The King having the choice of all the Bishops and Moderators, and the Commissiories having the Absolute Power of nullifying all, if Wife and Godly Bishops and Moderators be chosen, and moderate Commissiories, Piety will be much promoted by these Rules of Government. But if contrary, it will have contrary Effects.

3. Therefore supposing a choice of meet Persons, though the mixtures of the Magistrates and the Churches power here, be such as I cannot justify (who had rather they were distinctly managed) yet I should be thankful to God, if we might see as good a Frame of Canons well used in England, and should live peaceably, submissively, and gratefully under such a Government.

To the Particulars.

1. The Name of Bishop appropriated to the Dioceane, will flumble some, who have learned that every Church hath one Bishop (faith Ignatius) Et ubi Episcopus, ibi Ecclesia, faith Cyprian: Therefore they will think that you Un-Church all the Churches of the Land, save the Diocesan. And I could wish that the Name were fitted to the thing, to avoid Error; but yet I think that none should stick much at this, because it is but de Nomine, and afterwards you seem to leave a true Governing Power, not only in the Presbyters, but in the Pastors and Elders of the Parish-Churches.

2. Seeing your Moderators are truly Bishops, as described (and others also, if the Parishes be true Churches) why is Ordination appropriated to the Bishops so called? Do you intend that he shall do it by Consent of his Synod, or a Presbytery; or by his own Power alone?

3. Is he to suspend, depose, and excommunicate by himself alone (as this General seems to intimate) or only in, by Consent of his Synod, or Presbytery?

3. The same also I ask as to his [Transplanting Ministers as he fees useful:] for if he may do all this himself as libitum, it may discourage a Man from meddling with the Ministry, when after all his Study and Labour, it is at the Bishop’s pleasure whether he shall Preach, or be Suspended: For though you say for what Faults he shall be Suspended, yet that signifies nothing if the Bishop be Judge. Of Appeals as a dear Remedy, and doubtful Men will be difcontent. And Transplanting may make a Minifter at the Bishop’s Pleasure. And I doubt the absolute Depri- val of the People of their Power of Consent, or Different, in this and other Cases, of Title to their proper Pastors, will be found contrary to the nature of the Pastor-
15. If it had been said, that none but such Bishops shall have power to pronounce the Major Excommunication, or that which is now called Excommunication in Scotland, to which Horning, &c. is annexed, it would have leas founded to the contradiction of Antiquity, &c. For Suspension from the Communion, which you allow to particular Churches and Presbyteries, is called by many the minor Excommunication, and by some a Temporary Conditional Excommunication; and by others, (as Sir Wll. Morrice) is written against, as an unlawful thing, till some just Excommunication proceed.

22. Might but the Moderator with his Presbytery (by consent) Ordain, it would more satisfie.

24. In Transplanting both Moderators and Pastors, should not either their own Consent, or the Presbytery's, or People's be made necessary?

31. The words of the Formula of Ordination will be material, as to honest Men's reception, or refusall of the Office.

32. The Office of a Pastor as instituted in Scripture, is not only to Baptize, and celebrate the Sacrament of Communion, but also to Judge by the power of the Keys, whom to Baptize, and to whom to give the Sacrament of Communion, that is, in Subordination to Christ's Prophetical, Priestly, and Kingly Office, to be his Minifter in Office; 1. To teach the People; 2. To go before them in Worship; 3. To guide them by the Keys of Discipline. And he is no true Minifter that wanteth any one of these Powers, however he may be hindered from the Exercise.

33. At least, 1. Necessity ad finem; 2. Scripture; 3. And the Catholic Antiquity, should be so far regarded as to make the People's Consent necessary, though not their Election, at least when they do not by unreasonable Denial forfeit this Privilege.

35. If this be a limitation of Can. 7. its well.

A. 3. viz. Supposing there be a tolerable Pastor there, and no notorious necessity; for some Parishes may have no Pastor, some worse than none, and some with us (as many in London-Parishes, Stepney, Giles, Cripplegate, Sepulchres, Martins, &c.) have more Souls than ten, Men can Teach and Over-see: who must not therefore be forfaken and given up to Satan, what-ever we suffer for endeavouring their Salvation.

47. A Bishop, if he please, may thus cautiously keep most Ministers in his Diocese from Preaching the Gospel, for the most part of their Lives. I had rather be punished as a Rogue at a Whipping Post, before I am fully heard and judged, than have innocent Souls deprived of the usual means of their Salvation under pretence of Punishing me. At least, let no Suspension be valid, longer than the place is competently supplied by another.

48. Will no Mullets or Stripes satisfie the Law, without Silencing Men, and forbidding them to endeavour Men's Salvation (before their Crimes are proved such as render them incapable of that work?)

49. But hath the Synod or Presbytery a Negative Voice in his punishment, or not?

50. For Treason and Murder there is reason for it; but if every Man must be deposed from the Ministrv, that did ever Curse, Swear, or had any scandalous Vice from his Child-hood, before his Ordination, or Conversion, I doubt the number left will be too small.

53. The old Canons distingiuished: Some Crimes left so great a blot as made Men incapable; others did not. If such a War should break out, as between the Emperor Henry IV. &c. and the Pope; or between the Houses of York and Lancaster, the prevailing Party will force the Ministers to own him; and if the other Party after prevail, their Crime will be called Treason, and all the Churches left desolate.
Part III. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

defolates, and the Peoples Souls forfaken by the Ministers perpetual incapacity; and the King’s pardoning Power much refrained.

54. Why should it be left to the Bishop’s Will, whether he will restore such a Penitent or not?

56. Peaceable Men will confent that no Ministers should be permitted to Preach, or Talk Seditionously against even those Rules of Government which they do not approve. But this Penalty is so high and severe, that few worthy Ministers will think their Station secure, but will prepare for Banishment. For,

1. Thefe Rules are many.
2. And Derogatory is a large Word, and will extend far.
3. And there are few worthy Ministers that have no Drunkards, Fornicators, &c., for their Enemies to accuse them. E. g. if I lived in Scotland, and should read Blondel de fure Plebis in regimine Ecclesiastico, and say, it is found Doctrine, and this in Diſcours at my own Table, I might be thus troubled, and banished, it being derogatory to that part of the King’s Rules, as here expreft, which deprive the People of all power of Confent, &c. Is it not enough that this Paper of Canons be so far equalled with God’s Word, yea, with the very Articles of our Faith, as that the open Oppugners of them have the fame Penalty as open Hereticks (who of old were after a firft and fecond Ammunition to be avoided;) And surely I think even that this is too much; and yet I would have turbulent Preaching against the Government, or Endeavours openly to subvert it, refrained. But methinks after the firft and fecond Ammunition, a competent Mulit might do that sufficiently, till Men go fo far as to be turbulent Incendiaries.

63. Shall the Presbytery have a Negative Voice in the Ordination, or be Cypershers?

66. It is well that the Elders Confent is required: but I think it should be the Congregation’s: And what if the Elders differ? Shall that hinder the Relation or not?

93. The number of chosen Ministers in National Synods, will be inconsiderable as to the reft.

96. The ufe of a National Synod (where all Bifhops and Moderators are chosen by the King, and the Commissioner ruleth) being before-hand resolved to be [to Compile a Liturgy, and Rules for all Points of Divine Worship, with the Methods, Circumstances, and Rites to be observed therein:] Many knowing what Liturgy, Subscriptions, Declarations, and Rites, are pleasing to Authority in England, will imagine them in fift, if not virtually fet up already in Scotland, when these Rules are fet up.

107. Publick Penance —— And why not? [and Suspension from Communion till penitent Confiflion be made.] But I know not why Compensations should serve instead of Confiffion, and Promise of Reformnation (without which Money will not make a Man a Chriftian, nor fit for Church-Commiflion:) But for any other Penance, besides one penitent Confiffion, and Promise of Amendment; and desire of the Churches Prayers for Pardon, I know nothing of it, and therefore meddle not with it.

132. [No All, Order, nor Confitution] may be Expounded to reach to Scripture Confifutions and Orders, and the proper Alls of the Miniferial Office, if not better explained.

133. The Word [Ecclesiastical Meeting] may be interpreted of particular Synaxes or Congregations of a Parifh for Worship, if not limited, which Convocating of the People is part of the Pastor’s proper Office, and for a thousand Years was so accounted by the Cathlick Church. And if in cafe of Divord or Heretie, a few Neighbour Ministers meet for a Friendly Conference, to cure it, it seemeth hard to charge them with Sedition.

140. If the Parties be able to come.

143. Many of these Faults should be Corrected by Mulfets, before Men be forbidden to Preach the Gofpel. If every Man be Suspendèd (which I fuppofe is prohibiting him to Preach and Endeavour Mens Salvation) who with unfound Speeches, Flattery, or Lightnefs, I doubt fo many will talk themselves into Silence, that a fharp Profection will leave many Churches defolate.

145. But what if there be no Preachers to be had? May not the Suspendèd Preach?
146. Disobedience to some of the small Ecclesiastical Rules may be punished with Multlet, without absolute Silencing, especially when able Preachers are wanting. Shall the infructing of the People's Souls so much depend on every Word in all these Canons? —But oh, that you would make that good in Practice that [Labouring to get Ecclesiastical Preferment] should be punished, if it were with less than Deprision; it would be a happy Canon.

147. But shall the Synod, or Presbytery carry by Vote, or not?

149. If every Church-Session have this power of Suspension, with power but to say [We declare you unfit for Communion of this particular Church, till you repent,] it would give me great Satisfaction, were I in Scotland. For to speak freely, I take these two Things to be of Divine Appointment. 1. That each particular Church have its proper Pastor, who have the Ministerial Power of Teaching, Worship, (Sacraments, Prayer, Praise) and Discipline; and I define no more Discipline than you here grant, that is, Suspension from Communion in that particular Church, if also the Person may be declared unfit for it till it be Repent. 2. That these Pastors hold such Correspondence as is necessary to the Union of the Churches in Faith and Love. And 3. For all the rest, I take them to be Circumstances of such prudential Determination, that I would as willingly submit to the Magistrates determination of them, so they be not destructive to the Ends, and would not have Ministers take too much of the trouble of them upon themselves, without necessity.

152. But then you seem here to retract the particular Churches Power again: For if a Man may be debarred the Communion for once sinning (by Fornication, Drunkenness, &c.) why not much more for doing again after Repentance? I differ more from this than all the rest: Is it not enough that the Party may Appeal to the Presbytery? And that the Sessions or Pastor do reprove for Male-Administraiton or Injury, if proved? 'This one Canon would drive me out of the Ministry in Scotland: I would never be a Pastor, where I must after the first Crime, ever after give the Sacrament to every flagitious Offender, till the Presbytery suspend him, unless they do it very quickly: which perhaps they may never do.

153, 154. No doubt but [Sure Divine] every true particular Church hath the Power of Excommunicating its own Members out of that particular Church-Communion; (Delivering up to Satan is a doubtful Phrase which I shall not stand on.) But an Excommunication which shall bind many Churches to avoid the Sinner, must be done, or Conferred to, by those many Churches. Therefore Excommunication should be distinguished.

156. Sure some few [Ecclesiastical Rules and Proceedings] may be so low as that a Contempt of them may be califher punished than with this terrible Excommunication.

Impeachment must be joined with Scandalous Sins, or else they make not the Person Excommunicable, as is implied in what followeth.

162. No doubt but every Church may abrogate its own Members from that sort of Excommunication which it itself may pass. And so may a Presbytery. But if the Magistrate will have a more formidable, Diocesan or National Excommunication, and an unanswerable Absolution, those Circumstances are to be left to his Prudence, so be it, he deprive not each particular Pastor and Church, of their proper Power and Privilege plainly found in Scripture, and used many hundred Years through the Catholick Church.

Honourable Sir, The Copy which you sent me goeth no further than to the Vi-lation of the Sick, viz. to Can. 176. And so much according as I was desired, I have freely and faithfully Anni. Avert. And in general, here are many excellent Canons, though of many things I cannot Judge, and thofe few Exceptions I humbly offer to your Consideration, craving your Pardon for this boldness, which I should not have been guilty of, if the worthy Melfender had not told me, that it was your desire, Sir, I ref

July, 22, 1672. Your Humble Servant

§ 173. I had forgotten one passage in the former War of great remark, which put me into an amazement: The Duke of Ormond, and Council, had the cause of the Marquess of Antrim before them, who had been one of the Irish Rebels in the beginning of that War, (when in the horrid Mischief two hundred thousand Protestants were murdered :) His Estate being questioned, he fought his restitution of it, when King Charles II. was restored. Ormond, and the Council judged against him as one of the Rebels: He brought his caufe over to the King, and affirmed that what he did was by his Father's Consent, and Authority. The King referred it to some very worthy Members of his Privy-Council, to examine what he had to shew: Upon Examination they reported that they found that he had the King's Consent, or Letter of Instructions for what he did, which amazed many: Hereupon His Majesty, Charles II. wrote to the Duke of Ormond and Council to restore his Estate, because it appeared to those appointed to examine it, that what he did was by his Father's Order or Consent: Upon this the Parliament's old Adherents grew more confident than ever of the rightcousiefs of their Wars: And the very destroyers of the King (whom the first Parliamentarians called Rebels) did presume also to justify their Cause, and said that the Law of Nature did warrant them.

But it röpt not here: For the Lord Macarine, and others of Ireland, did so far prosecute the Cause, as that the Marquess of Antrim was forced to produce in the Parliament of England in the Houfe of Commons, a Letter of the King's, (Ch. 1.) by which he gave him order for his taking up Arms. Which being read in the House, did put them into a Silence. But, yet so egregious was their Loyalty and veneration of Majesty, that it put them not at all one step out of the way which they had gone in. But the People without Doors talked strangely: Some said, Did you not persuade us that the King was against the Irish Rebellion? And that the Rebels belied him when they said that they had his Warrant or Commission? Do we not now see with what Mind he would have gone himself with an Army into Ireland to fight against them? A great deal more not here to be mentioned was vended sedulously among the People, the Sum of which was intimated in a Pamphlet which was Printed, called, Murder We are will cut, in which they published the King's Letter, and Animadversions on it, not meeting some that were still Loyal to the King did with, that the King that now is, had rather declared, that his Father did only give the Marquess of Antrim Commission to raise an Army as to have helped him against the Scots, and that his turning against the English Protestants in Ireland, and the murdering of so many actions, hundred thousand there, was against his Will: But quod cum meditatus erat, factum erat. And though the old Parliamentarians expounded the Actions and Declarations both of the then King and Parliament, by the Commentary of this Letter, yet so did not the Loyal Royalists; or at least thought it no reason to make any change in their Judgments, or stop in their Proceedings against the English Presbyterian, and other Non-conformable Protestants.

§ 174. In the beginning of December 1670. The Duke of Ormond, as he was returning home to Clarendon House in the Night, was seized on by six Men, who set him on Horseback to have carried him away. But he was rescued before they could accomplish it.

Shortly after, some of his Majesty's Life-Guard surprized Sir John Coventry, a Member of the House of Commons, and cut his Nose, which occasioned a great heat in the House, and at last that Act which is newly passed for preventing the like. Many Murders and outrages, and cutting of Noses were committed also on other Persons. But the greatest Noise was made by certain Dukes, and Lords that went in a torrent of Joviality to a defanced Houfe in a Street, called Woburn-Park, and when the wretched Women cried for help, the Beadle came in with some Watchmen, and they killed him presently. Whilst such things went on, the House of Commons was busie about an Act to make all forbidden Meetings for God's Worship, Preaching and Praying by the silenced Ministers, to be severerly yet punished as Routs and Riots.
§ 175. There happened a great rebuke to the Nobility and Gentry of Dublin in Ireland, which is related in their Gazette in these words. [Dubl. Dec. 27. "Ye-" herd day happened here a very unfortunate Accident: Most of the Nobility and "Gentry being at a Play, at a publick Playhouse, the upper Galleries on a sud-"den fell all down, beating down the second, which together with all the Peo-
"ple that were in them, fell into the Pit and lower Boxes: His Excellency, "the Lord Lieutenant, with his Lady, happened to be there; but thanks be to "God escaped the Danger without any harm, part of the Box where they were "remaining firm, and so refifting the Fall from above; only his two Sons were "found quite buried under the Timber. The younger had received but little "hurt, but the eldest was taken up dead to all appearance, but having present-
"ly been let Blood, &c. recovered. There were many dangerously hurt, and "seven, or eight killed outright."

So far the Gazette. About seventeen or eighteen died then, and of their Wounds, The first Letters that came to London of it, filled the City with the report, that it was a Play in scorn of Godliness, and that I was the Person acted by the Scornor, as a Puritan, and that he that represented me was set in the Stocks, when the fall was, and his Leg broke. But the Play was Beau Johnson's Barthslo-
men-Fair, with a scene added for the times, in which the Puritan is called a Banksey Man, and I cannot learn that I was named, nor medled with more than others of my Condition, unless by the Actor's dress they made any such reflecting intimations.

§ 176. The Lord Lucast, and the Earl of Clare made two vehemently cutting Speeches before the King (who now came frequently to the Lord's House.) The first declaring the frustration of their hopes, and the addition of much more to their sufferings, Calamities, and dangers since the King came in, and aggravated the stupendous expense of Money's, and the of the Commons in a Bill then sent up for giving no less than three Millions (said he) at once, and provoking the Lords to hop their Excellies: The other was against the King's sitting fo ordinarily in the Lord's House, and that without his Robes, &c. There were Copies of the Lord Lucast's Speech given out, which enraged the offence; and at last it was burned by the Hangman, and ere long he died.

§ 177. The Irish Men, called the Rebels, petitioned the King by the hands of Colonel Richard Talbot, a Papist, Servant to the Duke of York for a re-hear-
ing against the former judgments that had deprived many of them of their Lands; so that they might be restored to them, and the English differentiated, which of- fended the House of Commons as well as the English Nation, and caused some Votes, which signified their Offence, and the King at present cast aside their Petition.

§ 178. Lamentable Complaints came from the Protestants of France for the sever-
ties more and more used against them; their Churches pulled down, and after Montauban, their other University of Lannons decreed to be prohibited.

§ 179. In the latter end of this Year, the Bishops and their Agents gave out their great fears of Popery, and greatly lamented that the Dutchers of York was turned Papist, and thereupon gave out that they greatly defined that some of the Presbyterians (as they called even the Episcopal Nonconformists) might by some abatement of the New Oaths and Subscriptions have better invitation to conform in other things: Bishop Averley, Bishop Ward, and Bishop Dobilin spake ordinarily their desires of it; but after long talk there is nothing done, which makes Men variously interpret their Pretensions, which time at last will more certainly expound. Some think that they are real in their desires, and that the hindrance is from the Court: And others say, they would never have been the grand causes of our present Case, if it had been against their Wills, and that if they are yet truly willing of any healing, they will shew it by more than their differences, (as a Man would do when the City was on Fire, that had a mind to quench it,) and that all this is but that the Odisim may be diverted from them-

§elves, while that which they take on them to fear, is accomplished. But I hope yet they are not so bad as this Cenfure doth suppose. But it's strange that those same Men that so easily led the Parliament to what is done (when they had given
given the King thanks for his Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs) can do nothing to bring them to moderate abstemious, and the healing of our Breaches, if they are truly willing. For my part, I suspend my Judgment of their intents, till the Event shall make me understand it. Grant Lord that it be not yet too late; for Charity commandeth us to take nothing of others minds for certain, till we have certain Proof, how pernicious over our Charitable hopes may prove.

§ 180. Mr. *Bligh* wrote a Second Book against my Defence, full of untruths, which the furious, temerarious Man did utter, or the rascality of his Mind, which made him so little heed what he had read, and answered, as that one would scarce think he had ever read my Book: I replied to him in an *Admonition*, telling him of his mistakes. To which he pretended a Rejoinder in a third Libel, but I found as I was told, that his design was to silence almost all that I said, and to say all that he thought might make me odious, because that those that read his Books would not read mine, and so would believe him, and be no whit informed by my answes at all.

§ 181. This same year 1671. I was desired by my Friend and Neighbour, Mr. *John Corbet*, to write somewhat to satise a good man that was fallen into deep melancholy, feeding it daily with the thoughts of the number that will be damned, and tempted by it to constant Blasphemy against the goodnefs of God, who could save them, and would not, but decreed their damnation: And I wrote a few Sheets, called, *The vindication of God's Goodness*, which Mr. Corbet with a prefixed Epistle published.

§ 182. Also Dr. *Ludow. Molines* was so vehemently set upon by the crying down of the Papal, and Prelatical Government, that he thought it was the work that he was sent into the World for, to convince Princes that all Government was in themselves, and no proper Government, but only Perdition belonged to the Churches; to which end he wrote his *Paraphr. contra adficatoros Imperii* and his *Pap. Ultrajectinum*, and other Tractates, and thrifht them on me, to make me of his mind; and at last wrote his *Judgments Cautfa*, with no less than seventy Epiftles before it, directed to Princes and men of Interest, among whom he was pleased to put one, to me. The good Man meant rightly in the main, but had not a head sufficiently accurate for such a Controversie, and so could not perceive that anything could be called properly Government, that was no way *coative* by Corporal Penalties: To turn him from the Erratical Extreme, and end that Controversie by a Reconciliation, I published an Hundred Propositions conciliatory, and of the difference between the Magistrates power, and the Pastor's.

§ 183. Also one Dr. *Edward Fowler* (a very ingenious sober Conformist) wrote two Books: One an Apology for the Latitudinarians, as they were then called; the other entitled, *Holiness the design of Christianity*; in which he sometimes put in the word *only* which gave offence, and the Book seemed to fome to have a fraudulent design, to obtife the Glory of free *Justification*, under pretence of extolling *Holiness* as the *only* design of *Man's Redemption*: Which occationed a few Sheets of mine on the said Book and Question for reconciliation, and clearing up of the Point: Which when Mr. Fowler saw, he wrote to me to tell me that he was of my Judgment, only he had delivered that more generally which I opened more particularly, and that the word *only* was Hyperbolically spoken, as I had said; but he spake feelingly against those quarrelsome men that are ready to confine than to understand. I returned him some advice to take heed, left their weaknefs, and confenfrontife, should make him too angry and impatient with Religious People as the Prelates are, and so run into greater Sin than theirs, and favour a loofer Party because they are less confenfortious. To which he returned me so ingenious and hearty thanks, as for as great Kindnefs as ever was showed him, as told me that free and friendly Counsel to wife and good men is not lost.

§ 184. I was troubled this Year with multitudes of melancholy Perfon's, from several Parts of the Land; some of high Quality, some of low, some very exquisitely learned, some unlerned; (as I had in a great measure been above twenty years before.) I knew not how it came to pass, but if men fell melancholly, I must hear from them or fec them (more than any Physician that I know,) Which I mention only for these three ues to the Reader; that out of all the C a f e s I have gathered. 1. That we must very much take heed
left we describe Melancholy Phantasms and Passions to God's Spirit: for they are strange apprehensions that Melancholy can caufe (though Biograph revile me for such an intimation, as if it were injurious to the Holy Ghost.) 2. I would warn all young Persons to live modestly, and keep at a sufficient distance from Objects that tempt them to carnal Lust, and to take heed of wanton Dalliance, and the beginnings or Approaches of this Sin, and that they govern their Thoughts and Senses carefully. For I can tell them by the fad Experience of many, that generous Crimes leave deep wounds in the Confcience; and that those that were never guilty of For- mation, are oft call'd into long and lamentable Tribulations, by letting Satan once into their Phantafies, from whence 'till Objects are utterly distant, he is hardly got out: especially when they are guilty of voluntary active Self-pollution. But above all I warn young Students, and Apprentices, to avoid the beginnings of these Sins; for their Youthfulness and Idlenefs are oft the in tentives of it, when poor labouring Men are in les danger; and they little know what one Spark may kindle. 3. I advise all Men to take heed of placing Religion too much in Fears, and Tears, and Scruples; or in any other kind of Sorrow, but fuch as tendeth to raise us to a high Effimation of Christ, and to the magnifying of Grace, and a sweeter taste of the Love of God, and to the firmer Rebellion against Sin: And that Tears and Grief be not commended incommodiously for themselves, nor as meer Signs of a Con- verted Person: And that we call Men more to look after Duty than after Signs as fuch; let Self-love on Work and spare not, if you call them much more to the Love of God, and let them know that that Love is their best sign, but yet to be ex- cered on a higher Reafon, than as a sign of our own Hopes: for that Motive alone will not produce true Love to God. And as the Puritanism too much exclude Humiliation and signs of Grace, fo too many of late have made their Religion to confife too much in the seeking of these out of their proper time and place, without referring them to that Obedience, Love and Joy, in which true Religion doth prin- cipally confift.

Reader, I do but transcribe these three Counsels for thee, from a Multitude of Melancholy Passions I find Experiences.

§ 185. This Year Salisbury-Diocefs was more fiercely driven on to Conformity, by Dr. Seth Ward, their Bishop, than any place else, or than all the Bishops in Eng- land besides did in theirs. Many Hundreds were Profecuted by him with great In- dustry. And among others, that learned, humble, holy Gentleman, Mr. Thomas Grove, an Ancient Parliament-Man, of as great Sincerity and Integrity, as almost any Man I ever knew: He ftood it out a while in a Law-Suit, but was over- thrown, and fain to forfeit his Country, as many Hundreds more are quickly like to do.

§ 186. And his Name remembred me, that Ingenuity obligeath me to Record my Benefactor. A Brother's Son of his, Mr. Rob. Grove, is one of the Bishop of London's Chaplains, who is the only Man that Licencef my Writings for the Press, (fupposing them not to be againf Law, which ill I could not expect,) And be- sides him alone, I could get no Licenfer to do it. And becaufe being silenced, Writing is the far greatf part of my remaining Service to God for Church, and with- out the Press my Writings would be in vain, I acknowledge that I owe much to this Man, and one Mr. Cook, the Arch-bishop's Chaplain hierofore, that live no more in vain.

§ 187. And while I am acknowledging my Benefactors, I add, that this Year died Sergeant John Fountain, the only Person from whom I received an Annual Sum of Money; which though through God's Mercy I never neede, yet I could not in Civility refufe: He gave me 10 l. per Ann. from the time of my Silence till his Death: I was a Stranger to him before the King's Return; but it was then that when he was Judge (before he was one of the Keepers of the Great Seal) he paid our Country great Service against Vice. He was a Man of a quick and found Understanding, an upright impartial Mind and Life, of too much infensible in his weaknes, but of a moft inflexible ferious fervency towards God, and open zealous owning of true Piety and Holiness (without owning the little Partialities of Sects) as most Men that ever I came near in Sickness: When he lay fick, (which was about a Year) he sent to the Judges and Lawyers that fent to visit him, and have Answers at them: I thank your Lord, or Master, for his kindness: Present my Service to him, and tell him, It is a great
great Work to Die well; his time is near; all worldly Glory must come down; threaten him to keep his Integrity, over-come Temptations, and please God, and prepare to Die.] He deeply bewailed the great Sins of the Times, and the Prognosticks of dreadful things which he thought we were in danger of: And though in the Wars he suffered Imprisonment for the King's Cause, towards the end he came from them, and he greatly feared an inundation of Poverty, Enemies, Popery, and Infidelity.

§ 188. The great Talk this Year was of the King's Adjourning the Parliament again for about a Year longer; and whether we should break the Triple League, and desert the Hollanders, &c.

§ 189. Before they were Adjourued, I secretly directed some Letters to the best of the Conforming Ministers, telling them how much it would conduc to their own, and the Churches Interest, if they that might be heard, would become Petitioners for such Abatements in Conformity, as might let in the Non-conformists, and unite us; seeing two things would do it. 1. The removal of Oaths and Subscriptions, save our Subscription to Christianity, the Scriptures, and the 39 Articles, and the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. 2. To give leave to them that cannot use all the Liturgy and Ceremonies, to be but Preachers in those Churches where they are used by others; submitting to Penalties if ever they be proved to Preach against the Doctrine, Government, or Worship of the Church, or to do any thing against Peace, or the Honour of the King and Government. But I could get none to offer such a Petition. And when I did but mention our own petitioning the Parliament, those that were among them, and familiar with them, still laughed at me for imagining that they were reasonable Creatures, or that Reazon signified any thing with them in such Matters. And thus we were Silenced every way.

§ 190. During the Mayoralty of Sir Samuel Sterling, many Jury's Men in London were Fined and Imprisoned by the Judge, for not finding certain Quakers guilty of violating the Act against Conventicles. They Appealed and sought remedy. The Judges remained about a Year in suspense; and then by the Lord Chief Justice Vaughan delivered their Resolution against the Judge for the Subject's Freedom from such force of Finns, that when he had in a Speech of two or three Hours long, spoke vehemently to that purpose, never thing, since the King's Return, was received with greater Joy and Applause by the People; and the Judges still taken for the Pillars of Law and Liberty.

§ 191. The Parliament having made the Laws against Nonconformist's Preaching, and private Religious Meetings, &c. To grinding and terrible as afore-said, the King (who conformed to those Laws) became the sole Patron of the Nonconformist's Liberties; not by any Abatements by Law, but by his own Connivance as to the Execution, the Magistrates for the most part doing what they perceived to be his Will. So that Sir Rich. Ford, all the time of his Mayoralty in London (though suppos'd one of their greatest and most knowing Adversaries) never disturbed them. The Ministers in several Parties were oft encouraged to make their Addresses to the King, only to acknowledge his Clemency by which they held their Liberties; and to profess their Loyalty: Sir John Babor introduced Dr. Mantone, and came with him; Mr. Emis, a Scotch Non-conformist by Sir Rob. Murray, introduced Mr. Whittakers, Dr. Amelley, Mr. Watson, and Mr. Vincent's. The King (as they say themselves) told them, That though such Acts were made, He was against Persecution, and hoped ere long to stand on his own Legs, and then they should see how much he was against it. By this means many more Nonconformable Ministers in London kept up Preaching in private Houses: Some 50, some 100, many 300, and many 1000, or 2000 at a Meeting, by which for the present, the City's Necesities were much supplied. For very few burnt Churches were yet built up again, (about 3 or 4 in the City) which yet never moved the Bishops to relent, and give any Favour to the Preaching of Nonconformists. And though the best of England of the Conformists, for the most part, were got up to London, alas! they were but few: And the most of the Religious People were more and more alienated from the Prelates and their Churches.

§ 192. Tho' that from the beginning thought they saw plainly what was doing, lamented all this: They thought that it was not without great Wit, that seeing only a Parliament was trusted before the King with the People's Liberties, and could raise a War.
a War against him, (Interest ruling the World) it was contrived that this Parliament should make the severer Laws against the Nonconformists to grind them to death, and that the King should allay the Execution at his pleasure, and become their Protector against Parliaments; and they that would not consent to this should suffer. And indeed, the Ministers themselves seemed to make little doubt of this: But they thought, 1. That if Papists shall have liberty, it is as good for them also to take theirs, as to be shut out: 2. And that it is not lawful for them to refuse their present Liberty, though they were sure that Evil were designed in granting it. 3. And that before Men's designs can come to ripeness, God hath many ways to frustrate them, and by drawing one Pin, can let fall the best contrived Fabric. But still remember, that all Attempts to get any Comprehension (as it was then called) or abatement of the Rigour of the Laws, or Legal Liberty and Union, were most effectually made void.

§ 193. At this time there was printed in Holland, the Thesis, or Exercise performed at the Commencement, for the Degree of Dr. of Law, by one of the King's Subjects, a Scots-Man, Rob. Hamilton: In which he largely proves the Necessity of a Standing Treasury in a Kingdom, and the power of the King to raise it, and impose Tributes without the People's Consent, and Dedicating it to the King, and largely applying it to England, he sheweth that Parliaments have no Legislative Power but what the King giveth them, who may take it from them when He seeth Cause, and put them down, and raise Taxes according to his own Difcretion, without them: And that Parliaments and Magna Charta, are no impediments to him, but Toys; and that what Charter the former Kings did grant, could be no Band on their Successors (forgetting that so he would also disoblige the People from the Agreements made by their Predecessors (as e. g. that this Family successively shall rule them, &c.) with much more. Whom Fame made to be the Author of this Treatise, I pafs by.

§ 194. There was this Year a Man much talk'd of for his Enterprises, one Major Blood, an English-man of Ireland. This Man had been a Soldier in the old King's Army against the Parliament, and seeing the Canfe left, he betook himself towards Ireland, to live upon his own Eftate. In his way he fell in Company with the Laceshire Ministers, who were then Writing against the Army, and against all violence to King or Parliament. Blood being of an extraordinary Wit, falls acquainted with them, and not thinking that the Presbyterians had been so true to the King, he is made the more capable of their Council; so that in short he became a Convert, and married the Daughter of an honest Parliament Man of that Country: And after this in Ireland he was a Justice of Peace, and famous for his great Parts and upright Life, and successes in turning many from Papery. When the King was Restored, and he saw the old Ministers Silenced in the Three Kingdoms, and those that had surpriz'd Dublin-Castle for the King from the Anabaptists, cut aside, and all things go contrary to his Judgment and Expectation, being of a most bold and resolute Spirit, he was one that plotted the Surprizings of the D. of Ormond, and of Dublin Castle. But being detected and prevented, he fled into England. There he lived disfigu'd, practising Phyfiicks, called Dr. Clarke, at Runford. When some Prisoners were carried to be put to Death at York, for a Plot, he followed and Rescued them, and set them free: At laft it was found to be He, with his Son, and three or four more, that attempted to Surprize the D. of Ormond; and to have carried him to Holland, where he had a Bank of Money, and to have made him there to pay his Armies. Milling of that Exploit, he made a bolder Attempt, even to fetch the King's Crown and Jewels out of the Tower; where pretending Friendship to the Keeper of it, He, with two more (his Son, and one Perrot) suddenly Gagg'd the old Man, and when he cried out, he struck him on the Head, but would not kill him, and so went away with the Crown. But as soon as ever they were gone, the Keeper's Son cometh in, and finds his Father, and heareth the Cafe, and runs out after them, and Flood, and his Son, and Perrot were taken. Blood was brought to the King, and expected Death: but he spake so boldly that all admired him, telling the King, How many of his Subjects were disoblige'd, and that he was one that took himself to be in a State of Holfility; and that he took not the Crown as a Thief, but an Enemy, thinking that lawful which was lawful in a War; and that he could many a time have had the King in his power, but that he thought his Life was better for them than his Death,
Part III.

Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

89

Death, left a worse succeed him; and that the number of Resolute Men disboged, were so great, as that if his Life were taken away, it would be revenged. That he intended no hurt to the Person of the D. of Ormond, but because he had taken his Expost from him, he would have forced him to restore the value in Money; and that he never Robb'd, nor shedd Blood, which if he would have done, he could easily have kill'd Ormond, and easily have carried away the Crown. In a word, he behaved himself, that the King did not only releafe and pardon him, but admit him frequently to his presence. Some say, because his Gallantry took much with the King, having been a Soldier of his Father's: Most say, That he put the King in fear of his Life, and came off upon Condition that he would endeavour to keep the discontented Party quiet.

§ 195. Mr. Bagshaw (in his rash and ignorant Zeal, thinking it a Sin to hear a Conformist, and that the way to deal with the Persecutors was to draw all the People as far from them as we could, and not to hold any Communion with any that did Conform) having Printed his Third Reviling Label against me, called for my Third Reply, which I Entitled [* The Church told of, &c.*] But being Printed without Licence, Lettouage, the Searcher, Surprized part of it in the Prefs (there being lately greater Penalties laid on them that Print without Licence, than ever before:) And about the Day that it came out, Mr. Bagshaw die (a Prisoner, though not in Prison:) Which made it grievous to me to think that I must seem to write against the Dead. While we wrangle here in the dark, we are dying and falling to the World, that will decide all our Controversies; And the fated Passage thither is by peaceful Holmef.

§ 196. About Jan. 7 the King caused his Exchequer to be shut up: So that whereas a multitude of Merchants, and others, had put their Money into the Bankers hands, and the Bankers lent it to the King, and the King gave Order to pay out no more of it, of a Year, the murmur and complaint in the City was very great, that their Exacts should be (as they called it) To surprized: And the rather, because it was supposed to be in order to the Affisting of the French in a War against the Dutch, they took a Year to be equal to perpetuity, and the stop to be a loss of all, seeing Wars use to increaee Necefiities, and not to supply them. And among others, all the Money (and Exacte, except 10 l. per Ann. for 11 or 12 Years) that I had in the World of my own (not given away to others, whom Charity commanded me to give it to for their Maintenance, before) was there: which indeed was not my own; which I will mention to Counsel any Man that would so good, to do it speedily, and with all their might. I had got in all my Life the just Sum of 1000 l. Having no Child, I devoted almost all of it to a Charitable Use (a Free-School, &c.) I used my best and ablest Friends for 7 Years with all the Skill and Industry I could, to help me to some Purchase of House or Land to lay it out on, that it might be accordingly settled: And though there were never more Sellers, I could never by all these Friends hear of any that Reason could encourage a Man to lay it out on as secure, and a tolerable Bargain: So that I told them, I did perceive the Devil's Requisition of it; and did verily suspect that he would prevail, and I should never settle, but it would be lost: So hard is it to do any good when a Man is fully resolved, that divers such Observations verily confirm me, That there are Devils that keep up a War against Goodness in the World.

§ 197. The great Preparations of the French to invade the United Provinces, and of the English to affift them, do make now the Protestants Hearrs to tremble; and to think that the Low Countries will be Conquered, and with them the Protestant Cause deeply endangered: (Though their vicious worldly Lives deferve God's Judgments on themselves; yet they are a great part of the Protestants Humane Strength.) But the Hicke must expound God's purposes, without which Men's Designs are vain.

§ 198. This Year a new Play-House being built in Salisbury-Court in Fleet-Street, called the Duke of York's, the Lord Mayor (as is said) desired of the King, that it might not be; the Youth of the City being already so corrupted by Sensual Pleasures; but he obtained not his desire: And this Jan. 1671. the King's Play-House in Drury Lane,


Lone took Fire, and was burnt down, but not alone, for about fifty or sixty Houses adjoining, by Fire and blowing up, accompanied it. § 199. A Stranger, calling himself Sam. Hekert, wrote me a Letter against the Christian Religion, and the Scriptures, as charging them with Contradictions, and urged me to answer them, which I did: And his Name invoking my memory, I adjourned an Answer to the Strength of a Book heretofore written, by Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, some-time Ambassadors in France, the Author of the History of Henry VII, called de Veritate, being the most powerful Alliée against the Christian Religion, placing all the Religion that's certain, in the Common or Natural Notions: I entitled the Book, More Reasons for the Christian Religion, and none against it: Or, a Second Appendix to the Reason for the Christian Religion.

§ 200. The foresaid Mr. Hiskley by his impertinent Answer to my former Letters, extorted from me a large Reply; but when I was sending it him in Writing, I heard that he intended to Print some Scraps of it with his Papers, the better to put them off: Whereupon I sent him word he should not have them, till he satisfied me that he would not so abuse them, &c. The rather because, 1. The Subject of them was much to prove that the War was raised in England, by an Episcopal Parliament, jealous of other Episcopal Men, as to Poverty and Propriety. 2. And it was so much against Diœsefes, and their new Oaths, as would much displease them, 3. And in a harsher Style than was fit for a publick View: And as to the first Reason, I was afraid lest any Papists would lay hold of it, to make any Princes, that already had the. the Non-conformists, and Presbyterians, to hate the Conformists and Prelats also; and to seem themselves the most Loyal: And I had rather they hated, and cast off the Non-conformists, all but both. This mindeth me to add that.

§ 201. About a Year ago one Henry Forbis, Son to Sir David Forbis, an Oxford Man, who had wrote against the Presbyterians with as filthy a Language almost as a Man in his Wits could do, having written also against the Papists, his Book (after his Death) was Printed in a large Folio, so opening the Principles and Practices of Papists against Kings, their Lives and Kingdoms, by multitudes of most express Citations from their own Writers, that the like hath not before been done by any Man; nor is there extant such another Collection on that Subject (though he left out the Irish Malacie:) But whereas the way of the Papists is, to make a grievous Complaint against any Book, that is written effectually against them, as injurious (as they did against Pet. Moslin's Answer to Philippus Anglicus, and against Dr. Stillingfleet's late Book) or the contrary; this Book being copious true Citations and Histories, is so terrible to them, that their method is to say nothing of it, but endeavour to keep it Unknown; for of late they have left the disputing way, and bend all their endeavours to creep into Houses, and pervert Persons in secret; but especially to inflame into the Houses and Familiarity of all the Rulers of the World, where they can be received.

§ 202. The Death of some, the worthy Labours, and great Sufferings of others, maketh me remember that the just characterizing of some of the Ministers of Christ, that now suffered for not swearing, subcribing, declaring, conforming, and for refusing Re-ordination, is a duty which I owe to the honour of God's Grace in them. But because no Man can expect that I should be so voluminous as to describe particularly all the Eighteen Hundred silenced, I shall but tell you what my own Neighbours were, not speaking by heartly, but personal acquaintance; herein imitating Tho. Us, Mereus, and many others in the truth and brevity of the Character, but giving you nothing of any unknown Person by bare report.

1. In the County where I lived, in Worcester City, was silenced Mr. Joseph Baker, born in Stourbridge (where Wives Funeral Sermon and Life I printed.) He was a Learned Man, of a blameless Life, Preaching constantly, Catechizing the People, and confessing with the several Families (especially before he first admitted them to the Lord's Supper) personally: But of extraordinary Prudence, Calmness, Patience, Gravity, and Soundness of Judgment; neither for Prelacy, Presbytery, nor Independency; as then formed into Parties; but for that which was found in all the Parties, and for Concord upon such Catholic terms: The Parish of St. Andrew, where he was Minister, had but about six Pounds a year maintenance, of which
which he took none; but gave it to a Woman to teach the poor Children of the Parish to read, living upon his own, and some small augmentation granted by the Parliament.

2. At the Cathedral, Mr. Simon Mooz was silenced, an old Independent, who somewhat loth the Peoples Love, upon Reasons which I here omit.

3. In the fame City was silenced Mr. Jusis, (his Son-in-Law) a moderate Independent, and a sober, grave, serious, peaceable, blameles, able Minister.

4. In the fame City was silenced Mr. Finchel, a moderate Independent, a zealous able Preacher, of a good Life.

5. At Kenusy, was put out Mr. Tho. Brownmis, an ancient, reverend, able Minister, of an upright Life: But when Bishop Morkey was there, and Mr. Coller of Blekeley had conformed, he was over-perfwaded to take the Declaration: But before he came to profess his Affent and Conform openly, and fully to conform, he was call into great and long diftrefs of Confcience, and went no farther: But yet by Preaching he used that Liberty that he had to procure.

6. At Upton, upon Sewens, was silenced Mr. Benedictus Baxter, Son to that old holy, reverend Mr. George Baxter, Pastor at little Henlock in Shrophire, near the Wrekcn-Hill, who lived there till about eighty fix years of Age, in the constant faithful Preaching and praftifing of the Gospel. His Son now mentioned was a Preacher of extraordinary Skill, especially in manner and method, so that few that ever I heard excelled him: He lived uprightly to near fifty seven Years of Age, and suffered much by the lownets of his Effece by his Ejection, who before had lived plentifully.

7. His Brother, Mr. Stephen Baxter, though below him in utterance, was of a solid Underftanding, and a calm, peaceable Spirit, most humble, and blameles in his Life, and liveth since his silence in the practive of Phyfick.

8. At Eveftamp was silenced Mr. George Hopkins, Son to Mr. William Hopkins, the most eminent, wife, and truly Religious magiftrate of Bewdley, (my old dear Friend) at last a member of the long Parliament. This his Son, having long been Pastor at Eveftamp, was many Years silenced; and when the Oxford Oak came out, he was over perfuaded to take it, in his own Sence, and fo not to be forced five miles from the People: But he died either on, or very near the fame day that he should have had the benefit of it: He was a very judicious, godly, moderate, peaceable, and upright man: He hath one Writing extant, called Salvation from Sin.

9. At Martley was silenced and ejected Mr. Ambrofe Sparry, heretofore Schoolmaster at Stourbridge, where he was born; he was an ancient sober, peaceable, moderate, humble, godly, judicious man; formerly for the Conformists, but now call out among the refi: But his great Prudence, and moderation, and Learning, and the chief of Stourbridge being his Friends, caused the Chancellor to conuife at last at his teaching the School at Stourbridge again, where he had been in his Youth, where he is yet connived at, and liveth with great acceptance, though he was a while maliciously laid in Goal.

10. At Bewdley was silenced Mr. Henry Outland, the most lively, fervent, moving Preacher in all the County, of an honest, upright Life, who rode about, from place to place Preaching fervently, and winning many Souls to God, besides all his very great Labours with his own People, publickly, and from Houfe to Houfe: And he yet continueth Preaching up and down privately where he can have opportunity, with zeal and diligence: And though thofe that excelled others in zealous Preaching and acceptance with the People, were apter to be carried (in my Judgment) a little too far from Conformity, and the Prelate’s Indignation againft the Church-Tyranny, but not at all forfaking Orthodox, and found Principles, yet fo was not he.

11. At Stourbridge was silenced Mr. Jarvis Bryan, Brother-to Dr. Bryan of Coventry, a most humble, upright, faithful Minister, of a blameles Life, and found Doctrine.

12. At Stone was silenced Mr. Richard Serjeant, formerly my Affiilant, a man of fuch extraordinary Prudence, Humility, Sincerity, Self-denial, Patience, and blameles内外s of Life; that I know not of all the Years that he affifted me, of any one perfon, in Town or Parish, that was againft him, or that ever accused him of faying or doing any thing amifs. So that though many excelled him in Learning and utterance, yet none that ever I knew, as far as I could judge, in Innocency...
Innocency and Sincerity; which made him beloved of all above many abler Men.

13. At Brom had silenced Mr. Humphrey Welder, my Assistant after Mr. Serjeant, exactly agreeing in the same Character I gave him, in the next degree; of good Learning and Utterance.

14. At Womborne was silenced Mr. Wilby, an ancient, judicious, peaceable, moderate Divine (who had long kept one of the most learned of the Prelatists in his House.) At * Rementi, where he lived privately, he was troubled by Sir Robert Holt, but (under many Infirmities) is yet alive, a man of humility, and an unblameable Life. I mention not the Judgment of any of these, that I may say of all together, that as far as I could perceive, they were neither for Prelacy, Presbyterian, or Independency, as now in Parties, but as I paid of them before, of the primitive temper, for Concord, on the Terms that all found and good men are agreed in, and for the practice of that, rather than contending about more: And of the primitive extraordinary Humility and Innocency.

15. The same I must lay of Mr. Andrew Trifcom, first of Cleat, then silenced at Bridgnorth, a Man of more than ordinary ability in Preaching and Prayer, and of an upright Life, and now a Physician.

16. The same I must lay of Mr. John Riggenz, silenced at Wokerhampton, a Man of more than ordinary Ability, for Learning and Preaching, and now also a Physician.

17. At Actley was silenced Mr. Lovel, formerly Schoolmaster at Welverley, who having been supposed still to be not only against the Parliament's Cause, but for the Prelates and Conformity, and never coming into our ministrinal Meetings, where we monthly kept up disputations and Discipline, but only extraordinary confant at my Lecture at Kidderminster, he was ass a stranger to us all, till the silencing time came, and then he suffered with the most patient and resolved, and hath since appeared, on fuller notice, a prudent and very worthy Man, and is yet living in his patient Silence, aged about sixty two.

18. At Bromgrove was silenced Mr. John Spitalby, born in Bowdley, a man accounted an Independent, but of extraordinary worth, for moderation, peaceableness, ability, and ministrinal diligence, and an upright Life.

19. At Whitton was silenced Mr. Joseph Read, born in Kidderminster, and sent by me to Cambridge, and after living in my House, and for one Year my Assistant at Kidderminster, a man of great sincerity, and worth.

20. At Churchil was cauf out Mr. Edward Boucher, another young man, born in Kidderminster-Parish, of great humility, sincerity, peaceableness, and good ministrinal parts; Brother to James Boucher, a Husbandman, who can but write his Name, and is of as good understanding in Divinity as many Diveses of good account, and moreable in Prayer than most Ministers that ever I heard. And of so calm a Spirit, and blameless a life, that I never saw him laugh, or fad, nor ever heard him speak an idle Word, nor ever heard Man accuse him of a sinful Word or Deed, which I note with Joy, and to tell the Reader, that he, and others of his Temper, in Kidderminster, did by their Example exceedingly farther my Ficcers.

21. At Cleat was silenced Mr. Tho. Baldwin, a godly, calm, sober Preacher, of a blameless Life.

22. From Chadderley was cauf out Mr. Thomas Baldwin, Senior, who had been our Schoolmaster at Kidderminster, sent to me by Mr. Vincy from Cambridge, a good Schooler, a sober, calm grave, moderate, peaceable minister, whose Conversation I never heard one Person blame, for any one Word or Deed; an extraordinary Preacher: Wherefore I desired when I was driven from Kidderminster, that the People would be ruled by him and Mr. Serjeant, and liveth yet among them, and teacheth them privately from House to House. He was present with me when I had Conference with Bishop Marly when he silenced me, and the wisecf of our Discourse; which, with the imprisonment of the most Religious and blameless of the Flood, and the experience of the Quality of some Preachers that were sent to the People in my stead, and the rest of the Iniquity made in the Churches, did alienate him so much from Prelacy, and Conformity, and the People with him, that though afterward they got a godly, Conformable Miniffer, I could not get them to Communicate with him, though I got them naturally to hear him.
On this occasion I will mention the great Mercy of God to that Town and Country in the raising of one Man, Mr. Thomas Foley, who, from almost nothing, did get about five Thousand Pound per Annum, or more, by Iron-works, and that with so just and blameless Dealing, that all Men that ever he had to do with, that ever I heard of, magnified his great Integrity and honesty, which was questioned by none: And being a Religious, Faithful Man, he purchased among other Lands, the Patronage of several great places, and among the rest of Studley and Kidderminster, and so chose the best Conformist Ministers to them that could be got: And not only so, but placed his Eldest Son's Habitation in Kidderminster, which became a great Protection and Blessing to the Town; having placed two Families more elsewhere of his two other Sons, all three Religious worthy Men. And in thankfulness to God for his Mercy to him, built a well-founded Hospital near Studley, to teach poor children to read and write, and then set them Apprentices, and endow it with about five hundred Pounds a Year per Annum: Such worthy Persons, and rich Strange Prosperity, and holy use of it are so rare, and the interest of my poor Neighbours isit so great, that I thought meet to mention it to God's Praise and his.

§ 203. There were more Ministers silenced of that Country, but I will not be tedious in naming more of them. A word of the other places where I myself lived. In Coventry, both the Ministers were cast out. 1. Dr. John Bryan, an ancient Learned Divine, of a quick and active Temper, very humble, faithful, and of a Godly, upright Life, who had so great a fitness to teach and educate Youth, that there have gone out of his House more worthy Ministers into the Church of God, than out of many Colleges in the University in that time. And he had three Sons that were all worthy Non-conformist Ministers, all silenced.

2. Dr. Green, a Man of a different natural temper, yet both Concordant lovingly in the work of God, a calm, grave, sober, sedate Divine, more retired, and of less activity, but godly, able, and faithful in his Ministry.

3. At Birmingham was silenced Mr. Wills, a sedate, retired, peaceable, able Divine also, born in Coventry.

4. As for Mr. Anthony Burges of Sutton Coldfield (a place of near 3001. per Annum, which he left) I need not describe him, he was so famously known in the Assembly, and London, and by his many Learned, Godly Writings, for a Man eminently Learned, and Pious: And though in the old Conformity he was before a Conformable Man, yet he was so far from the New Conformity, that on his Death-bed he professed great satisfaction in his Mind that he had not Conformed. 5. From Walsall was cast out Mr. Burdall, a very Learned able and Godly Divine, of more than ordinary parts and worth, now dead also.

6. At Wednesbury was silenced Mr. Finkle, whom I have seen, but was not much acquainted with, but he was reputed a very Godly Man, and a good Preacher. But I pass by all those I knew not myself.

7. From Rowley had lately removed Mr. Joseph Rock, and was silenced; a very calm, humble, sober, peaceable, godly, and blameless Minister, and of very good Abilities; like our Worcestershire Ministers before described, as to his temper, and judgment of Church-Government.

8. At Kings-Norton was silenced Mr. Tho. Hall, an ancient Divine, known by his many Writings, of a quick Spirit, a Godly, upright man, and the only Presbyterian whom I knew in that Country.

9. At Tipton, Mr. Hinks was silenced, a Godly Preacher, a moderate Independent.

10. At Hales-Owen was silenced Mr. Paper, a sober, moderate, peaceable Minister, of a godly, upright Life.

11. Near Worcestershire was silenced Mr. Sound, an ancient Divine, of great Learning, moderation, judgment, and calmness of Spirit; and of a Godly, upright Life, born by Woorole, near Bridgewater, known to me about thirty years ago, who, though with others, he was of old a Conformist, is far enough from the new Conformity.
12. At Shrewsbury was silenced Mr. Heath, an ancient, grave minister, moderate, sedate, quiet, religious, eminent for his Skill in the Oriental Languages.

13. In the same Town was silenced Mr. Francis Talbot, an ancient Fellow of Magdalen College in Cambridge, and a good Schollar, a godly, blameless Divine, most eminent for extraordinary Prudence, and moderation, and peaceablenesse towards all, who in our Wars lived at Sautours in France, and is now there again.

14. In the same Town was silenced Mr. Brian, Son to Dr. Brian, a Godly, able Preacher, of a quick and active Temper, but very humble.

15. At Whitchurch was silenced and cast out Mr. Porter an ancient, grave Divine of great integrity, blameless and Diligence, and so excellent a Preacher, that few arrived to his Degree that ever I have heard.

16. At Bessebroch was cast out and silenced Mr. Lawrence, a solid, calm, peaceable, godly man, and a good Preacher, who hath wrote a Treatise about Sicknes: He was lately in Trouble, and his Goods taken away for preaching in a private House, where but four Neighbours were present, on pretence that a little Daughter of the House that came newly from School, and another Child made the Superannuaries, which put him to a tedious Suit: And Mr. Fowles, an able Lawyer of that Country, who had ever before carried it moderately, and soberly, being entertained against him, whether to more, or why I know not, at the Bar called him a Seditious Fellow, who was far from it, and spake of him revilingly, and eagerly, and about a week or fortnight after died almost suddenly.

17. At Wem was silenced, and long imprisoned in the Common Goal, Mr. Parson, a moderate, ancient Minister, having but used the word [King] in his Sermon, relating to Christ, an ignorant profane Enemy witnessed that he said somewhat against the King, for which he so long suffered: And for the very same Cause Dr. Brian was accused, and Mr. Field before-mentioned, kept in Prison in the Gatehouse till he there died.

18. At Chum was silenced Mr. Frostell, an ancient Divine, of extraordinary worth, for Judgment, moderation, Godliness, blameless living, and excellent Preaching; who (as many of the rest) hath in poverty, and Sicknes, and great Suffering continued to preserve the Peace of his Conference.

19. Many more worthy men in that County were cast out and silenced. Mr. Barne, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Berry, Mr. Maiden of Newport, (a very Learned Man) Mr. Champain, Mr. Thomas Wright of Kinnersley, (a Man of extraordinary Learning, Ability, and Moderation, and Peaceableness) and divers others, all divers, all men of Godliness, and upright Lives, and great Ministerial Diligence, those of them that forvive living in great Poverty, most of them having nothing, or next to nothing, of their own: And the Charity that should maintain them and their Families, is clog'd with so great Poverty, through the burning of London, the decay of Trade, Taxes, &c. that alais their Relief is very small.

§ 204. To give any Description of the London Ministers so well known, would be superfluous; viz. 1. Old Mr. Simon Ahl, old Mr. Arthur Jackson, Mr. Atto, all dead: (three, Men of excellent Humility, and sincere Godliness, and good Abilities.) Mr. Calamy, Dr. Searm, (of great Learning) Mr. Shefield, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Gouge, (that wonder of Charity, Humility, Sincerity, and moderation) Mr. Wickins, Mr. Harver, Mr. Geddow, Mr. Peter Vins, Mr. Blashmore, Mr. Haviland, Mr. Samuel Clark, Mr. Jenkins, (that Sententious Elegant Preacher) Dr. Bates, (a Learned, judicious, moderate Divine) Mr. Matthew Paul, (that Learned most industrious Man known by his Abriviation of the Critics) Mr. Singar, Mr. Needler, (two very humble, grave, peaceable Divines) Mr. Ramkinson (an ancient grave Divine of great Ability,) Mr. John Jackson, Mr. Le, Mr. Cates, (an old faithful Servant of God,) Dr. Hyde, (that wonder of Humility and Sincerity, now with God) Mr. White, (such another, now with him,) Mr. Crafton, Mr. Woodcock, (a Man of great ability, and readines) Mr. Harts, Mr. Pledgey, Mr. Taimall, Mr. Lee, (known by his Learned Latin Tract on the Revolution,) Mr. Lov, (an ancient grave Divine, whom I have heard at London forty Years ago) Mr. Church, (a cahul-worthy man, lately dead, that had abundance of Children
drea, and almost nothing.) Mr. Benton, Mr. Besham, Mr. Wells, Mr. Parsons, Mr. Strethill, Mr. Bankes, with more that I cannot remember. And thole called Independants, Mr. Nye, Mr. Caryll, Mr. Griffiths, Mr. Greenhill, Mr. Brooker, Mr. Wood, Mr. Rowe, (an humble Godly man) Mr. Mead, Mr. Barker, and Mr. Peering, (two excellent Preachers, and moderate godly, worthy men:) Besides thole that are come thither since, Dr. Tho. Goodwin, and Dr. Owen from Oxford (Men better known than my Description could make them.) Dr. Wilkinson (thence also Mr. Collins, &c. John Goodwin, now dead, I need not describe.

§ 205. But because there are some few who by Preaching more openly than the rest, and to greater Numbers, are under more Men's displeasure and curse, I shall lay them truly but what I know. 1. Dr. Mansio (who lately lay six Months in Prison) is a Man of great Learning, Judgment, and Integrity, and an excellent, most laborious, unwearied Preacher, and of moderate principles.

2. Dr. Jacob is known to be a Man of Gravity, sober and moderate Principles, and hath still held on Preaching, in the Houfe, and under the Protection of the excellent, sincere, humble, godly, faithful Lady, the Countefs Dowager of Exeter, Daughter to the Earl of Bridgewater, to the utmost of her Power a comfort to all suffering, faithful Ministers and People, and in all this excelling thole of her Rank and Generation.

3. Dr. Amesley is a most sincere, godly, humble Man, totally devoted to God, worthily to be join'd with his two great intimate Friends, Dr. Drake, and Mr. White, whose Preaching in those two greatest Auditories, Giles's Cripplegate, and Paul's Church, did very much good till he was silenced.

4. Mr. Thomas Vincent is a serious, humble, godly Man, of sober Principles, and great Zeal and Diligence, whose Experience in the Plague time engaged him in the work, as is before declared: His Brother equal to him, and is but lately come out of Prison.

5. Mr. Jenomay is a Man of extraordinary devotedness to God, and zeal for the good of Souls, and of great humility, and holiness of Life, and an excellent Preacher.

6. Mr. Wadsorth is an able judicious man, devoted wholly to God, and to do good. Before he was cast out, he preached constantly, and zealously taught all his People also House by House, hired another to help in that work; gave Bibles to the poor People of his Parish, and expended not only his time and strength, but his Estate on his Works, with much also which he got from others towards it; Inoffuch that when he was turned out, the Peoples Lamentation might have melted a heart that had any Compulsion. Since then he preacheth (through the Peoples desire and necessity) at one Congregation there, at Newington-Batts, and another at Theobalds by turns, and never taketh any maintenance from either. His Assistant, Mr. Parsons, I before named.

7. Mr. Watson is so well known in London for his Ability and Piety that I need not decribe him, however, quarrelled with by the dispute-maker.

8. Mr. Thomas Doolittle, born in Kidderminster is a good Schollar, a godly man, of an upright Life, and moderate Principles, and a very profitable, serious Preacher.

9. Mr. Cheffer is a man of a very sober, calm, peaceable Spirit, found in Doctrine and Life, and a grave and fruitful Preacher.

10. Mr. Turner is a man of great Sincerity, and extraordinary humility, and profitable Labours and Industry.

11. Old Mr. Stubbs, who joineth with him, is one of a Thoufand, sometimes Minister at Wells, and last at Dursley in Gloucelefhire, an ancient, grave Divine, wholly given up to the Service of God, who hath gone about from place to place preaching, with unwearied Labour since he was silenced, and with great Successes, being a plain, moving, fervent Preacher for the work of converting impenitent Sinners to God: And yet being settled in peaceable Principles by aged Experience, he every where expresseth the Spirit of Cenfionfulness, and unjust Separations, and Preacheth up the ancient zeal and sincerity, with a Spirit suitable thereunto.

12. Mr. Whitaker, Son to the famous Jeremy Whitaker, is a Man of great calmness, Moderation, peaceableness, and Soundness in Doctrine, and in Life.

13. Some
§ 206. Besides these, there are many in London that come out of other Countries. I will name but some few that I can speak of with most assurance. 1. Mr. John Corbet, sometimes Preacher in Gloucester, and after at Chichester, and after at a place in Hampshire (1700, 1st Ann.); which he left to keep the Peace of his Conscience, liveth privately, and quietly; a Man of extraordinary Judgment, Bayedhefis, moderation, peaceable Principles, and blameless Life, a bold Preacher, well known by his Writings, (the interest of England, the History of Gloucester War, Ryther's Collections, which were much of his Compofure.

2. Mr. Wilcot, sometime of the Charter-House, and since of Peterborough, hath such universal Praisef follow him from all the Country about Peterborough, of his rare Skill, ability, Piety, diligence, and extraordinary Success, the multitude of People there that he did good to, that it made my Heart ache to think that our Sins had brought us under such Prelates as think it a Service acceptable to God to deprive Cities and Countries of such Men, and put no better in their places than they have done.

3. Mr. Standfif from Stummore an Excellent Man, of marvellous fullness and accurateness in Prayer, and it's like he is the same in Preaching, though I never heard him.

4. Mr. Vaugham, Minifter of Grantham, where he was laid in Goal for not Conforming, and thence went to Earnes with his Family; and from thence was disconformed by the Quakers, and returned to England, and liveth in London, obsequiously, and in a very low Condition; an able, sober, Godly, Judicious, moderate Man, and of great worth.

5. Mr. Silver, from Nottinghamshire, (Mr. Trueman's Friend) a Man of excellent meeknes, temper, & Sound, and peaceable Principles, Godly Life, and great ability in the ministerial Work.

6. Mr. Hodges, living lately with the Lord Hollis, a grave, ancient, Godly, moderate Divine, who anfwered the Debate-maker.

7. Mr. Richard Fairclough, a Man of great sincerity, and soundnes of judgment, moderate Principles, and a godly, upright Life, and of great quickness of parts, and fervency, and diligence, by which at melts in Somersetshire, he excelled most Men in excellent Labours and successes.

8. His Brother, a very solid, judicious, grave, and worthy Minifier, of equal moderation, and peaceables.

9. Mr. Tobias Ellis, a Man of great sincerity and zeal, and desire to do good, and devotedness to God, (who falling into the Life of a private Schoolmaster) doth follow it with almost unmittatable diligence, living with very little Sleep, less Food, great Labour, and delight in all, by which he hath been saved better than by all Phryclic from a Metancholy Inclination.

10. Richard Morton; Dr. of Phylic, whom I should have named as Minifier of Kivnar, near Kiderminster, Son to my Old Friend, Mr. Robert Morton, Son-in-Law to Mr. Whatley of Banbury, minifter at Bredley; Dr. Morton is a Man of great gravity, calmnes, sound Principles, of no Faction, an excellent Preacher, of an upright Life, now practising Phylic.

11. Mr. Button, though not a Clergy-man (being never ordained, or in the Ministry, yet) is not to be left out. Being put out of his place of Canon of Christ-Church in Oxford, Orator to the Univerfity, an Excellent Scholar, but of a greater Excellency, a most humble Man, of a plain, sincere Heart, and blameles, and a great Sufferer, who, besides a great loss in his Eftate, was about fix Months in Goal for teaching privately two Knights' Sons, who perfwaded him to it: Many of his Neighbours of Brentford being imprisoned with him for serving God privately; by Cosf, the Scotchift Justice, who imprisoned me, which they cheerfully endured.

But there are so many more that I must proceed no further.
§ 207. Besides there are many in the Villages round about London, and that were thence cast out. As, 1. Mr. Clarkston from Mortlake, a Divine of extraordinary worth, for solid Judgment, healing, moderate Principles, acquaintance with the Fathers, great Ministerial Abilities, and a Godly, Upright Life.

2. Mr. Samuel Cradock, Elder Brother to Dr. Cradock, of Greyts-Inn, who left a place in Somersetshire of about 300l. per Annum to preserve his Conscience, a Man of great Solidity and Piety, and Ministerial Ability, but extraordinary for meekness, Humility, Moderation, and Peaceableness, known by his useful Writings.

3. Mr. Parson put out at Harrow on the Hill an ancient, grave, sound, pious, sober, and peaceable Divine.

4. Mr. Taverner, put out at Oxbridge, an ancient, grave, peaceable Divine, of an unblamed Life.

5. Dr. Spurway put out at Hackney, an ancient, calm, reverend Minister, one of the Writers of the Book called, Smethymnus.

6. Which maketh me remember Dr. Tuckney, whom his Widow married; an ancient Learned, Godly Divine, sometime Minister of Boston in Lincolnshire, then one of the Assembly, and long Regius Professor, called Doctor of the Chair in Cambridge, which place he performed with so good acceptance, as that I need not commend his ability any further: Only he was over humble, and backward to difperse, and to put out himself in great appearances, notwithstanding that place of publick Exercise.

I would further mention Dr. Arthur of Chappam, Mr. Gilbert of Brentford, Mr. Perkins, Mr. Warrham of Henden, and many more, if I were willing to go beyond my acquaintance, upon reports.

§ 208. And though it cannot be thought that one man that lived so retiredly should know very many, yet I could name you excellent men, known to me either thoroughly, or in some measure, whose Excellencies make their Names very precious to me. For Instance, 1. Mr. Truman lately dead.

2. Mr. John Warren of Hatfield Broadake, in Essex; a man of great Judgment, and ministerial Abilities—moderation, Piety, and Labour: The place whence he was cast out hath had no minister since this day, though a great Town; and in the Bishop of London's Gift, because the means is so small that none will take it: And yet he cannot have leave to preach rather than none: But he gets now and then one by his Interest to Preach occasionally, and he hears them in publick, and then himself instructeth the People in private as far as he can obtain convinced.

3. Mr. Peter Ince, in Wiltshire, a solid, grave, pious, worthy, able minister, living with Mr. Grove, that excellent, humble, holy, Learned Gentleman, who himself is now driven out of his his Country for receiving, and hearing such in his House.

4. Mr. John Ford, minister of Tarrington, in Devonshire, sometime Householder—Preacher to Oliver Cromwell, and his Son Richard, till the Army pulled him down; but not one that medled in his Wars: He is a very Learned, judicious, godly man, of no Faction, but of Catholick, healing Principles, and of excellent ministerial Abilities, as his excellent Treatise, called, The Bleffednefs of the Righteous, sheweth.

5. Mr. Ford of Exeter, is a man of great Ability, as his Book called, The Sinner's Assignment at his Bar, sheweth; a Reverend Divine, of great esteem for all ministerial worth, with the generality of sober men: And I hear a high Character of Mr. Clare, near him, and many more there; but I know not thofe.

6. Mr. Hughes of Plymouth, a very Reverend, Learned, Ancient Divine, long ago of London, an excellent Expositor of Scripture, was in his Age laid so long in Prison (for silence was not suffering enough for so excellent a Man) that he fell by it into the Scurvy, and died soon after. His Treatife of the Sabbath is Printed since his Death.

Nunn

7. Mr.
The Life of the

7. Mr. Barry in Devonshire, an extraordinary humble, tender-confcienc'd, serious, godly, able man, in his youth.

8. Mr. Ben. Woodbridge of Newbury, who came out of New-England to succeed Dr. Twifte; a Man of great Judgment, Piety, Ability, and moderate Principles, addicted to no Faction, but of a Catholick Spirit.

9. Mr. Simon King, some-time of Coventry, since near Peterborough, who first Entertain'd me at Coventry in the beginning of the Wars, when I was forced to fly from Honore; a Man of a solid Judgment, an honest Heart and Life, and addicted to no Extremes, and an able Scholar (long ago chief School-Master at Bridgnorth.)

Divers others of my own Acquaintance I could describe, in Wales, in Derbyshire, Cheshire, York-shire, and other Counties; but I will end with a few of my old Neighbours that I had forgotten.

10. Old Mr. Samuel Hildersham, about 80 Years old, only Son to the Famous Arthur Hildersham; a Conformist formerly, but resolved enough against the New Conformity: A grave, peaceable, pious, learned Divine, cast out of Welfe-Felton in Shropshire.

11. Mr. Tho. Gilbert, of Edgmond in Shropshire, an Ancient Divine, of extraordinary Acuteness, and Conscicinc's of Stile, and a most piercing Head, as his small Latin Tract, of the necessity of Christ's Satisfaction, sheweth.

12. Mr. Samuel Fisher, an Ancient Reverend Divine, some-time of Wiltshire, then of Shrewsbury, turned out with Mr. Blake, for not taking the Engagement against King and House of Lords; then lived in Cheshire, and thence cast out and Silenced; a very able Preacher, and of a godly Life.

13. My old Friend, Mr. Will. Cook, bred up under Mr. John Ball, a Learned Man, and of a most godly Life, and unwearied Labour. Like the first Preachers, he can go in poor Clothing, live on a little, travel on Foot, Preach and Pray almost all the Week, if he have opportunity, in Season, and out of Season, trampling on this World as dirt, and living a mortified laborious Life. Being an old Nonconformist and Presbyterian, he was greatly offended at the Anabaptists, Separatists, and Sectaries, and Cromwel's Army, for Dilloloyalty to the King, whom they Beheaded, and this King whom they kept out; and therefore joyned with Sir George Booth, now Lord Delamere, in his Ranging to have brought in the King: And being then Minister in Chester, percutted the Citizens to deliver up the City to Him: For which he was brought to London, and long Imprisoned; But all this would not procure his Liberty to Preach the Gospel of Christ, without the Oaths, Subscriptions, Declarations, Re-ordination, and Conformity required.

14. To these I may subjoin my old Friend Mr. Pigot, chief School-master of Shrewsbury.

15. And my old Friend Mr. Swaine, some-time School-master at Bridgnorth, and since a godly fervent Preacher in Radnor-shire: But I must stop.

§ 209. Let the Reader note, That there is not one of all these that was put out for any Scandal, but merrily not Subscribing, &c. and Conforming; nor one of them all that ever I heard any Person charge, or once suspect of Wantonness, Indecency, Surfetings, Drunkennes, or any scandalous Sin. And of those of the Prelatifs that were Sequestred by the Parliament, I knew not one, that I remember, that was not accused upon Oath of Witnesses of Scandal, though doublets others knew fome fitch. Not including the tiding in the Wars, which each side called scandalous in the other; and which yet but a small part of these named by me, meddled in, that ever I could learn.

§ 210. Therefore I conclude, That we that know not the Mysteries of God's Judgments, can not what a Mercy it was that God took to Himself, before they were Silenced, such Excellent Men as Dr. Twifte, Dr. Gouge, Mr. John Ball, Mr. Gataker, Mr. Jer. Wbataker, Dr. Arrow Smith, Dr. Hill, Mr. Strong, Mr. Herbert Palmer, and most of the Assembly, with many more fitch. Nor yet that God took away fuch Men as Bishop Dowen, Bishop Hall, Arch-Bishop Uffor, Bishop Morton, yet, and Dr. Hammond, before they were under a Temptation to have a Hand in the casting out of fo many excellent worthy Men (which yet I am confident by my own
own personal Knowledge of him, that other, had he lived, would never have done.)

§ 211. This Year the King began the War upon the Dutch, in March 1674. About the 16 or 17 Day was a hot Sea-fight, while our Ships Attacked their Smaller Fleet of Merchants, and many on both sides were killed, which was most that was done. And about the 18th Day the King Published a Proclamation for War by Sea and Land: The French, the Elector of Cologne, and the Bishop of Minster; being with dreadful Preparations to invade them by Land.

§ 212. Now came forth a Declaration giving some fuller Exposition (to those that doubted of it) of the Transactions of these Twelve Years last, viz. His Majesty, by Virtue of His Supreme Power in Matters Ecclesiastical, suspendeth all Penal Laws thereabout, and Declareth, That he will grant a convenient number of Publick Meeting-Places to Men of all faiths that Conform not; so be it,

1. The Persons be by Him approved.
2. That they never meet in any Place not approved by Him.
3. And there let open the Doors to all Comers.
4. And French not Sedulously.
5. Nor against the Discipline or Government of the Church of England, having that the Papists shall have no other publick Places, but their Houses (any where, under their own Government,) without Limitation or Restriction, to any number of Places or Persons, or any necessity of getting Approbation; so that they are immediately in possession of a free and fuller Liberty, than the Protestant-Nonconformists hope for; for how, or when they will get Churches built, we know not, till that be done they are more terribly restrained from Meeting than before: And who will build Churches that have no Security to enjoy them one Week, time will shew: And all this is said to be for avoiding the danger of Conventicles in private, or when yet the Papists are allowed such Conventicles in as many Houses as they please.

§ 213. A Paper sent from one Mr. Edwards, a Lawyer of Kingston, received from a Papist, (Mr. Langhorn) as a Challenge, was sent to me as by him, with desires of an Answer; which occasioned my Book, called, The Certainty of the Protestant Religion without Popery.

§ 214. When the King’s Declaration for Liberty was out, the London Nonconformable Ministers were incited to return His Majesty their Thanks. At their Meeting Dr. Scammel, and Mr. Jenkins (who had been till then most distant from the Court) were for a Thanksgiving in such high applauding Terms, as Dr. Monton, and almost all the rest differenced from; and some were for avoiding Terms of Approbation, left the Parliament should fall upon them; and some because they had rather have had any tolerable State of Unity with the publick Ministrty, than a Toleration; supposing,

1. That the Toleration was not chiefly for their sakes, but for the Papists, and that they should hold it no longer than that interest required it, which is inconsistent with the Interest of the Protestant’s Religion and the Church of England: And that they had no security of it, but it might be taken from them at any time in a Day.
2. Because they thought that it tended to continue our Divisions, and to weaken the Protestant Ministrty and Church, and that while the Body of the Protestant People were in all places divided, one part was still ready to be used against the other, and many Sins and Calamities kept up. And the present Generation of Nonconformists like to be soon worn out, and the Publick Assemblies to be lamentably disadvanced by young, raw, unqualified Minis ters, that were likely to be introduced. They concluded therefore on a cautious and moderate Thanksgiving for the King’s Clemency and their own Liberty: And when they could not come to Agreement about their Form, the Lord Arlington Introduced them to a verbal Extemporane Thanksgiving, and so their Difference was ended as to that.
§ 215. This Question, Whether Toleration of us in our different Assemblies, or such an Abatement of Impostums as would restore some Ministers to the Publick Assemblies by a Law, were more desirable? was a great Controversey then among the Nonconformists; and greater it had been, but that the hopes of Abatements, called then a Comprehenfion) were so low as made them the less concerned in the Agitation of it: But when ever there was a new Session of Parliament, which put them in some little hope of Abatements, the Controversey began to revive, according to the measure of those Hopes: The Independents, and all the Sectaries, and some few Presbyterians, especially in London, who had large Congregations, and Liberty and Encouragement, were rather for a Toleration. The rest of the Presbyterians, and the Episcopal Nonconformists, were for Abatement and Comprehenfion. The Reasons of the former were,

1. The Parliament will abate so little, as will take in but few.
2. It will tempt the rest to stretch their Confinces.
3. It will divide us.
4. It will leave those that Conform not under greater Contempt and Severities.
5. We shall have much purer Worship and Discipline as weare.
6. What Corruptions are not now removed by this Abatement will be the faster settled, and the Reform'ation left more hopelefs: The groffer are our Church-Corruptions, the more hope of a Reform'ation.

Some that were of the other Mind on the contrary thus stated their Desires: We would not have Abatements alone, but besides that a Toleration of all that are Tolera-dle: And when they ask us, What Abatements will satisfy us, and procure our Union with them? We will truly tell them in several Degrees, [So much will satisfy all, and procure a perfect Union: So much less will take in half, or half; and so much consequently will take in a few: And we must take that measure which you will grant us, in whose power it is. And their Reasons were such as aforesaid for this Choice:

1. They said that it is the Religion which obtaineth the Publick Churches, and Maintenance which will be the Religion of the Land, and which the Body of the People will be of.
2. If we are shut out wholly thence, so bad a fort will come in, as will be ready to strike up an Agreement with the Papifts, and let them in on pretence of Concord or Mederation, when worldly Interest shall require it.
3. If we are shut out of the Publick Churches, we shall still be look'd on as their Enemies with Jealousie and ill will, and as Separatists with Reproach.
4. Few of the Rich and Rulers will join with us, and so we shall prepare Parliaments and Judices by Alienation to further Severities against us.
5. The work of Conversion will go lowly on; for we shall speak to few but those that are already Religious, and the Conformists, who are very many of them cold and lifeles, must be the Preachers to the Ignorant, and Vicious, and Ungodly: And so the Land will grow worse and worse.
6. We shall keep open a Door for all Sects and Schifs, and the Reproach of them all will be cast on us.
7. We shall be still uncertain of the continuance of our Liberty for one Week; It is ceyes to find Reasons to cast us out of all, when ever Interest or Wrath shall require it.
8. We are a hated People to too many of our Superiours; and it is not for our Sakes that Liberty is granted us; we shall hold it no longer than the Papifts will, for whose fakes we have it, that they also may have theirs: And that they will grant it us no longer than the Interest and Increase of their Religion requireth it.
And that which is for the Interedt and Increase of their Religion, is contrary to ours.

9. There are already about 500 that are dead, and have Conformed, since our Silencing: and the rest will all be quickly dead: And then all will fall quietly into the Conformities hands, and the Churches be more corrupt than if now we get but a half Reformation.

10. And it shall be no Division of us, to have half taken into the Publick Churches: for we must love each other, and promote the Work of Christ in each others hands, as the old Godly Conformists and Nonconformists did, and we now do with the Godly Part of the Conformists: Our Work is not to keep up a Combination against our Superiors, nor to Strengthen a Faction, but to Combine for Godlinesse, and to strengthen our selves in the proper work of the Gospel: which we must do, though some Conform, and some do not.

11. And our Superiors will be the left Jealous of us as to Seditition, when they see us so divided in Point of Conformity, than if they see us strengthened by the Unity of a distinct Party.

12. And especially, the Unity of such as Conform, with the preuent Conformists will strengthen the Publick Ministry against Papists, Infidels, and all Ungodlinesse: And our continued Division will be the strength of all the.

13. And it is a weighty Consideration, that the keeping up of the different Parties tempeth all the People of the Land, to continual Censuring, Uncharitablenesse, and contending, and unavoidably doeth Love and Concord; and so keepeth Men in constant Sin.

On all these Reasons they were most for as much Union with the Parish-Ministers, and joyning with them, as the Parliament would allow them.

§ 216. But now they found that there was little hopes of obtaining any such thing: For they that were most for Toleration were most against our Comprehension by Abatement of any of the Impostitions; and they were many.

1. All the Papists, and their secret Friends, were most opposite to Abatements: For it was their Delign from the beginning to get our Presbyteries to be as sharp as possible, that so we might have as much need as they of a Toleration, and might be forced to Petition for the opening of the Door, by which they might come in, or spead at least no worse than the Nonconformists.

2. Those that were for the Increase of the Regal Power and Interest, did very well know, that the more grievously good People (and so great a number) were used by Parliaments and Laws, the more certainly Nature and Interest would lead them, to fly from them to the King, for ease and refuge: And also, that when Men's Religion and Liberties are in the Power, and at the Mercy of the King, their Estates must be so too: For who will not rather part with his Money than his Liberty and Religion? Yea, and Men's Hearts will be more with him that faveth them, than with those that delinate them to Jays and Beggary.

3. And the Independents, Separatists, and all the Sectaries, were commonly against a Comprehension, for the Reasons before given. Only the visible Necessities of the Nation do so strongly work towards it, that doubtles in time, they will prevail with the Wills of those that are for the Protestant Religion, and for Property; but whether Consent and Repentings will come too late, God only knoweth, and time must tell us.

§ 217. In the end of May, 1672. was another Sea-Fight with the Dutch, with like Success as the former. The Earl of Sandwich, and others of ours lost, and they parted without any notable Victory or Advantage of either Party, but that they had kill'd one another.

§ 218.
§ 218. In May and June the French suddenly took abundance of the Dutch-Garrisons.

§ 219. In July and August the Dutch-Rabble tumultuously rose up against their Governors, for the Prince of Orange, and murdered De Wit, and his Brother.

§ 220. In Answer to a Book of Dr. Fulwood's, I now Publish a small Book, without my Name, against the Defertion of our Ministry, though prohibited, proving it Sacrilege to Alienate Consecrated Persons from the Sacred Office to which they are Devoted.

§ 221. There came out a Posthumous Book of A. Bishop Bromhall's, against my Book, called, The Grotian Religion: In which, 1. He palteh over the express words of Grotius, which I had cited, which undoubtedly prove what I said; yea, though I had since largely Englished them, and recited them in the Second Part of my Key for Catholics, with a full Confirmation of my Proofs. 2. And he feigneth me to make him a Grotian, and Confedrate in his Design; when as I (not only had no such Word, but) had expressly excepted him by Name, as imparting no such thing to him. And before the Book was a long Preface of Mr. Parker's, most vehement against Dr. Owen, and some-what against my self: To which Mr. Andrew Marvel, a Parliament Man, Burgers for Hall, did Publish an Answer so exceeding Jocular, as thereby procured abundance of Readers, and Pardon to the Author, Because I perceived that the Design of A. Bishop Bromhall's Book was for the Uniting of Christendom under the old Patriarchs of the Roman Imperial Church, and to move the Pope, as the Welfen Patriarch, and Principium Unitatis, I had thought the design and this Publication look'd dangerously, and therefore began to write an Answer to it. But Mr. Simmons, my Bookseller, came to me, and told me, That Roger LeStrange, the Vice-Strer of the Printers, sent for him, and told him, That he heard I was Answering Bishop Bromhall, and Swore to him most vehemently, that if I did it, he would ruin him and me, and perhaps my Life should be brought in question: And I conceived the Bookseller durst not Print it; and to I was fain to cast it by; which I the earlier did, because the main Scope of all the Book was fully answere'd long before, in the fore-aid Second Part of my Key for Catholics.

§ 222. Many Changes in Ireland much talked of, I pass over.

§ 223. Dr. Fulwood wrote a jocular deriding Answer to my Treatise, against Sacerdigious Defertion of the Ministry, and after that Printed an Affize Sermon, against. Separating from the Parish-Ministers. Divers called on me to Reply to the first, and I told them I had better Work to do, than Answer every Script against me: But while I demurred, Dr. Fulwood wrote me an extraordinary kind Letter, offering to do his best to the Parliament for our Union and Restoration, which ended my Thoughts of that; but I know not of any thing to purpose done.

§ 224. Mr. Giles Ffirim, a Silenced Minister, writing some-what against my Method and Motions for Heavenly Meditation in my Saint's Ref, as too friet, and I having Answered him, he wrote a weak Reply, which I thought not worthy of a Rejoinder.

§ 225. On obedience. I fell into a dangerous Fit of Sickness, which God in his wonted Mercy, did in time to far remove, as to return me to some Capacity of Service.

§ 226. I had till now forbear, for several Reasons, to seek a Licence for Preaching from the King, upon the Toleracion: But when all others had taken theirs, and were settled in London, and other places, as they could get opportunity, I delayed no longer, but went to seek one, on condition I might have it without the Title of Independent, Presbyterian, or any other Party, but only as a Novoconfirmt: And before I went, Sir Thomas Player, Chamberlain of London, had procured it me to, without my knowledge or endeavour. I sought none so long.

1. Because I was unwilling to be, or seem any Cause of that way of Liberty, if a better might have been had, and therefore would not meddle in it.

2. I Lived ten Miles from London, and thought not just to come and set up a Congregation there, till the Ministers had fully settled theirs, who had born the burden there in the times of the raging Plague and Fire, and other Calamities; lest I should draw away any of their Auditors, and hinder their Maintenance.
3. I perceived that no one (that ever I heard of till mine) could get a Licence, unless he would be intituled in it, a Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptist, or of some Sect.

The 19th. of November, (my Baptism-Day) was the first Day after ten Years Silence, that I preached in a tolerated Publick Assembly (though not yet tolerated in any Confecrated Church) but only (against Law) in my own House.

§ 227. Some Merchants set up a Tuesday's Lecture in London, to be kept by fix Minifters at Dinner-Hall, allowing them 20 s. a piece each Sermon, of whom they chose me to be one. But when I had preached there but four Sermons, I found the Independents so quarrelsome with what I said, that all the City did ring of their back bitings and false Accufations: So that had I but preached for Unity and against Division, or unnecessary with-drawing from each other, or against unwarrantable narrowing of Christ's Church, it was cried abroad, that I preached against the Independents; especially, if I did but fay, That Man's Will had a Natural Liberty, though a Moral Thraldom to Vice, and that Men might have Chrift and Life, if they were truly willing, though Grace must make them willing; and that Men have power to do better than they do, It was cried abroad among all the Party, that I preached up Arminianifm, and Free-Will, and Man's Power, and O! what an odious Crime was this.

§ 228. January 24. 1671. I began a Friday-Lecture at Mr. Turner's Church in New-Court, near Pitter-Lane, with great Convenience, and God's encouraging Blessing; but I never took a penny of Money for it of any one. And on the Lord's Days I had no Congregation to preach to (but occasionally to any that desire me) being unwilling to let up a Church and become the Paffor of any, or take Maintenance, in this diftracted and unfettled way, unless further Changes shali manifest it to be my Duty: Nor did I ever yet give the Sacrament to any one Person, but to my old Flock at Kidderminster. I fee it offendeth the Conformifts, and hath many other Prejent Inconveniences, while we have any hope of Restorafion and Concord from the Parliament.

§ 229. About this time Cornet-Castle, in Jersey, was by Lightning strangely torn to pieces, and blown up which was attended with many notable Accidents, an account whereof was published.

230. The Parliament met again in February, and voted down the King's Declaration as illegal. And the King promised them that it should not be brought into Preident. And thereupon they consulted of a Bill for the eafe of Non-conformifts, or Diffenters, and many of them highly profefled their resolution to carry it on: But when they had granted the Tax, they turned it off, and left it undone; defroying our shelter of the King's Declaration, and so leaing us to the Storm of all their severe Laws, which some Country Justices rigorously executed, but the moft forbore.

§ 231. On February 20. I took my Houfe in Bloomsbury in in London, and removed thither after Easter with my Family: God having mercifully given me three years great Peace among quiet Neighbours at Totteridge, and much more Health or Eafe than I expected, and some opportunity to serve him.

§ 132. The Parliament sat again, and talked as if they would have united us by abatement of some of their Impofitions: But when they had voted down the King's Declaration of Toleration as illegal, and he had promifed them that it should never be drawn into a Precedent, and that they had granted a large Tax, they frustrated the hopes they had raised in some Credulous Men, and left all as they found it.

§ 133. Many impudent railing, lying Books were published againft the Non-conformifts about this time: Sam. Parker Printed one againft Mr. Marsell, and therein tells the World, what wicked, intolerable Persons we are to keep up Divisions in the Church about things which we our Selves confess to be lawful; and that at Worcester-Houfe (before the King, as he was told) we profefled that there was nothing in the Liturgy, which we took to be unlawful, but that we pleaded only for tendernefs or forbearance towards others.] Whereas, 1. There was no mention of any fuch thing as Worcester-Houfe, or before the King. 2. Our Business before the King at Worcester-Houfe was to have the King's Declaration.
claration about Ecclesiastical Affairs, read, and both Parties to say what they had against it, and then the King to tell what he would have pass'd in the draught. And the Lord Chancellor (Hinde) had by mistake put something of that, which Parker mention'd in the first Draught, which was privately shew'd us by him, and we had told him that he misbook'd, we had never said any such thing: We had indeed said, that the Work, which we were call'd to, was not to tell how much we ourselves thought to be Lawful or Unlawful in the Government, Worship, and Ceremonies, but what was the necessary means of uniting all his Majesty's Protestant Subjects, who yet were not of the same Apprehension about each Ceremony among themselves: Whereupon the Lord Chancellor had blotted out that passage which said, [They were glad to find us approving of the Liturgy, &c.] and only put in [of a Liturgy; as is yet to be seen in the Declaration Published, and in the first Draught of it, (which I have a Copy of.) And it was after at the Savoy, where the Liturgy was treat'd of: where, 1. We gave in those Exceptions against many things in the Liturgy, which were Printed: And among others, against divers Untruths, [as when divers Weeks after Christ's Nativity-day, Easter, Whitsunday, it was to be said in the Collects, that [On that Day Christ was born, rose, the Holy-Ghost came down, &c.] 2. We disputed many days against an Impollution of the Liturgy, as Sinful: 3. Being demanded by Bishop Coufins (in the Chair) by a Writing, as from some great one, (as he spake) that we should give in an Enumeration of what we took to be flat Sins in the Liturgy, as difficult from mere Inconveniences, I brought in ten Particulars the next Morning, of which my Brethren put out two, merely for fear of angering them, and the other eight we prefered to them, and never had a word of Anfwier, but an angry rebuke for offering to charge a whole Church with Sin, (as they spake) yet doth this Man tell the World that we profell'd our selves to take it to be all Lawful.

And what if we had done so? Is the Liturgy all that Nonconformists stick at? Is the Canonical Subcription and Oath of Obedience, and Re-ordination, &c. no more?

And doth not the Nation know that it was only the old Conformity which was then question'd, and that the new was not in being? And that the Act of Uniformity was since made, wherein, besides Re-ordination, is the new Declaration, and new Subcription, and since that the new Oxford Oath? Such Impediment it was that allaid it, and rendered us odious to the ignorant, contrary to publick acceptancy of Faith, yet visible in Print to all the World.

§ 234. Another at that time wrote that I had written, that the Supreme Power might be refus'd for Religion: And another, (a Papist, writing for Toleration) that I wrote that the Authority of any of the Peers might warrant Subjects to take up Arms against the King: Things that I never wrote or thought, or any thing like them, but have written very much to the contrary: But it is our Lot to fall into the Hands of such Men, as have banish'd all Modesty in their Calumnies.

§ 235. About the beginning of May in my Walk in the Fields, I met with Dr. Gunning, now Bishop of Chichefter, (with whom I had the contention and fierce Opposition to all the motions of Peace at the Savoy,) and at his Invitation went after to his Lodgings, to pursue our begun Disconfort: which he vehemently profess'd that he was sure, that it was not Conscience that kept us from Conformity, but merely to keep up our Reputation with the People, and we desire alterations for no other ends, and that we left nothing by our Non-conformity, but were fed as full, and lived as much to the Pleasure of the Flesh in Plenty, as the Conformists did: And let me know what odious thoughts he had of his poor Brethren, upon Grounds so notoriously false, that I had thought few Men that lived in England could have been so ignorant of such matters of Fact. But alas what is there so false and odious which exasperated factions, malicious Minds will not believe and say of others? And what Evidence so notorious which they will not out-face? I told him that he was a stranger to the Men he talked of; that those of my Acquaintance, (whom he confes'd to be far more than of his) were generally the most Conscientious Men that I could
I could find on Earth: That he might easily know Reputation could not be the thing which made them suffer so much Affliction; because 1, many of them were young men, not pre-engaged in point of Reputation to any side. 2. He knew that we lost, by our Nonconformity, that Worldly Honour, which we were as capable of as he and others: We did not so vilifie the King, Parliament, Lords, Bishops, Knights, and Gentry, who were most against us, as to think it a piece of Worldly Honour to be vilified by them, and called Rogues, and sent to the common Goals among Rogues, and branded to the World, as we are in the Oxford Act of Confinement, and banished five Miles from Cities and Corporations: Our Consequences would not allow us to say, that he, and such as he, who were Clergy-Lords, and Parliament-Barons did conform out of Pride of Love of Reputation; and which was the liker to a reasonable Conjecture: That he should be moved by Pride who chufeth the way of worldly Wealth and Domination, and Honour, giving Laws to his Brethren, and vilifying them, and trampling on them at his Pleasure, as on a company of contemned, scorned Wretches; or they that chufeth the way of this Contempl and Scorn with Poverty and Corporal Distrefl: What honour is it that such Men seek? You account their Followers the refuse of the World as you do them. And if they themselves think better of them, yet they will know that they are most of the meaner sort, and that poor Men have little to spare for others: and we are not so foolishly dif-ingenious as not to be sensible that to be beholden to poor Men that want themselves, for our daily Bread, is not the work of Pride, but putreth our Humanity to it the utmost. It's foolish Pride, which chufeth the hatred and scorn of the Great Men of the World, instead of Dignities and Honour, and chufeth to suffer Scorn and Imprisonment among poor Men, to whom we must be beholden for a beggarly Sufferance. And as for the Plenty and fulness which they upbraid us with, it tefteth us that there is nothing so immodest and unreasonable as some Men Malice will not say. Do they not know into, what Poverty London is brought by the late Fire, and want of Trade? And what Complaints do fill all the Land? And how clofe-handed almost all Men are that are themselves in want? And Ministers are not fo impudent as to turn Beggars without Shame? I had but a few days before had Letters of a worthy Minister, who, with his Wife and fix Children, had many Years had feldom other food than brown, Rye Bread and Water, and was then turned out of his Houfe, and had none to go to: And of another that was fain to spin for his Living: And abundance I know that have Families, and nothing, or next to nothing of their own, and live in exceeding want upon the poor Drops of Charity which they Struggle to receive from a few mean People. And if there be here and there a rich Man that is Charitable, he hath fo many to relieve, that each one can have but a small Share. Indeed, about a dozen or twenty Ministers about London, who ftruck to the People in the devouring Plague, or in other times of Distrefs, and feared no Sufferings, have fo many People adhering to them, as keep them from Beggery, or great want; and you judge of all the reft by thofe, when almost all the reft through England, who have not fomething of their own to live upon, do fuffer fo much as their Scorner will fake believe. It is no cafe thing to have the Landlord call for Rent, and the Baker, the Brewer, the Butcher, the Taylor, the Draper, the Shoemaker, and many others call for Money, and Wife and Children call for Meat and Drink, and Cloaths, and a Minister to have no Answer for them, but I have none. And the Bishop had the lefs mehly in standing confidently to my Face of his certainty of our laying nothing by our Non-conformity, when he himfelf knew that I was offered a Bishoprick in 1668, and he got not his Bishoprick, (for all his extraordinary way of Merit) till about 1671, or 1672: and I had not a Great of the Ecclefiafellical Maintenance since the King came in; nor, to my belief, ever received more than the four Pound even now mentioned, as a Salary for Preaching thefe Eleven Years; nor any way for Preaching the Sum of eight Pound in all thofe Years: Yes, on this occafion, I will not think it vain to fay, that all that I remember that ever I received as gifts of Bounty from any whofeover since I was silenced (till after An. 1672.) amount not in the whole to 20l, besides ten Pound per Annum which I received from Serjeant Fountain till he died, and when I was in Prison, twenty pieces from Sir John Bernard, ten from the Countefs of Exeter, and five from Alderman Bard, and no more, which
§ 236. This May, a Book was Printed and cried about, describing the horrid Murther of one Joseph Baxter in New-England by the Antabaptists, and how they tore his Flesh, and feed him alive, and persons, and time, and place were named: And when Mr. Kiffen, sensible of the Injury to the Antabaptists, searched it out, it proved all a studied Forgery; Printed by a Papist, and the Book Licensed by Dr. Sam. Parker, the Arch-bishop’s Chaplain, there were no such Persons in being as the Book mentioned, nor any such thing ever done: Mr. Kiffen accused Dr. Parker to the King and Council: The King made him confess his Fault, and so it ended.

§ 237. In June was the second great Fight with the Dutch, where again many were killed on both Sides: and to this day it is not known which Party had the greater Loss.

§ 238. The Parliament grew into great Jealousies of the prevalency of Popery: There was an Army raised, which lay upon Black-Hedd encamped, as for Service against the Dutch: They said that so many of the Commanders were Papists as made Men fear the design was worse. Men feared not to talk openly that the Papists having no hope of getting the Parliament to set up their Religion by Law, did design to take down Parliaments, and reduce the Government to the French Model, and Religion to their State, by a standing Army: These Thoughts put Men into dismal Expectations, and many with that the Army, at any rate might be disbanded. The Duke of York was General: The Parliament made an Act that no man should be in any office of Trust, who would not take the Oaths of Supremacy, and Allegiance, and receive the Sacrament according to Order of the Church of England, and renounce Transubstantiation. Many suppos’d Papists received the Sacrament, and renounced Transubstantiation, and took the Oaths: Some that were known, fold, or laid down their Places: The Duke of York, and the new Lord Treasurer, Clifford, laid down all: It was said, they did it on supposition that the Act left the King impowered to renew their Commissions when they had laid them down: But the Lord Chancellor told the King that it was not so; and so they were put out by themselves. This settled Men in the full belief that the Duke of York, and the Lord Clifford were Papists; and the Lords were had before a special hatred against the Duke, since the burning of London, commonly laying, that divers were taken casting Fire-balls, and brought to his Guards of Soldiers to be secured, and he let them go, and both secured and concealed them.

239. The great Counsellors that were said to do all with the King in all great matters, were the Duke of York, the Lord Clifford, the Duke of Lauderdale, the Lord Arlington, the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Chancellor (that is, Sr. Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Earl of Shaftsbury,) and after them the Earl of Anglesey (lately Mr. Annesley.) Among all these, the Lord Chancellor declared so much Jealousie of Popery, and set himself so openly to secure the Protestant Religion, that it was wondered how he kept in as he did; but whatever were his Principles or Motives, it is certain he did very much plead the Protestant Cause.

§ 240. In June, Monsieur was taken by the French, but with much Loss; where the Duke of Monmouth, with the English, had great Honour for their Valour.

§ 241. In August, four of the Dutch East-Indies Ships fell into our Hands, and we had the third great Sea-fight with them, under the Command of Prince Rupert, where we again killed each other with equal Loss: But the Dutch said they had the Victory now, and before, and kept days of Thanksgiving for it: Sir Edward Sprag was killed, whose death the Papists much lamented, hoping to have got the Sea-power into his Hands. But Prince Rupert, (who declared himself openly against Popery, and had got great Interest in the Heart of
of the Soldiers) complained sharply of the French Admiral, as deferring him (to say no worse?) And the success of these fights was such as hindered the Transportation of the Army against the Dutch, and greatly divided the Court-Party, and discouraged the Grandees, and Commanding Papilts, &c.

§ 242. In September, I being out of Town, my House was broken by Thieves, who broke open my Study-Doors, Closets, Locks, search near 40 Tills and Boxes, and found them all full of nothing but Papers, and midst that little Money I had, though very near them: They took only three small pieces of Place, and medled not (considerably) with any of my Papers, which I would not have left for so many hundred Pounds: Which made me sensible of Divine Protection, and what a Convenience it is to have such a kind of Treasure, as other men have no mind to rob us of, or cannot.

§ 343. The Duke of York was now married to the Duke of Medena's Daughter by Proxy, the Earl of Peterborough being sent over to that end.

§ 244. The Lady Clinton having a Kinwoman (wife to Edward Wray, Esq.) who was a Protestant, and her Husband a Papist (thoroughly studied in all their Controversies, and oft provoking his Wife to bring any one to dispute with him) desired me to perform that office of Conference: They differed about the Education of their Children; he had promised her, (as she said) at Marriage, that she should have the Education of them all, and now would not let her have the Education of one, but would make them Papists: I desired that either our Conference might be publick, to avoid mis-reports, or else utterly secret before no one but his Wife, that so we might not seem to strive for the Honour of Victory, nor by dishonour be exasperated, and made least capable of benefit. The latter way was chosen; but the Lady Clinton, and Mr. Goodwin, the Lady Worsley's Chaplain, prevailed to be present by his consent. He, begun upon the point of Transubstantiation, and in Veror's Method would have put me to prove the Words of the Article of the Church of England, by express Words of Scripture, without Exposition. I distinguished the two parts of the Controversie, 1. Whether there be Bread after Consecration? 2. Whether there be Christ's Body: And the first I proved by express Scripture, and I thought gave him enough: And after two or three hours he brake off fairly, but yielding nothing. He after affirmed that a Woman was but a Nurse, and no Governor to her Children, and that if he commanded them to deny Christ, they were bound to obey him; else Families would be confounded.

§ 245. I had fourteen Years been both a necessary, and voluntary stronger at the Court; but at this time by another's invitation called to attend the Duke of Lauderdale, who still professed special kindness to me, and some pious Scotsmen, (being under suffering, one absconding, another sequestred and undone) and craving my interposition for them, I went to him, and desired his Pardon and Clemency for them, which he readily granted: And being to reprint my Key for Catholics, where his Name was in too low a manner in the Epistle (he being then a Prisoner in Windsor-Castle) I told him that to omit it might seem a Neglect, and so to mention him, would be an injurious dishonour, and therefore if he pleased, I would put to it an Epistle Dedicatorly, which he consented to, and approved of the Epistle before it was Printed: But being fain to leave out the second part of the Book, and much of the first, that the rest might be licensed, I printed instead of that left out, a new Treatise on the Subject, on which I difputed with Mr. Wray, called, Full and easy Satisfaction, which is the true Religion: Wherein Papery is brought to fence of the meanest Wit. But some were offended that I prefixed the Duke's Name, as if it tended to honour him at that time when he was decried as a chief Counsellor for absolute Monarchy, for the War with the Dutch, and a standing Army; and he was threatened as soon as the Parliament sat; but went into Scotland as Commissioner, and called a Parliament there; for my part I never lookt for a Farthing Profit, by any great Man, nor to my remembrance ever received the worth of a farthing from any of them: But I would not in Pride deny any Man his due honour, nor be so uncharitable as to refuse to make use of any Man's favour, for Sufferers in their diffrets. The matters of their State Counsels are above my reach.

O o o o 2

§ 246
§ 246. In October the Lord Clifford (called the chief of the secret Council) having the Summer before been at Tunbridge Water, fell into several Diftempers, and shortly after died: so near is the fall of the greatest to his Rising, which was a great blow to his Party.

§ 247. Mr. Fulkener, Minister of Lin, a sober, learned Man, wrote a book for Conformity, which Party greatly boasted of as unanswerable: Indeed he speaketh plauditly to many of the Nonconformists smallest Exceptions, against some particular words in the Liturgy, and some Ceremonies; but as to the great Matters, the Declaration, and the Oxford Oath, and Subscription, and Ordination, and the Image of the Crofs, as a Symbol of Christianity, and dedicating Sign in Baptism, the Ministers denying Baptism to those that scruple the Crofs, or to the Children of those that dare not forbear Covenanting for their own Children in Baptism, and lay it all on Godfathers, the rejecting those from the Lord's Supper, that dare not take it kneeling, the Thanksgiving at Burials for the happiness of notorious, impudent, wicked Men, and other such like, his Defence is so poor and flight, as is fit to satisfy no Judicious Man, that is not prepared for Error by Interest and Will. But, pro captis Lectoris, &c.

§ 248. On the 20th of October the Parliament met again, and suddenly voted that the King should be sent to about the Duke of York's Marriage with an Italian Papist (a-lin to the Pope) and to desire that it might be ftopt (she being not yet come over.) And as soon as they had done that, the King, by the Chancellour, prorogued them till Monday following, because it is not usual for a Parliament to grant Money twice in one Session.

§ 249. On Monday, when they met, the King desired Speedy Aid of Money against the Dutch, and the Lord Chancellour set forth the Reasons, and the Dutch unreasonableness. But the Parliament fell back to their former recantment of the Duke of York's Marriage, and renewed their Messege to the King against it, who answered them, that it was debated at the open Council, and relolved that it was too late to stop it.

§ 250. Some one laid in the Parliament-House (they say near the Speaker's Chair) a wooden Shoe, such as the Peasants wear in France, with some Beads, and on one end drawn the Arms of France, and on the other the Arms of England, and written between, Utrem horum mavis accent. And Henry Stubs (now Physician, once under Library-Keepen in Oxford, who was accounted an Infidel, and wrote against Monarchy for Sir Henry Vane, and against me, persuading the Army, and Rump to question me for my Life, and after was drawn by the Court to write against the Dutch) now Printed a Haf-Sheet called, The Paris Gazette, containing many Infamies, where Marriage by Proxy had been broken; for which he was sent to the Tower.

§ 251. On Friday, Oct. 31. The Parliament went so high as to pass a Vote that no more Money should be given till the eighteen Months of the last Tax were expired, unless the Dutch proved obfinate, and unless we were secured against the danger of Popery, and Popish Counfellours, and their Grievances were redrefted.

§ 252. The Parliament Voted to ask of his Majesty a day of Humiliation, because of the Growth of Popery, and intended solemnly to keep the Powder-Flour, and appointed Dr. Stillingsfeet to Preach to them (who is most engaged by writing against Popery:) but on the day before, being Nov. 4. the King (to their great difcontent) prorogued the Parliament to Jan. 7.

§ 253. The feventh of January the Parliament met again, and voted that their first work should be to prevent Popery, redrefs Grievances, and be secured against the Instrumets, or Counfellours of them. And they shortly after voted the Dukes of Buckingham, and Lauderdale unfit for truft about the King, and desired their Removal: But when they came to the Lord Arlington, and would have accordingly characterized him without an Impeachment, it was carried against that Attempt: And because the Members who favoured the Nonconformists (for considerable Reasons) were against the reft, and helped off the Lord Arlington, the reft were greatly exasperated against him, and reported that they did it because he had furthered the Nonconformists Licenfes for tolerated Preaching.

§ 254.
To the Right Honourable the Earl of Orrery.

My Lord,

I have here drawn up those Terms on which I think Ministers may be restored to the Churches Service, and much union and quietness be procured: But I must tell you, 1. That upon second Thoughts I forbore to distribute them, as I intimated to you, into several Ranks; but only offer what may tend to a Concord of the molt, though not of every man. 2. That I have done this only on the
the suppositions that we were fain to go upon in our Consultation with Dr. Whitby, viz. That no change in the Frame of Church-Government will be consented to: Otherwife I should have done as we did in 1660, offered you Arch-bishop Ufton'sReduction of the Government to the primitive state of Episcopey; and have only desired that the Lay-Chancellours have not the Power of the Keys, and that, if not in every Parish, at least in every Rural Deanery, or Market-Town, with the adjacent Villages, the Ministers might have the Pastoral power of the Keys so far as is necessary to guide their own Administrations, and not one Bishop, or Lay-Chancellor's Court to have more to do than Multitudes can well do, and thereby cause almost all true Discipline to be omitted. 3. I have forborne to enumerate the Particulars; which we cannot subscribe, or swear to, or practice, because they are many, and I fear the naming of them, will be displeasing to others, as seeming to accuse them, while we do but say, what a Sin such Conformity would be in our selves: But if it should be useful, and desired, I am ready to do it. But I now only say, that the matters are far from being things doubtful, or indifferent, or little Sins in our Apprehensions; of which we are ready to render a Reason. But I think that this bare Proposal of the Remedies, is the best, and shortest, and least offensive way: In which I crave your Observation of these two Particulars. 1. That it is the matter granted, if it be even in our own Words, that will befit the Cure: for while they men word it, that know not our Samples or Reasons, they miss our Sense entirely, and make it ineffectual. 2. That the Reason why I crave that Ministers may have impunitiy, who use the greatest part of the Liturgy for the Day; is, 1. To shorten the Accommodation, that we may not be put to delay our Concord till the Liturgy be altered, to the Satisfaction of Differencers: which we have came to think, will not be done at all. Now this will silently and quietly heal us; and if a Man omit some one Collect or Sentence without debate or noise, it will not be noted, nor be a matter of offence. 2. And he is unworthy to be a Minister that is not to be trusted so much, as with the using or not using of a few Sentences, or words in all his Ministration. 3. And almost every Minister that I hear all the Year, of the most Conformable, do every day omit some part or other, and yet are not Silenced, nor taken notice of as offenders at all: And may not, as much for our Concord be granted to Differencers in the present case. He that thinks that these Concessions will be more injurious to the Church, and the Souls of Men, than our Uncharitableness and Divisions have been these Eleven Years, and are yet like to be, is not qualified to be at all an Healer.

In Conclusion, I must again intreat you that this Offer may be taken but as the Answer of your desire, for your private use, and that no Copy be given of it, nor the Author made known, unless we have encouragement from our Governours to consult about such a work: and if so, that more than I may be consulted, and nothing laid on me alone. I am confident, were but Dr. Stillingfleet, Dr. Tillotson, or any such moderate Men appointed to consult with two or three of us, on the safe and needful terms of Concord, we should agree in a Week's time, supposing them vacant for the Bucnifs.

I Ref,

Your humble Servant,

Richard Baxter.

Decem. 15. 1673.

The means of uniting the Protestant Ministers in England, and healing our lamentable Divisions; supposing Church-Government may not be altered.

1. About Engagements. Let no other Covenant, Promise, Oath, Declaration, or Subscription be necessary to Ministers for Ordination, Inlitution, Induction, Ministration, or Poffession of their maintenance, (nor to Scholars at the Universities, except the ancient University Oath) or to School-masters, besides the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the subscribing the Doctrine and Sacraments of the Church of England, as expressed in the thirty nine Articles,
Articles, accordingly to the 15th of Queen Elizabeth, and the common Subscription, approving the Doctrine of the Homilies, and this following Declaration against Rebellion, and Sedition.

I. A. B. do hold that it is not Lawful for His Majesty's Subjects upon any Pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King, his Person, or Authority, or against any Authorized by his Legal Commission: And that there be no Obligation on me, or any other of his Subjects, from the Oath commonly called, the solemn League and Covenant, to endeavour any Change of the present Government of these his Majesty's Kingdoms; nor to endeavour any Reformation of Church or State, by Rebellion, Sedition, or any other unlawful means.

II. Because the Churches are all supposed to have Incumbents, and the present Non-conformists being devoted to the sacred Ministry, do holn it high Sacrilege to alienate themselves therefrom (to pass by their outward wants;) till by Prentations to vacant Churches they are better provided, let them have Liberty to be School-masters, or Assistants to Incumbents, or to Preach Lectures in their Churches, so it be by their Consent, whether they be Lectures already endowed with some Maintenance, or such as the People are willing to maintain: And let not the Incumbents be disconcorded by the Bishops from receiving them: And let such places, as, being convenient, are already possessed by them for God's Publick Worship be continued to that use, as Chappels, till they can be thus received into Benefices or Lectures.

III. Because the Piety of Families much keep up very much of the Interest of Religion in the World, and Multitudes (especially in the Country) that cannot read, can do little or nothing of it in their own Families, and may be greatly helped by joining with their more understanding, pious Neighbours; let it be not forbidden to any who attend the publick Assemblies at any other hours, to join with their Neighbours (being of the same Parish) who read the Holy Scriptures, and Licensed pious Books, and repeat the publick Sermons, and Pray, and Praise God by singing Psalms, and refuse not the Inspection of their lawful Pastors herein: Nor let it be unlawful for any Established Minister to receive his People in such Work, or for the Catechising, and personal instructing of such as shall desire it.

IV. Concerning the Liturgy and Publick Communion. 1. Let no Man be permitted for omitting the use of the Liturgy, if in the Congregation where he is Incumbent, the greatest part of it appointed for that time be sometimes (as once a quarter, or half a Year, as the Canon requireth) used by himself, and every Lord's Day ordinarily (unless when Sickness or other Necessity hindreth) either by himself, or by his Curate or Assistant: And let none be forced to read the Apostrophe publicly for Lessons.

2. Let no preacher be forced to read the Liturgy himself, or to procure another to read it, seeing it is the Incumbent's Charge, and it is supposed it will be done. Or if this may not be granted, let the Lecturer be only obliged once half a Year, (which is the time limited in the Canon) to read the Greateft part of it appointed for that time.

3. Let not Christian Parents be forbidden to dedicate their Children publicly to God, by entering them into the Christian Covenant, professing, and undertaking on their behalf, that which belongeth to Parents in that Case. And let not the Parents be forced to get such Godfathers, and Godmothers, as are Atheists, Infidels, Hereticks, or grossly ignorant what Baptism and Christianity is, or as, for their wicked Lives are themselves justly kept from the Communion, nor such as they know have no intention to do what they are to undertake. And if any Christian Parent can get no better to undertake that Office (many now scrupling it, and none can be forced to it,) let not his Child be denied Baptism, if he be ready to do the Office of a Parent himself.

4. Seeing some Ministers think that the use of the transient Image of the Cross, as a Sacramental, or dedicating Sign, in the Baptismal Covenant, and a Symbol
Symbol of the Christian Profession, is a breach of the second Commandment; let not such be forced to use it; nor to refuse to baptize the Children of such Persons without it, who are of the same Mind.

3. Let no Minister be forced against his Judgment to baptize any Child, both whose Parents avoid, or are justly denied the Communion of the Church; unless some Person who communicateth with the Church do take the Child as his own, and undertake to educate it according to the Christian Covenant.

4. Let none be forced to receive the Sacrament, who through Infidelity, Hereze, or Prophaneness, is unwilling, till the hinderance be removed: Nor any who by Consciouzness, or fear of their unfitness, are like to be driven by receiving it, into dilutation or desperation.

7. Let no Minister be forced to deliver the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, to any who is unbaptized; or who being baptized in Infancy, did never yet personally to the Church, or Minister, own his Baptismal Covenant by an understanding Profession of the Christian Faith, and promise of Obedience to the Father, Son, and Holy-Ghost; and who also will not yet make such a profession and promise to the Church, or Minister, or else bring a valid Certificate that he hath formerly done it to the Bishop, or some approved Pastor, under whom he lived: Nor to any, who, upon accusation, fame, or just suspicion of Atheism, Infidelity, Hereze, intolerable Ignorance, or proe, and heinous Sin, doth refuse to come Speak with the Minister for his satisfaction, and his Justification, or better Information; or who by Proof, or Confession is found guilty of any of the afofoaid scandalous Evils, until he have professed serious Repentance to the said Minister, if the crime be notorious; and if he refuse, till he have moreover amended his former wicked life.

8. Let no Minister be forced to publish an Excommunication, or Absolution of any against his Conscience, upon the decree or Sentence of a Lay-Chancellor, or any other: But let them, that desire it, cause such to do it whose Conscience is not against it.

9. When there are Prefentments or Appeals to the Chancellor's Court, or Bishop's, let not sickly, weak Ministers, or those whose Parishes cannot be so long neglected, be put to travel long Journeys, or neglect their Studies, and Ministerial Work, by oft or long Attendances, in bringing Witneces against those to whom they only refused on the foreaid Reasons to deliver the Sacrament.

10. Seeing Ministers who live among them, are supposed to be best acquainted with the Penitence, or impenitence of their People, let it be left to their Prudence, whom they will absolve in Sinckness, and privately give the Sacrament to, and let the Sick chuse such Confessors, as they think best for themselves: And let them few words at Burial which import the Justification, and Salvation of the Deceased, be left to the Minister's Discretion, who hath known the Per son's Life and Death.

11. Let no Minister be forced to deny Christian Communion to those Persons otherwise found and Godly, who think it unlawful to kneel in taking the Sacramental Bread and Wine, though it may be upon cauful Scruples.

12. Let Ministers have leave to open the meaning of the Catechism, and not only to hear the Words themselves (And it is much to be wished that the Catechism were amended.) And let him have leave at Baptism and the Eucharist to interpofe some few quickening words of Exhortation, lest formalists do call them into a culinary dulness.

13. Let the use of the Surplice be left indifferent in the Parish-Churches, or at least if the Curate frequently use it, let it suffice.

14. If any live under a Minister that is very ignorant, or scandalous, or very unfittable to the People, or to his Work, let them not be punished for going often to hear and Communicate where they can better profit, in any Neighbour Church of the same Dioces: So be it, they pay the Incumbent his Dues.

V. Let not those who are ordained by Presbyters be put to renounce their Ordination, or be re-ordained; but only upon proof of their finnes for the Ministry, receive by word, or a written Instrument, a Legal Authority to exercise their Ministry in any Congregation in his Majesty's Dominions, where they shall be carefully called.

VI. We
VI. We desire that no Excommunicate Person, as such, may be imprisoned, and ruined in his Estate, but only such whose Crimes, in themselves considered, deserve it.

VII. As we desire all this Liberty to ourselves, so it is our Judgment and Desire, that Christian Charity be used to all truly Confidentious Dissenters, and also the Tolerable may be Tolerated, under Laws of Peace and Safety: But who shall be judged Tolerable, and what shall be the Laws or Terms of their Toleration, we presume not uncalled to make our selves Counsellors or Judges.

But for avoiding the inconveniences, which the forcible Concessions to our selves may seem to threaten to the Church, we hope it will suffice, if there be Law made for the Regulation of the Bishops, the Ministers and the Flocks: That People or Ministers un civilly revile not one another: That no Licent’ed Ministers shall Preach against any of the Doctrine of the Church; nor against Episcopacy, Liturgy, or the Established Ceremonies: That all Magistrates be excepted from all open personal Rebukes, or disgraceful Censures, or Excommunications, because (Ceteris Paribus) positive Instituted Orders give place to Natural morals, such as the Fifth Commandment contains; That all negligent or scandalous Ministers be Punish’d according to the Measure of their Fault: And the omission of Preaching, Liturgy or Ceremonies, shall be Punish’d (not presently with forbidding them to do any thing, because they do not enough, but) with the Sequestration of their Church-maintenance, viz. That they lose a month’s Profit of their Benefice for a month’s Omission, and so on proportionably. And that those whose Insufficiency, Heresy or Crimes, are such as that their Ministry doth more hurt than good, be totally cist out: And that the Bishops may not Silence, Suspend, Deprive or Excommunicate any Minister Arbitrarily, but by a known Law, and in case of Injustice, we may have sufficient remedy by Appeals. And that no former Law or Canon, which is contrary to any of this, be therein in force.

1. If Sacraments were but left free to be administered, and received by none but Volunteers. 2. And Liberty granted the Ministers to Preach in those Churches where the Common-Prayer is read by others. I think it would take in all, or almost all the Independents also. (3. Supposing the Door left open, according to the first Article) These three would unite us almost all. But I have mentioned the rest, because the rest of these will not be granted.

The Scriptures returned upon these Proposals, with the Answers.

My Lord,

I return you this Paper with an Answer to the Scriptures; not with any hopes of Agreement with the Author: For whoever he is, I have no hope of Peace or Healing by him; or by his consent, according to the Principles and Rigour here expressed.

1. Prop. [Supposing the Church-Government may not be altered.] Strips. (a) [All the particulars following do directly, or indirectly, either overthrow or undermine the Church Government.]

Answ. If by [the Church Government] be meant (as the Propounder did mean) the Constitution containing the Diocesan frame, with Deans, Arch-Deacons, Lay-Chancellors, as Governing by Excommunication and Abolition, there is nothing in these Proposals inconsistent with that Frame, nor mentioning any alteration of it. (The there is that in it, which our judgments take to be very great sin: For we can quietly live under a Government sinful, while we are not put to sin by our confessing the sin of others.) But if by [the Government] be meant the whole Exercise of their Government, according to the Act of Uniformity and the Canons, we confess that every abatement desired by us, is against it: And if we could do all required by the Governours, we were full Conformists, and needed none of this.

PPPP
But this Prehatory Prognostick tells us what to expect: For whoever intended
our Solemity and suffering, will foretell it by his Accusations; And if a Cross be
our intended Lot, no wonder if [Overtrovers and Underminers of the Government] be
the Title to be written on it.

1. Prop. [And the Subscribing the Doctrine and Sacraments, &c.]

Asfr. 1. If there were nothing at all in the Diocesan frame in England, Lay-
Chancellors, Spiritual Government, nor any other part of the Government, and
Word in the Liturgy, or any Ceremony which we do not, nor dare not approve
and Jutify by a Subscription; what need we any of this ado, any more than any
Bishops or Conformists; seeing we were Conformable already.

2. We are willing to Swear, Subscribe, and Covenant, Allegiance to the King,
who is a Constitutive Essential Part of the Kingdom. But we are not willing ac-
cordingly to Swear, Subscribe, or Covenant to every petty Officer in the King-
dom, nor to approve of every Law, Custom or Exercise of Government in it; tho
we would live peaceably under what we approve not. And if a Law were made that
he shall be Banished as an Overtrover, or Underminer of the Government, &c., who would
not fo Covenant or Subscribe. Hennes and Lands would be cheaper than they are, and
the King have fewer Subjects than he hath: For I am not acquainted with one Con-
formable Man, that I think would Subscribe it. And why should all the King's
Subjects be bound more strictly to the Human Part of Church Government, than of
State or Civil Government, and to approve of Lay-Chancellors than of Civil Offi-
cers? Or of the matter of Canons, than of Civil and Common and Statute
Laws?

3. If it be a Crime to know, it is a Crime to Judge, or to use our Reason and Ob-
servation. If it be not, it is no Crime for us to know that Clergy-Pride, imposing a
multitude of things small and doubtful, on the Churches as the Conditions of Mi-
nistry and Communion, and forcing Magistrates, Ministers and People to confent
to many unnecessary things in their Humane part of Government; Liturgies and
Ceremonies hath been so great an Engin of Schism and Blood and Confusions in the
Roman Church, as assured us that it is no defensible thing, that by us any thing like
it should be contended to.

4. And it is no Crime in us to be sure, that if Subcribing to all the present
Church-Government, Liturgy and Ceremonies, be the thing that shall be necessary to
our Ministry, and Union and Communion, our present Distinctions and Divisions
will not be healed, unless by Killing or Banishing the Dissenters, and as Tertullian
spakeeth, Making solitude, and calling it Peace.

I. Prop. [His Majesty's] Subjects----[Legal] Communion----any other [of his Sub-
jects].---

Sic. (c) [Delator.]
obiterated, we understand not what the word [Commis- sion] meaneth: Whether it must have the King’s Broad-seal, or the lesser-seal, or his Name only: Whether the Commission and Seal must be show’d to those that are not to refift, or proved to be currant, and how? But that which cauffeth us to forbear subscribing is, 1. We have taken the Oath of Allegiance, and think that the King’s Subjects are bound to defend his Life, Crown and Dignity; And we fear left by this the Lord Chancellor (if not others) may have power as his Pleasure to Depose the King, that is, to Seal Commissions to Confederates to take Possession of all his Navy, Forts, Garri- sons, Arms, if not his Houfe and Perfon, and no man must refift them. 2. We are not certain that a Commission can Repeal all that Law of Nature, who obligeth a Man to preserve the Life of his Parents or Children, or Neighbour. We have not indeed any reason to fear that our King should grant such a Commission: But who can deny but that it’s possible for some King or other to do it? And seeing we know not when a Commission is counterfeit, if two or three men come to my Houfe, and say they have a Commission to Kill my Father, Mother, Wife and Children and my Self (and fhev it), or if they AFFault me and my Company on the High-way, and fhev a Commission to take our Purfes and Kill us, we are not sure that God will excufe us from the Duty of defending the Lives of our Parents, Children and Friends; Or if half a dozen should come to the Parliament, and fhev a Commission prefently to kill them all, or Burn the City, and Kill all the Citizens; or Kingdom, we are not wise enough to know that neither Parliament, City, nor Kingdom, may refift them. And we find Commissions fo concerted that they have Propriety in Life and Goods, and that none may at pleafure take them away, and lay Taxes without their content; and that we fear if we should plainly fay, that whatever Taxes are laid, or Eftates or Goods or Persons feiz’d on, or Decrees of Judges rejected by fuch Execution, it were unlawful for the Sheriff, or any others to refift, they would trouble us for fo faying. And if an Admiral, General, or Lieutenant should be made by Act of Parliament, Dura te Vite, and Authorized to refift any that would difpofefs him, we are not fo Wise as to know whether he may not refift one to whom the Chancellor Sealeth a Commission to difpofefs him: And though we are confident that the Perfon of the King is inviolable, yet if King John did deliver up his Kingdom to the Pope, we are not sure that the Kingdom might not have refifted any of the Pope’s, (or any Foreign Prince’s) Agents, if they had been Commissioned by the King to feize upon the Kingdom: Or that no Subjects of any Foreign Prince may be refifted, if they should come against us, by fuch a Commission. Had we the Judgment of the Judges in this Case, we fhould submit as far as any reafon could require us. But tho’ we juftify not Barthy, Grotius, Bishop Bilfon and others, of the contrary mind, we must confess our felves not wise enough to Condemn them.

1. Prop. [Nor by any other unlawful means (to endeavour Reformation).] Stric. (d) [Delicatur unlawful.] Anf. 1. Here we may fee how many minds the Conformists are of; or how unjuftly all that have debated the Case of Subscription with do affirm, That by [not endeavouring] any Alteration, is meant only not endeavouring by unlawful means] which is here contradicted by a Delicatur unlawful.

2. I crave an Anfwer to thefe Questions.

1. Can you certainly fay, That the Church-Government is fo purely Divine and Perfect, as that no Reformation is either neccessary or lawful? Is all the Diocefan Frame such, and the Lay-Chancellors Power of the Keys alto?
2. If there be need of any Reformation, is it not a Covenant against Repentance and Obedience to God, to covenant never to endeavour it at all?
3. What if the King should by Commiffion require some Alterations, or command us to endeavour it, are you sure that we are all bound to disobey him?
4. What if a Parliament-man make a Speech, or pas a Vote for it, are you sure that he finneth?
5. Are you sure that the King may not lawfully endeavour any Reformation? Or was his Declaration about Ecclefiaftical Affairs a fin?
6. What if any humble petition the King and Parliament for any fuch Reformation (as that Laymen may not have the Power of the Keys over a whole Diocefs, and all the Parochial Pfaltres be denied it); is it certainly a fin?
7. If a man Vow (though sinfully) to do a thing which he may lawfully do, if he had not vowed it, are you sure it is a sin (and not Duty) to keep that Vow in Matteria Licita (which he thinketh Necessaria)? I put the Question as de futuro, if I and Millions should make such a Vow (sinfully, without and against the Will of my Superiors) for the time to come, are you sure that it bindeth no man of them all? I believe, that no private arbitrary Vow can overawe my due Obedience to my Governors: But antecedent Duty so made by God (as Reforming by Lawful means of Endeavour), it is supposed they do not forbid: For every Member of the Church is in his place obliged to promote the Common Good by lawful means: as they might forbid us all to exhort or admonish any sinner, or to pray, or preach, or dispute against sin, as well as to petition against it. 2. And 'tis supposed that every Bishop, or Parliament-man, or Euler, is not forbidden all such lawful Endeavours; and so that a Prohibition rendereth it not (to them at least) unlawful. For I speak of no other Cafe.

But how far a Cafe is that Nation in, where the Clergy would have all men take them for infallible and perfect, without the smallest Fault or Error in their Government, as that neither Parliament-man, Clergy-man, nor any one of the People, may by lawful means endeavour the least Reformation of them: when even the Roman Bishop of Gloucester, Godfrey Goodman, writeth so sharply against the Lay-Chancellor's Power of the Keys?

2. Prop. The Nonconformists hold it high Sacrilege [to alienate themselves.]

Strft. (e) But what if they be fined for, or silenced by Authority?

Anft. 1. When it is by true Authority, doing it either justly, or else unjustly, in case their preaching be unnecessary, or lets necessary than Obedience to the unjust prohibition, we will suffer, and take it as a sign of our disaffection. But if it be done by Unjust, like Papal Prelates, or by our Governors unlawfully, in case that our preaching remain more necessary than the Publick Good, then obdient forbearance; we will exercise our Ministrifry till Death, Prison, or other Force disable us. If you ask, Who shall judge? I answer, 1. The Magistrate, by publick Decision, in Order to his own Execution, and if he do it unjustly, God is the Avenger. 2. And the Minister by a private Rational judgment of Discretion, discharging Duty from Sin; and if he were, God and Man, will punish him; if not, God will reward him.

2. I also ask, Were not Constantinus and Valens (two Erroneous) Lawful Princes? And did not the holy Bishops of the Eafi, refuse to suffer their Ministrations when they prohibited them? And do not Papists, and other Protestant, as well as Bp. Bisfor and Andrews, agree, That we must do the like upon such unjust Prohibitions? And hath our Diocesan more power to silence us than the King! Or were we Consecrated to the Ministrifry in our Ordination, on that Condition, to preach till forbidden unjustly? And did not the Apostles and all Pastors, for 300 Years, Exercise their Ministrifry against the Wills of Lawful Magistrates (the Heathens.)

2. Prop. [To preach Lectures with the Incumbent's Consent.]

Strft. (f) [And with the Allowance of the Bishop.]

Anft. And that is, Let King and Parliament by Law allow us to preach Christ's Gospel, if the Bishop will allow us so to do; and let the Law leave it to his power to forbid us: And what God will Laws then do us for our Ministrifry, when these Eleven Years have already told us what we must trust to from the Bishops (some at least.) Provide such supply for the Subjects Souls, as their Numbers and Necessity require, that the meaning may not be [Let men be forged, if the Bishop consent], and for my part, I'll Joyfully be silent. But I will not so far deny my Sense and Reason (and the Sense of the Country also) as to believe this is done, if another will but confidently say it's done, or say that we do more harm than good; no more than I will believe there are no Englishmen in England.

2. Prop. Let not the Incumbent be discouraged by the Bishop from receiving them—[]

Strft. (g) So they will conform.

Anft. So they will conform as far as aforesaid, or as in the Proposals: But otherwise, if it be present,full Conformity, that must still be necessary, what are we speaking for? This was written in order to our Concord, by the means of some Alterations or Abatements of Conformity, because it was told abroad that some Bishops were
were willing of such a thing: And is it meant that if we Conform, they will abate some Conformity.

3. Prop. Let it be forbidden, &c. [about joyning in Family Worship—]

Strict. (b) [That is, let Conventicles be allowed in all places.]

Answ. Yes, if needful and orderly Worshipping God, and helping each other towards Heaven be Convincing; the Heathens so called the Christian Assemblies. This Stricture more mortify our hopes of healing, than any of the rest: For we see here that the SILENCE and Imprisoning, and Undoing of the Ministers, will not satisfy; the People also must have their Crosses and Conventicles must be Written on it. One would think the Limitations here put should have satisfied any man that is for Faith, Hope and Charity. 1. We moved it for none but those that attend the Publick Assemblies. 2. And to find it not at the Hours of Publick Worship. 3. And but for Neighbours of the same Parish (because many cannot Read, nor remember what they have Read, nor help their own Families, nor understand themselves the Christian Faith.) 4. We declared this Liberty in no Exercises, but reading the Scriptures, or Licensed Pious Books, and repeating the Publick Sermons of their Pastors, and Praying and Singing Psalms. 5. We motioned this much for none but those that herein refuse not the Inspection of their Lawful Pastors, to prevent all ill Effects. 6. And for the Minister himself to repeat his Sermon, or Catechize, or Instruct his People that will come to him. And is this the intolerable Evil, worthy to be avoided at the rate of all our Calamities? Are all our Divisions better than the enduring of this? If any Limitations necessary had been omitted, I might have expected to have found them named, which I do not. But, 1. No Man's denial can make us ignorant of it, that too great a Part of the People in most places know not what Baptism, Christianity, or the Catechism are; and many hundred thousands cannot Read. 2. And that few Ministers so personally instruct them as their need requireth (nor can do for so many): or by their Instruction they have not cured them. 3. That to go to their Neighbours on the Lord's Day, to hear the other Sermon, which they had forgotten, and to Prate God, and hear the Scripture, or a good Book that is Licensed, read, hath done great good to many Souls. 4. That otherwise such Ignorant Perasons as we speak of, except at Church-time, cannot spend the Lord's Day to any Edification of themselves or Families. 5. Men are not hinder'd from Feasting, Drinking, Playing together frequently, and in greater Numbers. Why then (by Bishops) from reading the Scripture, or a Licensed Book or Sermon? 6. That God hath Commanded Provoke one another to Love and to good works: And exhort one another daily, while it is called to day, let any be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin. 2 Cor. 10. 14, and 3. 13. And Cornelius had his Friends with him in his House for God's Services, Acts 10. and Acts 12. 12. In Mary's House many were gathered together praying. And we find not that even the Jews were ever forbidden it by the Pharisees themselves: And he that seeth his Brother have (bodily) need, and shutteth up the Bowels of his Compassion from him, how doth he dwell with the Love of God in him? And the need of Souls is more common, and to be Compassioned. Rules may Regulate Charity in both cases: but may forbid it, or the necessary Exercizes of it in neither. He shall Perish as guilty of Murder that lets the Poor Die for want of his Relief, tho' he be forbidden to relieve them, unless when the hurt would be greater than the good. Love and Mercy are too great duties for a Bishop to null or dispense with: We put no private Man on Ministerial Actions, but in his own place to show mercy to Souls. To say, that on this pretence Schismatical Meetings will be held, is no more to the people than to say, that all Errors and Wickedness may be kept up by Pretences of Reason, Truth, Piety, Scripture, Honesty, &c. But we must not therefore say, Away with Reason, Truth, &c. But I hope God's Servants will Die rather than defect their Master's Work.

4. Prop. 1. [The greatest part of it—] once a Quarter—(of Reading the Liturgy by Lectures.)

Strict. (i) [Why not all as well as the greatest part? Why not always as well as once a Quarter?]

Answ. 1. I know that here and there a word may be scrupled (as the reading of Sell and the Dragon, or such like) which silently paft by, maketh no disturbance; And I think the Scrupling of such a word, deferveth not that all the Peoples Souls be Punished for it, with the loss of all their Teachers Labours.
2. I never hear one Conformist that faith it all: And why may not one be for
born as well as another?
3. All the Liturgy for the day will be work too long and great, that weak Men
that have no Curates cannot Read all, and Preach or Catechize also. If you say
that Preaching and Catechizing then may be omitted; I answer, They are God's
Ordinances, and needful to Men's Souls: And seeing Prayer and Preaching are
both Duties, proportion is to be observed, that neither may be shut out: If you
account the Liturgy better than Preaching, yet every parcel of it intirely is not
sure of fo great worth, as to set out Preaching for it. Rich parsons, that have Cu-
rates, may, between them, do both; but so cannot poor Country Ministers that
are alone, and are sickly.
And as to the [Always,] 1. The Canon limiteth some yet to once in half a
year, (which is left.)
2. The Conformable City-Preachers, that have Curates, very rarely Read it.
3. Else what should Men do with Curates, if they must always Read them-

selves?
4. A weak Man may do both once a Quarter, that is not able to do it every
day.
A Prop. 2.—It is supposed it will be done. ] ---
Strid. (k) Yes, once a Quarter, for you would have no Man obliged to do it oftener;
nor all of it then neither.
Anfw. Read and believe as you can. The words were [ If in the Congregation
where he is incumbent, the greatest part of it appointed for that time, be sometimes (as
once a Quarter,) used by himself, and every Lord's-day ordinarily (unless Sickness, &c.)
either by himself, or by his Curate or Assistant: Is every Lord's-day but once a Qua-
ter? Or can it be every day done, and no one obliged to do it ?

4. Prop. 3. Let not Christian Parents be forbidden to dedicate their Children
publicly, &c.
Strid. (l) Christian Parents are not forbidden to present their Children to be
Baptized: But the Church in favour to the Infants, appoints others (in case the
Parents should die, or neglect their duty) to have a Paternal care of them, in
order to their Education, for the performance of their Baptismal Covenant:
That which follows is not worth the Animadverting, being nothing else but an
Uncharitable and Scandalous Infamiation.
Anfw. 1. Read and believe what is forbidden. [ Then shall the Priest speak to the
Godfathers and Godmothers on this wise; Dearly beloved—This Infant must also faith-
fully promise by you that he is Suredies (---That he will renounce the Devil, &c.] ---I
demand therefore, Doth that in the name of this Child renounce, &c.] The Godfathers
and Godmothers must by, I renounce them all. Doth thou believe, &c. Anfw. All this
I heartily believe. Question. With what be Baptized in this Faith? Anfw. That is my
desire. Q. Wilt thou obediently keep, &c. Anfw. I will. ---They are after to Name the
Child. After the Priest shall say to the Godfathers and Godmothers,—Forasmuch as
this Child hath promised by you that he is Suredies to renounce, ---to believe in God,
and to serve him,—It is your parts and duties to see that this Infant be taught so soon
as he shall be able to learn, what it is, a Solomon For, Promise and Profession be hath here made
by you, &c.] See the rest.
So that here, All the Covenanting Acton on the Infant's part, is made the proper
work of his Suredies, called Godfathers and Godmothers, without one word of the Pa-
rents doing it, or any part of it: And then cometh the Canon, and farther faith,
(Can. 39.) [ No Parent shall be urged to be present, nor be admitted to speak as God-
father for his own Child; nor any Godfather or Godmother shall be suffered to make any
other Answer or Speech, than by the Book of Common Prayer is prescribed in that behalf. ]
The Answering forbidden, is the Covenanting in the Child's Name. This is expressly
forbidden the Parent (whole and part,) and left it should be thought that he is one
Agent with the Suredies, as he is not to speak, so not to be urged to be present. Yet
he is not forbidden to be present; but he is forbidden to speak any Covenanting Pro-
mise or Word. And this was it that I mentioned; in stead of which, you say, he may [Prefent the Child] ---Whatever you call Prefenting, I know not, but I talk
only of Covenanting.
Part III. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

2. And why say you it is [In case the Parents die, or neglect their Duty,] when the Parents are forbidden (though they have Sureties with them) so much as to promise it as any of their Duty, or to speak as Promising Parties in it.

3. Whether this Use be [as Undue, vain and Scandalous Intimation] is all a Case about Matter of Fact; And the Question is, whether the Author or I be the truer Historian: My Narrative which I stand to is this.

1. God’s Law and Man’s requires Parents to offer Children to be Baptized; and the Rubrick before Private Baptisme forbids deferring it longer than the first or second Sunday.

2. They may not be Baptized without Godfathers as aforesaid.

3. No Parent can force any to be a Godfather against his Will.

4. Multitudes take it for a sin to be Sureties on the Terms of the Liturgy, and therefore will and do refuse it.

5. Many Thousands know not what Christianly, or the Baptismal Covenant is, as we know by Personal Conference with our Flockes and others, where we have lived. So common is great ignorance among the Vulgar.

6. Many of the Learned do dispute with us frequently, that indeed Baptism is not to Contain any Covenant, or Vow at all.

7. So rare is it for Sureties to take the Child for their own, or intend to do all in their Education which they are to promise, that, to my best knowledge, I never knew one in all my life that ever seriously signified to the Parents such an Intent. But they inwardly think that they are but Witnesses, and are at most but to give the Parents Counsel to do what they promise to do themselves.

8. Were but all People told, that they must take the Child for their own, as far as this Animadverter mentioneth, and solemnly before God to undertake to do all that themselves for the Child, which they promise (by the Book) I seriously protest, that I cannot say, that ever I knew one Surety that feared God, that I had cause to believe had undertaken it, unleas those, that indeed took home the Child of dead Parents (or an exposed one) as their own. The Rich never intend to give away their Children, nor that the Sureties Educate them. And few would be Sureties for the Children of the Poor, if they must take them so for their own, because of the Charge of keeping them. So that I am fully persuaded, that were the Vow and Undertaking, this understood, not one of Forty, where-ever I have lived, could have any Godfathers for their Children, unleas they will take such as know not what they do, or make no Conscience of it, and of whom the Parents cannot reasonably believe that they intend any such thing.

And, de jure, its plain, that it is not lawful to draw any Many, in so great and holy a Work, to do that which he undertaketh not at all, and to promise and undertake that before God and the Church, which our Confidences tell us, he never intendeth to perform, nor do the Parents intend to cast it on him.

I pass by the Difficulty of three several persons Educating the same Child.

And now consider, whether it be a Scandalous Intimation, for a Man to besiech the Bishop, that his Child may not be refuseth, and be Unbaptized (and so denied Christian burial if he die; and worse than that, according to the Liturgy) and himself punished because he brings not Sureties; if the Man will there protest that he could procure no Sureties, who understood what they are to do, and express to them any Serious Purpose to perform it? Is this an Odious or Scandalous Request?

4. Prop. n. 4. Of the Image of the Cross, as used in Baptism.

"Strid. (m) If any think the Sign of the Cross is (or rather after) Baptism, "to be a Sacramental Sign; they may as well think of the same Sign, in flags, "or ships, or banners, for we ascribe no more efficacy to one than to the other; "whereas it is the formalis ratio of a Sacrament to be a Means not only to signify, "but to confer Grace non ponensibus oblivem, which our Church doth not ascribe to this, "or any other Ceremony of Humane Inflation; Or that the Sign of the Cross is "any Sacramental, but a Teaching Sign only, as the Surplice is; And such Teaching "Signs Mr. Baxter grants may be lawfully appointed by the Magistrate, and "made use of in the Service of God, though not as an Essential part thereof.

Add. 1. You will say (after Baptism:) For you make it not part of Baptism, but a third Sacrament, as I think.
2. As to your Description of a Sacrament, the Church taketh the word from the old Common use, where (as Martianus noteth) Sacramentum was an Oath or Covenant, _Quod est Sacramentum, hoc ad rem certum, ut ad Militiam: ut Fidem, &c._

Sicramentum: He is bound by a Sacrament, _Qui Sacratum sibi interpositi, ac tum Sacramentum dictur interrogari quidem_: See the Military Sacrament there described. And the Soldiers had their _Stigmata_, which our Cross doth imitate; though transiently. Without this Sacrament they were no Soldiers, and might not fight against the Enemy: _And Tertullian diffivath:_ _Ne humanni Sacramentum Divino Superinducat_, opening the Antithesis of one to the other. In the latter and more borrowed Sense it concerneth us not (as _Sacramentum est ipfes Sacrata, vel ipse Militia vel persona_, nor as it is _Quodvis Sacramentum_, or _Sancta_ (obligatio) nor yet in the largest Ecclesiastical Sense, as it is the Translation of _moot_ (is), and signifieth a Sacred Mysteries Doctrine, or Action. But in the Special Church use, it signifieth either more largely a Solemn Signal Investiture in any Sacred Relation; and so we may grant the Romanists that Ordination is a Sacrament, and Matrimony, as Sanctified, &c. Or most strictly for the Sacrament Solemnizing of the Covenant of God, which is our present Sense. And to this it is necessary, That it be a _sign_ used for the solemn signification of _Mutual Covenant_; that is, of Man's professed _Confess_ as dedicated to Christ, and of Christ's acceptance, and Collation of the Covenant-benefits: 2. And that hereupon it be the _Teffera_, or Symbol of our Christianity. But that it operate a qualitative change on the Receiver's mind or heart, is not necessary to the being of a Sacrament, nor yet that it be instituted to do so, by Contact, or Physical Operation, _per medium Nature_, without _Intellectual Consideration_, and _Moral Operation_.

The First will be granted (that the effecting of such Qualities is not necessary to it.) And as to the 2d, Observe that we grant as followeth; 1. That Sacraments, by Investiture, or Delivery of Right, as Instruments, convey all that _Relative Grace_, which the Covenant of God doth give immediately to Communicants. 2. That it _Moral_ worketh also _Holy Qualifications_ by Man's Consideration-Improvement. 3. And that with the use of it, though not by the Instrumentality of it, God may _Physically_, or _Miraculously_, without any second cause, give _Qualitative Grace_ to _Infants_, or whom he pleaset, in a way to us unknown. But that this last is not Essential to a Sacrament, I am now to prove.

1. All that is essential to a Sacrament is found in the Sacrament as used by the Adult. (Yea, they are the _more notable, and Excellent Subjects_, to whom it was first administered; and the *Cafer* of Infants is more _obfure_, and _non notum per ignorantiam_, _led ignorantius per notius probandum_ et.) But the Sacrament as administered to (_or used by_) the adult, doth neceflarily contain no more than, 1. _Mutual Covenanting_; 2. The _Instruments Conveyance_, or _Confirmation_ of the _Relative Grace_ of the Covenant (_or ftrs_); 3. _Moral Aptitude_ to work _holy Qualities_. 4. And that it be _Symbo Ав домordinis, id est, Christianismi._

1. This is proved as to the _Baptism_ of the Adult. 1. They make their solemn _Professor_ Federation, Contempt, Reception, &c. 2. God by his Minister doth invest the Receiver in his _Right_ of _special relation_ to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and in his right to Pardon, Reconciliation, Justification, and Adoption, and Right to Glory: 3. It is a Means adapted to work Morally on the Will, by the just Considerations of the Understanding. 4. It is the Symbol of Christianiety, called, _Our Christening_.

2. The same 1 lay of the Lord's _Supper_; and therefore crave leave not to repeal them.

1. That Sacraments are acts of Solemn, Mutual Covenanting, none deny, that know what Christianiety is: _The Uninterrupted Form of Baptizing, in all Ages proved it._

2. That God, by their Instrumentality, delivereth the Adult, their _fors_, or _Relative Grace_, or _right_ to present Pardon, &c. is not denied.

3. That they are Moral Instruments of Holy Acts, and so of Habits in the Adult, neither _Papists, Armenians, Lutherans_ or _Calvinists_ deny. And, above all, the Armenians should not deny it, who, I think, acknowledge no means but Moral, if any other Operations on Man's soul.

4. And that they are _Teffera vel Symboli Christianiæ Religionis_, none, that I know of, do deny.
But that they are instituted to operate on the Adult any any otherwise than Morally and this Essential to them; I deny upon three Reasons: 1. There is no Scripture that affirmeth it: Et quod Scripturae non est, Credendum non est, about such Matters. 2. Else not only the Arminians but the greatest part of Christians should deny the Sacraments, who deny such use and operations of them: And specially all those Protestants who dealing with the Papists opus Operantium, largely write to prove that the Sacraments work but Morally. 3. And the Nature of the thing sheweth it impossible without a Miracle. For the Grace to be conveyed is the Act or Habit or Disposition of Love to God (and the Conjoint Graces) with that Antecedent Light of knowledge and faith which must excite it: And how but Miraculously Water in Baptism should be an Instrument of conveying holy Love or Knowledge, no Man conceiveth. For 1. Our Love of God is not put into the Water. 2. If it were, the Water doth not touch the Soul. 3. If it did, Corporal Contact, or attingenee would not cause Love. The same is said of the Eucharist. And the truth is many Papists are by Protestants misinterpreted in their Doctrine de Opere Operantis, who speak but as distinguishing ib ab Opere Operantis. And when they have puzzled themselves to tell what the Incidental Character given by Ordination is, they can satisfactorily carry it no higher than with Durandus to say, it is a Relation; that is, a fixed Relation to the Underlying Work, and a power, right and obligation to it:—And they that tell us as Joseph Anges, &c. that Ordination is a true Sacrament (though unjustly used) when given to an Infant and a Bedlam, and that none but Durandus denieth it, (a false Doctrine no doubt quia deae dispositio recipientis;) ye cannot tell us of no more that it doth convey to the Infant or Bedlam-Priest, or Bishop, but a Relation. Nor can they, that say [Receive the Holy Ghost] assure us that any more is given by Ordination. And of of Baptism.

And if they say that [If the Water be not the Instrument of given grace to the Adult, yet it may be to another means, let them tell us if they can what they mean; and what means besides a Moral means it can be.

If they say that if God give not grace (qualitative or Active) by it as a means, yet he giveth grace with it, without any second cause, I answer, God can do so no doubt: He can give grace while we are bearing, though inconsiderately, without any of the Word heard; And so in the time of baptizing, without any certainty or regularity of Baptism: But he, that will affirm as in any Miracles and Immediate Operations, as Sacraments, must bring very clear proof of his affirmation.

Sure we are that Faith and Repentance are prerequisite in the Adult, and therefore the Sacrament is not so much as the Time of first giving them (by Institution;): And we are all agreed that in the Sacraments, Sacred truth and Goodness, Christ and his Gracious benefits are objectively set before us, as Moral means of our Information, Excitation and increase of faith and hope and love. And when we are sure that the Word and Sacraments are instituted for one way of giving gracious Acts or Qualities, he that will add another must prove it.

4. And the case being thus with the Adult, the instance of Infants will not prove the Sacraments, no Sacraments to the Adult, the Noblest Subjects. And though God may immediately, or Miraculously at the same time give holy Habits or Acts to Infants; yet it is past Man's Conception how Water or Words should be any Cause of them, any more on them; than on the Adult, as aforesaid: And he that will say that yet so it is though We know not how, as the Papists do about Transubstantiation, must first prove that it is so indeed. We grant that the Parents are to use it Morally in dedicating their Children to God, and believing and Covenanting for them; And that God ueth it as his investing or delivering sign, morally to give the Infant all the Inheritance, which the Covenant as the Principal Inheritance giveth, that is, Right and Relation to the Father, Saviour and Sancifier, and Right to pardon and Adoption and the Heavenly Inheritance, which, set together, are Relative Regeneration, as Judicial Bishop Doctum de Bapt. Infant, well openeth it: And that it is the badge of his Christianity; and an apt objective means of moral Operations on him as he cometh to the use of Reason. When you have told us what more it doth, and proved it, and proved that, without that, it is no Sacrament, you have done something.

Your non ponens Obiorem is no Scripture Notion, ambiguous if not unfound. If you mean it as the Words found, of some positive O, which is poner obiorem, it is certainly false as to the Adult; (to whom the Sacraments are true Sacraments.) For God hath made their positive Consideration, perception, Faith and Repentance, a necessary.
necessary Condition of their Reception of the benefit: So that if an adult person, as to Baptism or the Lord's Supper, should carelessly be after, or not think what he is about, or meekly not-know, not-believe, not-repent, you can have no promise of your miraculous grace to him. And the Sacrament to an Infant is the same thing, though the Act of believing be not required of himself, but of another for him.

But if by passive obedience you mean a privation, that is, non-preterit conditionem, not to believe, repent, &c., then it's true, but an ambiguous deceitful phrase. To believe is more than not to reject: And to be the Seed of the Faithful is.

And I suppose (by your new Rubrick) you will say, that every Infant in the world, of Cannibals, Heathens or Infidels that is baptized (jure veti injuria, though taken by Soldiers violently by thousands against the Parent's Wills) are certainly Sanctified, and do not passive obedience themselves, and that the Sacrament to them is not null; It would be needful to our satisfaction that you tell us what internal actual, or habitual grace is it that all these have; and prove it; and prove that else it were no Sacrament. But enough of this.

Q. Now let us see what you advance to the Cross.

The Master of it is an Image, though Transient, of which God's Jealousy, especially in the Second Commandment hath made us Jealous, in his Worship: As to the Form and Use. 1. It is the Covenant of Chriltianity it tells, that it is about: And it is no less than our Solemn Engaging, Instructing and Obliging Sign, that we are Regarded Christs, and will keep that Co. name; even the same Covenant that is solemnized also by Baptism. All the Duties of the Covenant on our parts, we thus solemnly bind our selves to perform valiantly to the Death, in Terms like the Sacramentum Militare. The Canon 30. let us know that it is used [to dedicate Children by that Body to his service, whose benefits bestowed on them in Baptism the Name of the Cross doth represent]: And in Christ's Honour and Majesty whereby the Infant is Dedicated to the Service of him that Died on the Cross.] So that on theReceiver's part, it wants nothing of a Sacrament.

2. That it is also used as God's Means of Delivering us the Relative Grace of the Covenant, I conceive for these Reasons.

1. The Adult is not to Sign himself, but the Minister who is Christ's Agent (not so much as asking, wilt thou be signed?) doth sign him with the Sign of the Cross, in token that he shall not be ashamed to confess the Faith of Christ Crucified, and manfully to Fight under his Banner, against Sin, the World and the Devil, and to continue Christ's faithful Servant and Soldier to their Life's end: Amen.

2. The Cross and the Benefits with Christ Crucified, are hereby Represented.

3. The Churches Publick Profess, that this is their Dedication of the Child, importeth plainly God's Acceptance of him that is Dedicated: For who dare offer that to God which he foppoth, not that God Accepteth, as offered: And God's acceptance of the dedicated person into the State, relation and benefits of Christianity, is the very grace on God's part, which is essential to a Divine Sacrament strictly taken. And is this no grant of federal Grace?

4. And that to the Adult the Cross is a Moral means of internal and Qualitative Grace. I think you will not deny A Moral means operateth obduously, by Teaching the Intelle: by representing the moving object, and by Execution of the Will: And how eminently is all this here intended? In General the Liturg. (of Ceremony) faith They are such as are apt to stir up the dull mind of Man to the observance of his Duty to God by some notable and special signification, by which he may be edified. And is this no Gracious Work? And it is Christ Crucified, and his benefits that by the Cross are represented to this use. And is not that to operate morally on mind and will accordingly? And the Words tell us particularly that it is to stir us up and oblige us to the Actual Manful fighting under Christ's Banner, against sin, &c. and not be ashamed to confess him. And is not this a moral gracious Operation? When as the Gospel worketh by the Eye, so the Cross by the Eye and Thought: It is not Grace that the Gospel is to work? And is it not a means of working it, as well as the Sacraments; Yea and in the same sort of Certainty Doubtless then here is the Grace of the Covenant to be wrought, as well as the Duty of it promised.

5. And lastly that it is the Symbol and Badge of our Christianity the Canon twice prefixed.

So that I think here is an intere third Sacrament of the Covenant of Grace; inventitious and humane, and not of God's making. And if you could prove (as you never
never can) that some Miraculous fort of Operation, not common to the Gospel or the Covenant itself, is essential to a Sacrament for new Acts or Qualities on Infants or others, I would ask when you thus cross the Child, Do you look that God should do any more for his Soul thereon, than if you did it not, or no? If you do (as they did that used the Cross of old, and the Papists now) then you expect God's inward Grace upon the use of the Cross. If you look not that the Child's soul be ever the better for it, it's pity Baptism should be denied them that dare not use it; or so many Ministers be silenced about it.

But had it but some great and notable sacramental signs (as the fore-named) though not all, I durst not premise on such an inventions sacramental sign. I have oft said; I doubt whether the King would not think his Prerogative invaded, if any should premise to institute a new Badge, besides his Garter and Star, of the Order of the Knights of the Garter; much more a Symbol or Badge for all his Subjects; and deny them the Knighthood or Ju Subditii who refuse it. But too long of this.

4. Prop. About compelling the Unfit to receive the Lord's Supper.

Strict. The Church doth not compel any to receive the Sacrament that is unfit: but punishes them that are unfit, and negleget the making of themselves fit for it, by breaking off their Sins by Repentance.

Answ. Alas! poor Souls, that must have such a Cure! It seems by this that this Church fuppofeth. 1. That all Men can Cure all their Unfitnes. 2. And that a Prifon is the way to make them willing. We Nonconformits contrarily think, That 1. A Willing person may be Uncured of some unfitnesses. 2. And that a Prifon is no fit cure for such; nor for some others. 'We think that a Melancholly or Timorous Person is unfit, who would be like to be disfrighted by the fear of unworthy Receiving: We are sure that all that we can lay will not Cure such Fears in very many: If Conformits can do it, and will not, they are to blame: We know that the Person himself, though willing, cannot do it. We will not believe that Christ would have them laid in Goal to cure them. But if the Bishops will take that course, it must be suffered: We judge all our present Infidels, Sadducees, and Socinians unfit, if not the Papists: And they offer their Protestations that they cannot change their Judgments: We think a Goal unapt to change them; but rather with meekness to intrust Opposers, if God perhaps will give them Repentance to the acknowledgment of the Truth, 2 Tim. 2. 25. Yes, though after the Chancellour's admonition (or better means) they be erroneous still. Verily if your way were thoroughly practised, and such Church-Laws executed, and all dwelt in Goals, that are unfit for the Sacrament (after your teaching, and admonition, and Excommunication) the Landlords would find a great diminution of their Tenants, and the Goalers would have more Tenants than many Lords, and it were necessary to have a Goal in every Parith. This is your way of comforting the timorous; but who should there maintain them all, I know not. But if Goalers be the most effectual Converters of Souls, I think more Clergy-Men than Non-conformits need their help, that obtain it not: And they may possibly put in for the Tythes and Church-Revenues.

"Strid. Is any Minister required to give the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood to any unbaptized Person? Is not this a groundless, and dangerous infinuation? Nay, is any Minister forced or required to give the Sacrament to any notoriously wicked, or prophaned Person? See the Rubrick before the Communion. That which follows seems to aim at an introducing of Auricular Confession, or the setting up an Independent, Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction in every Minister over his own Parith.

Answ. 1. Your Charge is careless: I find in the Canons and Rubrick, that every Parishioner must receive; And those unbaptized (as many born of Ana-baptists are) I find not described or named, as excepted in the Canon or Rubrick, nor that any at age are forced to be Baptized, and yet are forced by Penalty to Communicate: So that I confess I am so ignorant as not to know whether I should be punished by the Bishop, if I refused an un-baptized Parishioner.
The L I F E of the

Part III

one: But yet I verily think, that the meaning of the Makers of the Liturgy, and Canon was otherwise; and I intended no more but to ennumerate them whom we would have Power not to give the Sacrament to; q. d. Not only the unbaptized (plainly to be named) but also the rest following.

2. If by notoriously wicked, you mean those that the Bishop or Chancellor hath Excommunicated, we may keep them away: Or if the Congregation will say, that they are offended by their Crimes, then they may be admonished to forbear; but if they will not forbear upon the Admonition, or at least will every time say, that they are fully purposed to amend (as most wicked Men will do), I find not by the Rubrick, that we can refuse them; except it be one that is obdurate in Malice, when (at that time) desired to be reconciled; but the Canon feemeth to give more Power.

3. Our Case is this: We know that many are professed Infidels, and many understand not what Baptism, or Christianity, or the Lords Supper are, in the very Essentials (in many Places I doubt the greater part of the Parish:) A great number live in heinous Sins, (Drunkards, Fornication, Swearing, Roaring, &c.) The ignorant, and Infidels, the Minifters would instruct, but they will not come to him, nor speak to him, but refuse to give him any account or answer. Almost all are Baptized in Infancy, and at Age come to Church and never owned, that the Minifter kneweth of their Baptifmal Covenant any otherwife. We know not that we have Power to exclude the grossly ignorant: If we had, it must be, if any will witness, that his Neighbours are so ignorant as to be unteachable (which what private Man can and will do?) or else if they will come and lay before others, I am so ignorant, which few if any ever will, till God do humble them: And who will come and tell the scandalons, by witnessing against them, unconstrained, though they will openly report it to one another. How few of the Infidels, Eccentrics, gross Ignorants, or scandalons here in London, are by the Witnesses accuited to the Minifters as such! If we have the most credible Report that half our Country Parifhioners, or a quarter, (more or less) are grossly ignorant of the Essentials of Christianity, and we find it true by so many of the defpiited as will talk with us, we must receive all the reft, with all the Infidels, and wicked Livers, that none will become Accusers of, though we know much our felves to confirm report. And if they tell us, we will have nothing to do with you out of the Pulpit; we will give you no account of our knowledge or Faith; nay, we take you not for any of our Pastors; yet must we do the office of a Pastor to them, and give them the Sacrament, and we are, if not, the Minifter and Clerk of that Church, generally, to instruct and form them. And if we defire else but to suspend our own Act, tho they have their Appeal, we arrogate Independent Power: No wonder if, under, such Overseers, our Parifhes be but what they are.

47 Prop. u. 8. [To publish Excommunications—against his Confession.]

"Script. [Against this, viz. the Minifter's Confession. Is not this to make every Minifter an Independent, Ecclefaftical judge? And that not only exclusively to lay-Chancellours, but to Bishops themselves also; as appeareth by the words, or any other.]"

Infert: No, let the Indifferent judge. An Ecclefaftical Judge is Judex publicus; but here is nothing but judicium discretionis privatum, suspending my own Act, and meddling with no Man's else. Dost he judge Ecclefaftically, who speaketh not a word, nor medleth with the Cause any more than any one in the Congregation?

2. How is he an Independent Judge where he is no judge? Yea, and where the Bishop, and Chancellor are the Judges, and none refiteth or controlet them? He had not been Independent, had he made himself Judge, allowing an Appeal.

3. Seriously, do you take it to be each Minifter's Duty to pronounce all Excommunications, and abolutions which are sent them, without exception; or not? If yea, then if Bishops again Excommunicate their own Kings (as often they
Part III

Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

they have done) we must obey, which I will not do. Or if an Ariasian Excommunicate the Orthodox, or a Papist a Protestant as such; or any Bishop in Malice or on false Accusations Excommunicate the faithfillest of the Flock, yea, or all the Parish, must we obey? For my part, (call me as you please) if you Excommunicate the unwise, and most Religious, and (othewise) most obedient of my Flock, for Covenanting in Baptism for his own Child, for refusing the Cross for not kneeling at the reception of the Sacrament, for reading a Chapter, or repeating a Sermon to his Family, while his Neighbours hear him, I will bear your libelling and Prifons, rather than pronounce that Excommunica-

But if you allow any Exceptions, our Confessions must be the differing judges, whether it be that excepted Cafe or not. Else it is no Exception.

But O what Groans becometh poor Ministers, if this be indeed their Cafe, that just, or unjust, whatever Conscience say against it, we must pronounce all Excommunications and Absolutions (and consequently do all such other things) as a Lay-Chancellor, or Bishop shall command us; unless they could prove to us that God will justify our absolute Obedience, how heinous forever the action be! This is not to be the Ministers of Christ, no, nor of Men, but their absolute Slaves, though to our Damnation, and our Brethren's wrong. If you have any tenderness for our Confessions, when you have know more at hand to pronounce your Sentence, would you not set one to do it that doth not scruple it, and spare a Miniffer, that precepteth he dare not do it for fear of Damnation?

4 Prop. n. 9. [To travel long Journeys, or neglect their Studies. —

"Striff. They need not, for they may appear by Proctors."

Ans. There is some Comfort in that: But if I have a Parish of five Thousand, or ten Thousand Souls (more or less) and it prove that the tenth part of the Parish be either grossly ignorant of the Essentials of Christianness, or Infidels, Papists, Hereticks, Schismatics, Drunkards, Swearers, Ribalds, Raliers, or otherwise scandalous, such as the Canon forbidth me to give the Sacra-

ment to, and I present each of these to the Chaucellour's Court, or half of them, I doubt Proctor's Fees, in the Prosecution, will take up more than all the Tythes come to, and leave me neither Cloaths nor Bread. If you say, it is not so with others, I answer, I know what Men are among whom I have li-

ved, in all places, and I know what the Canon bids me do; but why other Men do it not, and save themselves, I am not bound to give an account, nor yet to imitate them.

And whether these Proctors will save me harmlesse, and plead my Cause as the Cafe requireth, I cannot tell.

4 Prop. n. 10. Let it be left to their Prudence whom they will absolve in Sick-

ness, and give the Sacrament to in private. —

"Striff. If I know no Law that enjoyns the contrary.

Ans. Rubr. [After which Confession the Priest shall absolve him (if he hum-

bly and heartily desire it) after this fort. —] And if he will but say these Words, [I humbly and heartily desire it] the Miniffer hath not Power to for-

bear an absolute absolution.

"Striff. If I am glad they allow the giving of the Sacrament to the Sick:

but that the Sick should chuse what Confessors they please, and consequent-

ly exclude their own Ministers from the exercise of the most proper, and

most important Acts of his Ministerial Function; besides that it seems to

interfere with what is said in the first word of this Paragraph, viz. That

their own Minister is best acquainted with the Penitence or Impenitence of

his People; besides this, I say, It seems to be a trick to draw all Confessors to

themselves, as the Fryars have done in the Church of Rome, from the Secular

Clergy, or Parish-Priest in that Church.

Ans. 1;
Answ. 1. The mistake had no cause in the words: There was no exclusion of any Parish-Minister mentioned, who is willing; no, not any excuse of any that is unwilling, from any other office in vitiation; but only that the unwilling may not be forced to absole any in those absolute words [I absolve thee from all thy sins] when he believeth verily, that the person is impendent. But I had no thought, or word of excluding any priest, as is here suspected.

2. But as the church of Rome alloweth men to confess to what priest they please, I know not how you can hinder any dying man from doing it, without setting a guard upon his doors, or forbidding any, save the parish-priest, to visit him, which is inhumane. This day, while I was writing this, a parish-minister came to me to lament his sin, and told me that he had lived idly, and wickedly at the university, and ever since, and had taken the ministry on him, without any regard to his own soul, and the people's, and had no learning, or knowledge scarce of the catechism; and that he had not read any divinity, in Latin or English, but only out of two or three English books, patched up some sermons; nor understanding a Latin author, nor having read others; asked him how he got ordained: He said, that was safe by friends, &c. And that he was going to put himself into a playhouse, because his living was but forty pound per annum, but God convinced him by the way. Now I would know, If I lie dying in such a parish, must I confess my sin to no man but such an one as this? Why make you not the same laws about physicians, that no man must take any other than such a cot, if it be his lot to be appointed him? Why may not I confess my sins to more than one? Yea, to my friend that is no priest?

Prop. id. Let the words at burial which import the justification and salvation of the deceased be left to the minister's discretion, who hath known the person's life and death.

"Strict. As to leaving the omission, or use of these words, (which they point to) in the burial of the dead to the direction of the minister, what is it, but to give him power of sanctifying, or damning whom he pleaseth?"

Answ. They are not only Christ's ministers, but yours, if not your cryers, or slaves, if they may not be trusted with the speaking, or not speaking of a word, in so weighty a cafe. There are, I still see, greater matters than ceremonies that we differ in. The cafe is this---[There iswarm among us now many open professed infidels, that openly deride Christ and the scripture, and plead against the immortality of the soul, and many against the being of God: There are many papists, heretics, schismatics, common adulterers, openly owning it, fornicators, drunkards, blasphemies; many have been condemned for treason, murder, theft, &c. The conformists themselves preach, and write that such cannot be saved without true converting repentance: We are commanded at the burial of all men to say these words [forasmuch as it hath pleased almighty God, of his great mercy, to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed] and [we give thee hearty thanks for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our brother out of, &c. and [that we may rest in him, as our hope is, this our brother hath: ] these words import the person's justification, and salvation. We are to except no person from this form of burial, except 1. Those that die unbaptized (though the children of true believers): 2. The excommunicate (though not paying fees, or not conforming against conscience.) 3. And those that have laid violent hands on themselves, (though true believers in a fever, frenzy, or distraction.) Some die in the act of drunkenness, some murder each other in duels, and that in drunkenness (as lately was done near my door,) some from the minister and the gospel to the death: Now we must openly pronounce all these saved, for fear of having power to saint, and damn whom we will: But we appeal to humanity it self.
Reverend Yovi Prop. Anfwer, Heathen, he thus falt, Whether what any a no Or be to never I think Men, rare Prop. remember Saint The And Do nor open But 1 Prop. Sentence, "**1,Church. not did pendent, Repent^ ry efhim The Lame, Miiiifters Preaching. to. I faith, of all I think, I knew, I said, I do, why make all our profeflion of any Repentance, but justify their Infide- lity, or Heretic, or Schifm, or die in the Act, or in utter Ignorance, as a Heathen, then why may we not profieme the like of all the World, and fo lay by the Go-pel, and all our talk of future punishment? 

Ques. 4. And is he worthy to be trufted with the Care of Souls, as a Minifter of Chrift, that may not be trufted (I fay nor, to fpeak, but) to falfly give one word at any time, which is thus Written for him to fay? Judge, by this (with the Offices of Baptifm, Confirmation, Communion and Abjuration) what is a Prieft's Office under fuch Bishops, and whether he have the Paffforial Power, either independently, or dependently at all.

4. Prop. u. 11. Let no Minifter be forced to deny the Communion to godly persons, that think it unlawful to kneel.

"Strict. [Why may not our Church forbid the giving of it to thofe that will not kneel, as well as the Presbyterian here and in Holland, forbid the giving of it to thofe that will not fit? ]

Anfu. I never knew one Presbyterian here that did fo: And their Directory did not fo. And if any one should do fo, I am fure it is a rare Perfom. And the Author of these words is no liker to know them than I. This therefore was not well faid.

2. Whether they in Holland do fo, I know not: But if they do, Do you think it well? I think otherwife, and all Nonconformifts that I converse with. We take not a gaffe to be crime enough to cut off Men from Communion with the Church. And if you think otherwife, or durft Excommunicate a Man for being Lame, or having the Gout in his knees,Why muff we all needs prafife as you judge, and execute fo cruel a Sentence, any more than kill men when-ever you bid us? The Canon hath no Exception, Can. 27. [No Minifter, when he celebrateth the Com- munion, hath wittingly, admiffed the fame to any but to fuch as kneel, under pain of Suf- pen on.]

4. Prop. u. 12. Let Minifters have leave to open the meaning of the Cate- chifm—(It is much to be with'd that it were amended.)

"Strict. 1. I know no Law which forbids them to do fo.]

Anfu. 1. That it is good news: Some think fo: And others think, that the Rubrick and Canon, Commanding them to Teach perfons the Catechifm, meaneth, that we muff only teach them the words: And I remember the Articles in Par- liament, against Bishop Pierce, contained, that among other things, that he forbade Minifters Expounding the Catechifm in the Afternoon, faying, it was as bad as Praching. And the Sence, as to us, will be, what please the Bishop.

"Strict. 2. I know no need it hath of mending, nor who are wife enough to a- mend it.

Anfu. I am sorry for it, but cannot help it.

4. Prop. id. [—Some few quickening words of Exhortation—]

"Strict. 3. The words prefcribed both in Baptifm and the Eucharift, are quick-ening enough, and more edifying perhaps and safe, than an Extemporary fancy can add unto them.]

Anfu. 1. You
You know not what is most quickening, and edifying to all other men, so well, as some know what is so to themselves.

2. All that know Humane Nature, know, that Customariseth dulness, and the use of words many hundred times over usually affect less than when there is some variation; though it were to be wisht it were not so.

3. Why must an Extempore fancy needs be the Author? May not a man predetermine a few sentences as well as a sermon? Or if it were extempor, is he fit to be a Preacher that cannot speak a few sentences on so great a subject, with safe and edifying words?

4. Is it unwise to give a Preacher leave to utter a few sentences of the Sacrament at the Delivery, than to Preach a whole Sermon of it? And is he not equally responsible for both? But we insist not on this, as if we could not Administer without it.

**Prop. 4. n. 13.** The Surplice indifferent in the Parish Churches—

"Strict. I rather that, or any other of the Ceremonies should be taken away quite, than left indifferent: for that would be to establish Schism by a Law, and to bring it into the Church in Read of excluding it out of the Church; which, of two Evils is much the leffer."

**Asn.** I think not: for we fee things left indifferent make no Schism: One useth the Surplice in the Pulpit, and another not: One Prayeth before Sermon, and another only bids them Pray: One Prayeth after Sermon, and another not: One at the Singing of Psalms doth sit, another stand; and it maketh no Schism. And the Convocation, 1640, Command Indifference about Bowing towards the Altar: Therefore that Convocation was not of your mind. But either way will serue us.

**Prop. 5.**—[Not (to renounce their Ordination] or be Re-ordained—

"Strict. They are not: Neither doth their Re-ordination imply that they are: but only that they are not sufficiently qualified to Officiate in our Church."

**Asn.** What Qualification is it that that they want? Generals here decides not the Case. If it be only the Qualification of Legal Authority, or Licenc, Why will not the giving of that qualife them? Or what necessity is there of Re-ordination? But when you, as well as we, profefs, that Re-ordination, when real, is unlawful, and yet you require their Ordination de Novo, which they call Re-ordination, Doth not this tell the World that you take the first for null?

6. **Prop.** [No Excommunicate Person, as such, to be Imprison'd and Undone, but such whole Crimes delerse it.

"Strict. Contempt of Authority is one of the greatest Crimes, and for that it is that men are Excommunicated fist, and afterwards Imprison'd. Why doth not this Exception lie against such as are Outlawed in the Chancery, as well as against those that are Excommunicated?"

**Asn.** Because the Cause differeth. E.g. I believe I have had multitudes with me Conformable as well as others, who being of timorous, or melancholy Constitutions, and under Temptations and Trouble of Mind, dare not receive the Sacrament, for fear of doing it unworthily, and of eating and drinking Damnation, and the Devil coming into them, (according to the words of the Liturgy, which affright them:) and they never Communicated in their Lives (at above 30 years of Age,) and have oft been going, and never durft venture: One of them was with me within this hour: Some that have ventured have feel Distraught, and some near it by Terror and Temptations: You can tell them reason against all this: And so can I, and have done it as like as oft as most of your Curates: and yet they are Uncured. And I must not lay how little is done in too many places to cure their Ignorance, or Timevousaftis, which is the cause. And are you sure that all these poor troubled timorous Souls are worthy of utter ruine as Contemmers of Authority? For not Communicating they must be Excommunicated, and after Imprison'd; and undone in the World, even during life, unleas they can be changed by you. Every Man delervetb not utter ruine, who doth not all the good that he can do. But can such a person change their own minds and fears, because you give them reason for it? I know they cannot. And when Christ tenderly carrieth his Lambs in his Arms, and will not break a bruised Reed; Shall I, in his Name, as his Minifter, Excommunicate them, and deliver them.
them up (if not to the Devil) to the Magistrate, to be Beggered, and perpetually Imprisoned? Let me rather bear the wrath of all the Prelates on earth, and all that they can say or do against me.

Prop. 7. But who shall be judged tolerable—— it doth not become us, &c.—

"Strict. As it doth not become you to be Judges of what is, or what is not tolerable in the cafe of others; so it doth much less become you to be Judges of what is, or what is not to be granted in your own cafe."

Anf. We never arrogated any of your Power over our Brethren. We have formerly, in our Folly, hoped that we might presume to be Petitioners, though not Judges what is to be granted us. We are not ashamed to confess, that we did desire leave to Preach Christ's Gospel; But we become not Judges in the Café of our Superior's Acts. But by (or without) your leave, we must be differing Judges of our own Duty or Sin, whatever it cost us. And, I think, no sober Christian will give the contrary, under his hand, as his Judgment.

Prop. id. [That no Licensed Ministers shall Preach against any of the Doctrine, &c.]

"Strict. It seems Unlicensed Ministers may be allowed to speak for or against what they lift.

Anf. Our Cafe is hard with you. I put in [Licensed, or Unlicensed;] And the first Honourable and Learned Perfon that saw it, thought [Unlicensed] should be put out, because it was unmeet for us to tell His Majesty whom he should tolerate, or how far; but to meddle only with our own Cafe, who defired Licences: And now for blotting out that word, and not medling with any others, we are cenfured, as motioning, that the Unlicensed may say what they lift: Thus all our Peace-making motions have been long interpreted by some.

Prop. id. [That all Magistrates be excepted from all open Personal Re- bukes, and disgraceful Censure, or Excommunications, because, &c.]

"Strict. We take Excommunication to be an Ordinance of God, from which Magistrates are not to be exempted.

Anf. 1. God never ordained that a Lay-Chancellor should Excommunicate them.

2. God never gave power to any to excommunicate a King, Prince, or other Ruler (if any at all) but that particular Pastor to whom voluntary Consent he committed the Charge of his Soul. The Independents that think as you, are yet more modell in this, in that they subject the Ruler to none but the chosen Pastor of that particular Congregation which he voluntarily joyneth himself to.

3. Is not the World much abused when they are told that it is the Presbyterians, that are for excommunicating Princes, and not the Episcopal? For my part I am fully of the mind of Bishop Biffor, and Andrews (in' ortura Torts:) in this; that to an Impenitent wicked Ruler, I would suspend my own Act of giving him the Sacrament, with Chrysostom's resolution rather to suffer: But my Judgment is that no Bishop nor Minister (especially one that is not his proper Pastor) may lawfully use any open personal rebukes, or disgraceful censure or Excommunications against Kings, Judges or Honourable Magistrates: And my Reason, no Papist, Prelate, Presbyterian, or Independent, is able to refel, viz. from the fifth Commandment, The established perpetual Law of God Commandeth us to honour them. Disgraceful Excommunication is not accidentally, but purposely a dishonouring them: For Men are excommunicated that they may be shamed. The after-positive Injunction of Excommunication nullith not this antecedent Moral Law: but must give place to it, and hindeth not against it. I farther prove that, 1. Because all Men confess that this last is but a Law of Order, and that Order is for the sake of the end and thing Ordered, and that it ofce obligeth not when it ceaseth to be a means to that end, or would destroy it; And that E. g. If you knew that an Excommunication of a King or Judge would prove the Dissolution of that Church, it were not Lawful: Therefore neither when it exposeth the Magistrate to the reproach or Contempt of the Subjects, and so shaketh the very frame of the Kingdom, or Government. The Magistrate's honour for the good of the Kingdom is more necessary.
necessity than his Dishonour and shame can be to the Order of that particular Church.

2. And a suspending of the Pastor's Act of delivering him the Sacrament, with an humble admonition, may better attain the Lawful end.

3. Christ himself hath oft taught us this Explication of his Law. When he did eat with publicans and sinners, he preferred their repentance, before the positive Order of not being familiar with such, as being never intended in such a Case. When the Disciples pluck't the Ears of Corn, and himself cured the sick on the Sabbath day, he proved that the positive Law of Rest was intended to give place to the Moral Law of Necessity and Charity, and proved it by the instance of David and the Officiating Priests; and twice fended the contrary minded Pharisees to learn what that meaneth, "I will have mercy (a Natural Duty) and not (at that time) sacrifice (a positive institution);" And they, that will pretend a positive Law of Order for a Congregation, to the dishonouring of Kings and Judges, and Magistrates, and making them contemptible, and so unable to govern, do Pharisaically set up Polites against natural moral Duties. By which means Popes and Patriarchs and other Prelates, have wronged Princes, and troubled the world too much already. Do you no better judge the Common Flander, how much the Non-conformists are against the honour of Magistrates in comparison of the Church of England? I know some Non-conformists think as you: but others do not. See the old Non-conformists judgment against excommunicating Kings in a Latin Treat, De vera & omnæ Relig. Author: Miniftrò Angl, An. 1618. pag. 280.

4. Moreover, the execution of the sentence of Excommunication on Princes and Rulers, will least confit with the honour that is due to them, than the sentence itself: for to avoid them that they may be abhamed, to turn away from, not to be familiar with them, to keep them out of the Church at all God's Special Church-worship, are things that we cannot do, without neglect of much of our duty to them; We must attend them and obey them with honour: I know a General Council hath forbidden Bishops to carry themselves with Lawfulness at the tables and in the presence of Princes and great men; And I know that some think that Excommunicate Princes have forfeited their honour and it is lawful to dishonour them, yea and all wicked Princes who deserve Excommunication, and I know Mr. Hooker in his Eccles. Polit. faith, that it is imposed that a Prince that is the Head of a Christian Church be himself a Christian: But all these are Errors tending to the subversion of Order and Government; And the Higher Powers whom God's Spirit commandeth us to honour and be subject to, were Nero and the Roman Senate, and other Enemies of Christianity; even Idolatrous Heathens. And if these must be honoured, much more a Christian King or judge, who were a private man, might deserve an Excommunication. At least I hope that the Writ de Excommunicato Capiendo shall not be iffled out against the King or his Judges, (though the Canon 65, command that every fix months in Cathedrals and Parish-Churches the Excommunications be declared, of those that obstinately refuse to frequent the Divine Service established by publick Authority, and those especially of the better fort and Condition who for notorious contumacy, or other notable Crimes stand Excommunicate &c.] Though the Better fort are singled out especially for the sentence and shame, yet if it should be Judges and Sheriff, who shall judge and apprehend them?

Frag. id. [Not silence, suspend, &c. Arbitrary, but by a known Law.] "Strill. No Bishops do or can do so; Neither is there any Law or Canon to "that purpose that I know of.

Aor. I am loth to Name Instances left it provoke: Mr. Potter is dead: Dr. Willes of King'ston now Chaplain to the King (they say,) I am sure hath complained much of his suspension at Shadwell: I remember Bishop Regj時候 was in leensible of the necessity of this Provision, that at the Savoy Treaty, he was most earnest to have it inferred and insisted on. It may be it is Minister's ignorance in the Law, that maketh them when suspended not know where to seek for a remedy (unles in vain or to their undoing.)

Poffscript. If Sacraments were left free, &c. It would take in the Independents, &c.] "Strill. If Independents may be taken in by us now, why did not you take them
Part III.

Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

"in when you were in power? but preach and write so much as you did against Toleration of them? but you that would have us dis pense to all things now, would your selves dispence with nothing then."

Anfu. It’s pity that matters of publick fact should be so much unknown, and that when such inference follow ! 1. I was never in power: Nay my Lot never fell out to be of any side that was Oppos'd in Church matters, nor in State-Ushered power, but I always was of the under side.

2. It was the Toleration of all Sects indispensibly that I wrote and preach against, and not (that I remember) of meer Independents.

3. Those that did oppo the Toleration of Independents, of my acquaintance, did not deny them the liberty of Independency, but opposed separation, or their Gathering other Churches out of Parish-Churches that had faithful Ministers: If they would have taken Parish-Churches on Independent Principles, without separation, neither I nor my acquaintance did oppo them, nor nor their Endeavours to reform such Churches.

4. The Case greatly differed: For an Independent to refuse Parish-Churches, when no Ceremony, no Liturgie, no Oath or Subscription is required of him, which be superfluous, is not like his refusing Oaths, Subscriptions, Liturgie, Ceremonies, &c.

5. But in a Word, Grant us but as much, and take us but in, as we granted to, and took in the Independents, and we are content. Make this agreement all and all is ended; we desire no more of you. We never denied the Independents the liberty of preaching Lectures, as often as they would: Nor yet the liberty of taking Parish-Churches: They commonly had Presentations, and the publick Maintenance; And no Subscription, Declaration, Liturgie, or Ceremony, was imposed on them. Again I say, I ask you no more Liberty than was given the Independents by their brethren called Presbyterians. Let your Grant now agree but with your intimations.

6. And how then say you, we would dispence with nothing? For my part and those of my mind, we never imposed, nor endeavoured to impose any thing on any man, as necessary to Ordination, Ministry, or Communion, but [ The Owing of the Scripture Generally, and the Creeds, Lord's Prayer, and Decalogue and Sacraments particularly; with that measure of understanding them, and ability to teach them, which is necessary to a Minister, and fidelity therein. ] I never spake for liberty herein for Episcopal Independents yea and Anabaptists that only deny Infant Baptism, I wrote that hinders men's Ministry for their being against the Parliament: And I think I kept many and many thousands from taking the Covenant.

7. At leaft do you deny Liberty to none but those that denied it to others, and we shall thankfully acquiesce.

"Script. I cannot think the maker of these Proposals could imagin that any, much less all of them would or could be agreed to."

Anfu. 1. You speak truly, if you mean [ by those men, of whom upon former trial, he had to great Experience: ] It were great weakness in him to have expected it. But yet he is so charitable as to be confident (though not certain) that if these Proposals were made to the Conformable London Ministers, (such as Dr. Whitlock, Dr. Stillingsleet, Mr. Gifford, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Cradock; Dr. Onram, Dr. Ford, and many more such Learned worthy peaceable men, in this City) they would either grant all that is here desired, or abate so little as should be no hinderance to our present Concord: And though I have no great acquaintance with any of them, yet my knowledge of them by fame and hearing them preach, doth render me so fully persuaded, that if we could get the Cafe but referred to their Judgment and Counsel, instead of the Interceded Bishops who brought us to the Rate that we are in, I make no doubt but we should be all healed in a few weeks time. And that you may not think my confidence vain take this proof: Bishop Wilkins was no fool nor fanatick: These men are much of his spirit and judgment, ( who was a Lover of Mankind, and of honestly, peace and Impartiality and Justice. ) And we agreed with him upon Terms like these, ( upon the Lord Keeper Bridgman's Invitation ) so far, that by mutual Consent the Agreement was drawn up into the form of an Act, to have been offered to the House, so that as much as lay in him and us, we were all agreed and healed. And why should I suspect that any of these worthy persons are less peaceable?"
2. But by this Conclusion, those many persons, who have talk't so loud how ready some great Clergy-men are to Condescend, agree and abate all Unnecessary things to Unite us and prevent Popery, may now see, paft all doubt, the very truth of the Case. This Animadverter you fee, would not grant [any] one of all these Propositions no not our forbearance of an Oath, or Subscription to Ceremonies, or any piece of their imposed formalities, nor the leaving out of a word of the Liturgie, &c. What is it then that they would abate? Such Dealing will make men fee at last.

"Strict. ... Or that if the Non-conformists were, upon such Terms as these, permitted to exercise their Ministry, and made capable of Pastoral charges and other Preferments in our Church, this would be a means to heal our lamentable Divisions that are now among us: unless he will say that the best expedient to suppress Schism, is to embrace and cherish and to reward Schismatics, still professing and refusing to be so: Or that it is better and safer for the Church to have a fire within her bowels than without her doors; or contraries by being mingled together would thereby become, let's contrary or destructive to one another: No certainly: And therefore if they will still continue Non-conformists it is better and safer for the Church they should be still kept out than taken into it.

Answ. 1. But 'tis our Opinion (pardon our folly) that if the Law had not been made which forbade Daniel to pray to God, or commanded the worshipping of the Golden Image, they had been no inconformists that kept not such a Law. And that if the Law were repeated which required Corporations to declare (that no man is bound by the solemn vow (no not to repent, nor against Popery, Schism, or Prophaneries) they would be no Inconformists that did not so declare: And that if the Laws commanded us not to swear, subscribe, declare, Crofs, &c. We were no Inconformists or Schismatics if we did them not. But the name of Schismatics is by such Godfathers as Iacobus, Idacius, and the rest of the Council of Bishops (from whom Ambores difsented) put upon us as St. Martin, who separated from them to the death, for their Church-Tyranny and wicked Lives, and bringing Godly people into the subjection and reproach of Prifoners, if they did but meet for mutual edification and live Religiously. As Gratios faith that by a Papift he meaneath, one that approveth of all that any Pope shall say or do (and I hope there are few such;) so with witne men, a Schismatic is one that approveth not of all that a Pope or Prelate will precribe. And if all the present Non-conformists were commanded to Pray with horns on their heads, to signifie the conquering power of the Church, or Word, they were Schismatics, by such men's nomination, if they disobeyed. But I will now only ask, 1. Q. Were all the Apostles, and the Churches in their time and long after Schismatics, who knew not our Oaths, Declarations, Subscriptions, Liturgie, Ceremonies, &c.

Q. 2. Did they not take as wise a course for the Church's concord and the avoiding of Schism, as either the English or Roman Bishops take?

Q. 3. Had not the Omission of the Roman Cauns about Transubstantiation, Tradition, and such like, been a better way to prevent hereof, than the obeying them? And may it not be join'd in our case? Would any be Schismatics for dissenting from Lay men's power of the Keys, from Croffing, &c, if there were no such Laws? And did not Peter and Paul please God as well without them as you do with them? And did not Peter and Paul go as safe a way to Heaven as you? And is he that conpleth to go the same way to heaven as they did, and to do all that the Universal Church imposed for an hundred, two hundred years after them (at least) yet worthier of the Name of a Schismatic, than the New Lords, that by new Laws do make and call all Schismatics that live as the Apostles did, or did command them, and no more?

2. Have you tried your Better and safer way (by silencing 1800 Ministers of Christ) by which the Flocks are scattered and divided, and we are as Gorgias and Gilead in Contention; And if ye seem bent to you, a few years (by Death's interposition,) will help you to be of another mind. But, alas, must the souls of Millions and the Nation pay for your mistake, while you are preparing for the too late Convictions of that Experience?

"Strict. The only certain and safe way of healing these Divisions (as I conceive) is,
Part III

Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

is, for all, that are taken into the Church, to submit to one and the same Rule, as well in Agendas as Credendis, as well in circumstantial and ceremonial, as in Substantials and Essentials; as well in the manner, as the matter of Religious Worship.

A. 1. And who shall make that Rule? The Bishops! And who shall be Bishops? You! And so the Sums. The only certain, and safe way of Healing, is, for no Man to differ from our Judgment or Will in our Agendas, or Credendis, Circumstance or Substance, manner or matter of Worship, nor say a Word to God in publick, but what we write down for him, or allow him. What Sectary would not be such a Healer?

2. But I am sorry that any Christian, much more Pastors, can believe that ever all the Church will be such Idolizers of Man, as to stretch their Conferences to own all that for matter, and manner, substance, or Circumstance he shall prescribe; or else will all be so ripe in Knowledge, as all to know which are the right Modes and Circumstances, and so come to be of one mind. The Church of Rome had not needed Inquisitions, Flames, and Racks, nor lost so many Kingdoms, if this could have been done. But if ever the Church be heated by Men of your Opinion, by this which you account the only way, neither God nor Reason have herein spoken by me. Wonderful! that near one Thousand three Hundred Years Experience of the Churches doth not convince you, and teach you better.

Strict. For though an Agreement in the Essentials only be enough to make any Man a Member of the Catholick, or universal Church, yet is it not enough to make a Man a Member of this or that particular National Church: for all the Reformed Churches agree (as appears by the Corpus Confessionum) in the Essentials of Faith and Worship; and therefore in that respect they are all Members of the Church-Catholick; but they do not agree, either in the same form of Government, or in the same outward form of Worship; or in the same Ecclesiastical Discipline, or in the same Rites and Ceremonies: and it is the Agreement in such things as these, as well as in Essentials, which constitutes, and giveth Denomination to the several National Churches; which, all of them taken together, do make up the Church Catholick: Thus to make up one Member of the French, Dutch, or any other Reformed Churches, it is not enough to be a Catholick, nor a Protestant-Catholick neither; but he must subscribe, and conform, not only in point of Judgment to their Confession of Faith, but in point of Practice also to all their Rules, Orders, and Usages, in Preaching, Praying, Administration of the Sacraments, and all External Rites, and Ceremonies prescribed by publick Authority, to be used in the publick Worship of God, for the more solemn, more unanimous, more decent, and more edifying performance of the same; which, if any Man, upon any pretence whatsoever, refuse to do, he cannot be of such or such a National Church, where a Conformity to all such things is indispensably required of all that will be of, or continue in the aforesaid respective Churches. And it is not as Lawful and Reasonable for our Church to prescribe Conditions of her Communion, to those that will be of it, and continue in it, as it is for any other of the Reformed Churches to prescribe to those that are of theirs?

A. 1. It's well that Christ is more merciful than Men: His easie Yoke and light Burden, Mat. 11. 29, and the necessary things, Acts. 15, is enough to make Men Members of him, and his Body the Church Catholick, that they may be saved: But he that will be of a National Church must bear and do no Man knows what!

2. But how will this stand with Christ's Catholick Laws? A true Catholick Christian shall be saved: But he that is no more with you, is guilty of one of the greatest Crimes, viz. Contempt of your Authority; and can he then be saved? Christ's Catholick Members must love, honour, and cherish each other: But with you, he that obeyeth you not in every Word, Mode, and circumstance, or ceremony, is to be silenced, and perfecuted. Christ's Laws are, that he that
is weak even in the Faith, be received, but not to doubtful disquisitions, and that for smaller difference we neither despise nor judge each other, but receive one another as Christ received us, and that so far as we have attained, we walk by the same Rule, and mind the same things, and if in any thing we be otherwise minded, God will reveal even this unto us: And that we must love one another with a pure Heart, fervently, and by this be known to all Men to be Christ’s Disciples: But your National Processe carrieth it beyond this Line; you will first break this Catholic Law (as if your National Church were not part of the Universal) and make Laws for judging the foresaid Diftinusters, and then plead yours against Christ’s Laws, and say, he meant not those that are under a Law, (while he forbad such Laws,) And to you may Excommunicate, reproach, avoid, imprison, undo, and silence those that Christ commanded you renderly to Love, and say they are Schifmaticks, for they obey us not in every Circumiatnce! how much easier is Christ’s Yoke than yours?

3. But what is this National Church which is so contrary to Christ’s Catholic Church? If it be all the Churches and Christians that are under one Christian Prince, we own it as such: But this needs no such conditions as you name: And it is not true that the Catholic Church consisteth only of such; for the Subjects of the Turks and Heathens are part of the Catholic Church: If it be all the Churches of a Kingdom as within only affected for Communion or Conundr, I repeat the same as aforesaid. But if you mean all the Churches of a Kingdom, as under one Constitutive Ecclesiastical Head, and Father, few Protestants will say that it is of God’s Institution; (Bilten and others usually say Patriarchs, Metropolitans, &c. are humane Creatures:) And verily I had rather he no Member of a Church of Man’s making (till I better know the Maker’s Authority) than renounce all that mutual Love, and Brotherly concord and forbearance, and kindness, and all Christ’s Promises of Salvation to such, which he hath fetled up his Catholic Members. And if what you say be true, who would not rather far be a meeter Catholic Christian, out of all National Churches, than be in them? But I yet hold, though your particular Canal bind not the Church universal, yet Christ’s universal Laws bind all particular Churches and Christians.

4. And that which maketh me difsent is, that I am not able to discern how all Men can obey such Laws as you mention, and live in any concord with you, without renouncing all Conscience, Christianity, and Religion. Not that I judge all to do so that agree with you: For those that agree in Judgment, may agree in Practice. But you must make me mad, or unacquainted with Mankind, before you make me believe that a whole Kingdom will ever be so perfect in Judgment, or so much of the same temper, Education, condition, conform, &c. as to be all of one Mind in every word, circumstance, ceremony, and mode of Worship, and Discipline, upon Christian, confentiuous terms. Either they must absolutely believe as the Rules bid them, or not. If yea, then most Turks, Heathens, Papists are in the right, that be of the Religion of their Rulers. If not, some bounds and Rules must shew them the difference, how far Obedience is to be given: And the Subjects must be the Difcerners, whether the Cafe falls under those Qualification or not: As e. g. whether it be Sin against God. And when all the Men and Women in a Kingdom have a Multitude of Words, circumstances, and ceremonies, and modes to try by such Rules, they will never be of one Mind about them, who would be of one Mind in a few plain things. And then you come and make their Disobedience to be one of the great Crimes, deserving Excommunication, Imprisonment, and ruin; so that you make such a National Church to be a trap for Men’s undoing and Damnation.

5. As for what you say of the Foreign Churches, their Country-men say, that it is not all one to impose the necessary Discharge of Men’s plain, undeniable Duty, and to impose the Humane Work, which you can describe. But I am a stranger to them, and am bound to receive nothing against another, till I hear both Parties speak; nor am I concerned in the Case, as not being bound to justify them any more than you. If it be as you say, no wonder if they have the distractions and calamities, and Divisions, which render them the objects of compassion. The Serpent, that beguiled Eve, hath long ago tempted almost all the Churches from the Ancient Christian Simplicity, in Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship, which is the only way of common Concord.
8. But yet besides the Catholick Church, we hold particular Churches being Christian Assemblies, to be of Christ's Institution. And it is impossible there to worship God without the determination of many Circumstances and Modes: Some Translation, some Metre of Hymns, some Tune, some Time and Place, some Pastor, some Liturgies, must be chosen: And he, that will herein depart from the Common chosen Circumstance, departeth therein himself, from their Communion: But yet such may serve God acceptably in another Assembly, and may live in Christian Love and Peace, though they Sing not in the same Tune or Liturgy; or use not every Ceremony alike. And this is nothing to the making of new Symbols, Oaths, Subscriptions, or other things, not necessary in Genere, and that by the Officers of a National Human Church, and this not only to be done, and quietly born, but approved: Your Way is the most proper Engine to tear in pieces all the Churches in the World, or reduce them to a Spanish Human Obedience. For if a particular Parish-Church did not so much as use Men to a Ceremony, but mere Determinations, which must some way be made: If the Priest stood at the Church door, and said, You shall not enter, unless you will Subscribe, or Say, or Swear, that we are infallible in all that we do: or that there is no Sin, no Fault, nothing contrary to God's Will and Word; nothing but what you Affent, and Consent to, in all our Translations of Scripture, in all our Version, Tunps, Words, Ceremonies, Circumstances, I would never enter into that Church; though I will gladly and peaceably join with them, if they will let me alone without such Obligations to justify all they do. One would think this should have been past Controversie before this day, among the Prudent Pfaltors of the Churches.

"Strict. Still supposing, that neither they, nor we, require any thing that may not be submitted to without sin.

Answ. Upon that Supposition we have no Controversie with you; Then what need any of this ado? But who shall be the Judge? If you must, and that absolutely; then it is all one to us whether it be sin or no sin: for, to us, it will be none, if we do as you bid us: But then why do Protestants condemn Papists, who do as they are bidden? And why do our Articles condemn them, that say, All Men may be bidden in the Religion they are bred in; when they all do as they are bidden, even they that deifie Christ. But, if you hold not to this, what shall we do? Are we our selves the discerning Judges? Then we protest before God and Man, that we take the things that we deny Conformity to, to be sins, and very heinous sins, and very far from things indifferent: If you say, that we must obey you till we are past doubt, and certain that 'tis sin; I Answer, x. It's too few things that Man's Understanding reacheth to a certainty in: What if I verily think, that I see reason to take that which a Bishop or Church Commanded, to be Blasphemy, Perjury, Treason, Murder, Heresie, &c. but I am not certain and past doubt: Must I then do it? Then a Man that can be but sufficiently ignorant, or doubtful, may stick at no Commanded Wickedness. Some other Rule therefore than this must be found out. If you say, That we have no reason to take any thing commanded for sin; and you think you confute all our Objections; I Answer, 1. So all Impoters think, or more: And so we are as confident that our Reafon is good, and that we see the gros Errors of your Answers: And all this is but to say, that no Man is to be Tolerated in your Church, that is not in every thing in the Right (and that in your Judgments.) Suppose you were Infallible, so are not all the Subjects: And if their Reason be bad, and yours good, all that is no more than to say, That They Err, or are Mistaken: And if no Man shall be Tolerated with you that Error, and that in as great a Matter as a Circumstance, or Ceremony; no two Men in the World must hold Communion on such Terms. I am confident I study as hard as you: I am confident I am as impartial and willing to know the Truth: I have far less than you to tempt me to the contrary. And yet I verily think Conformity to me would be a heinous Sin: Nay, I am past doubt of it, if that will serve. Give us but leave to publish our Reafons freely, and you shall see whether we have any Reafon. But if yet I be mistaken, Shall your National-Church have never a Member Tolerated that is as ignorant and bad as I? Hold to that, and try the like, whether your Church will be as numerous as you are.

"Strict. And
"Strict. And Churches abroad both have been and will be our Compurgators, and
"I with the Presbyterians of England and Scotland would be content to stand to the
"judgment of all the Presbyterian Churches abroad, whether they may not with-
"out sin conform to all that (by our Church) is required of them. Nay, whether
"they can refuse to Conform without sin.

Jn. Content: I and all of my mind, profess, that we will accept your offer:
But we will as sincerely that you would stand to it. Not that we take any-Men for
the Lords of our Faith: but let them hear us speak, and if they say, that it is lawful
(or not a heinous sin in us) to Conform, we will acquiesce and never more accuse
you as Persecutors, but silently undergo all the Accusation of Schism. But then by
the Churches, you must not mean any odd persons, but the Churches indeed.

"Strict. Especially in this Conjuncture of time, when we have to great reason to
"fear the prevailing of the Common Enemy against us both: and consequently, not
"only the Endangering, but the utter ruining of the Protestant Religion, and that
"not only here, but perhaps in all the World besides; the guilt whereof will lie e-
"pecially at our Doors if we do not agree.

Jn. 1. What is the great reason you have to fear the prevailing of the Common
Enemy, and utter ruin of the Protestant Religion. Is it from our State at home?
Or from abroad? If the later, we understand it not, nor who is the Cause. If the
former, Where lyeth the danger? Is it in the increas of Papists, as to Quality
or Number of persons? Did not you cause the Silencing of 600 Ministers, and there-
by (and otherwise) the disaffecting of many Hundred thousand people (I think)
who would have loved and Served you? Did not you help to Banish them Five
Miles from (not the Court only) but all Cities and Corporations, and Places of
their former Miniftery? Did you not undertake all the Miniifterial Work, without
them; And say, you could do it better without them than with them, as being suffi-
cient your selves. Did not one of you tell me, that you thought any Congregation
was better to have none, then such as I? Do you not still here conclude, that unless
we will conform to every Oath, Subscription, Word, &c. It's better that we be out
of your Church than in it? And do you, after all you Undertakings and Sufficient-
ness, now bring us so sad an account of your success? Have you been bringing our Reli-
gion to no better a pas? Have high and low been no better instructed and prefer-
red by you? Hath Popery been no better rafified by you in those Places whence
you Banished us? Do you now come and tell us, that we have great reason to fear
the utter ruin of the Protestant Religion? Is this your account of your underta-
taken Stewardship? What hands then is the Church fall into, if it be so fded?

2. O let us all hear and fear what Man may come to: Would our Agreement
do any thing to prevent this terrible danger which you describe; And will you still
tell all the World, That rather than we shall not be compelled against our Confi-
cences (to our Damnation if we obey) to Declare, that we affen and content to every-
word, yea, and use every word in all your Liturgy, to Declare, That Millions
whom we know not, if they Vow in their Places and Calling, to endeavour a Refor-
mation of the Church (were it but in Lay-Men's power of the Keys) are not ob-
liged by that Vow: rather than we shall be suffered not to Swear Obedience to the
Bishops (though we are responsible to the Law for any Diobedience;) rather
than we shall be Suffered to forbear the Image of the Cross in Baptism, or to forbear
to pronounce every wicked Man faved that we Bury, or to suffer a Parent to Cov-
eant in Baptism for his own Child; or rather than we shall be endured to forbear
turning Godly People that dare not kneel, from Church-Communion, and prono-
nouncing them Excommunicate every six Months if the Chancellor or Bishop bid
us; Rather than this shall be granted us, we shall have no Agreement, the Com-
mon Enemy shall prevail, the Protestant Religion shall not only be endangered,
but utterly ruin'd here, and throughout the World! And is it so indeed? And
yet would you make us believe that you are against the ruin of it; who will not
prevent it at so eafe a rate? What good doth it do you for me to subscribe as ex
Anima, that there is not a word in your Liturgy or Ordination, contrary to the
Word of God, and that I assent and content to all that is in it? When I am
without this responsible for all Omifion, or Opposition to it. We offer, if ne-
cessary, to take our Oaths, as in the presence of God, the Judge of all, that
we would agree with you, and obey you too in any thing, except that which we
judge to be forbidden of God: We offer our Reasons, which persuade us, that
you
your Impostions obeyed would be our sin, and heinous sin: We are past doubt, that your Answers to them are frivolous. You dare not allow us to bring all into the Light, and to Print our Caufe and Reasons, that the World may judge of them: We that pay so dear for our Difent, are as likely to be Unbiassed, as you that have the Wealth and Honours of the World! And were it not liker to be moved by our Reputation with the poorer sort, than you by their Reputation with the Great and Honourable, if not the most. And if yet we be mistaken, so is all the World in as great a Matter, as most things now in Quefition. You call them Indifferent: We think them not so. And yet thall Protestant Religion be ruin'd in all the World, rather than you should not have you will in our obedience to you, in every prefcribed Word, Ceremony, Covenant or Oath, after all this?  

"Strict. And at Ours indeed of the Church-party, if we require what cannot be confented to without fin:"

Anf. Ex ore tuo ---- What you required of old we debated 1660, and you never gave us an Answer to what we largely offered you, in Confutation of your Defence: And how then did you think we should know we Erred? Not by what you kept fecret in your Thoughts. And, as to the New Conformity, we never had leave to give our Reasons against it, by Word or Writing. Grant us but that leave, and if we do not openly prove, that to Conform would be our fin, and very heinous fin (not medling with any Men's Confidence but our own) call us Schismatics, and go on to live us as you have done. Which, I fay, as to my felf, who offer to affume that fuffering, as the penalty of my Error, if I err; but not to justify you, if it were fo, who are no more allowed by Chrift to hurt all that err out of the Church, than to Un-church every perfon in the World.

"Strict. But at theirs that refufe to come in to us, if they may, without fo, submit to all that their acknowledged Superiors require of them."

Anf. Which they are most confident they cannot do: And if Quoad Materiam, they fhould mistake, I think yet St. Paul mittook not, in faying, He that doubteth is condemnd if he eat, becaufe he eateth not in Faith — And him that is weak in the Faith receive, &c. And therefore I would deny your Confequence comparatively: There are various degrees of Guilt: If you made a Canon, that all the prefent Conformists fhould take the Pope, with Bifhop Bramhall, to be Patriarch of the West, and Principium Unitatis to the Universal Church, or fhould own the Church of Rome, the Council of Trent, and the ref, as far as Grotius did; or fhould fubcribe, that the Septuagint is to be preferved before the Hebrew Text; or if it were but thefe, and not thefe of all the various Readings are the right; or that there is not a word faulty in our Old Translation(al New) or in any Book that ever the Convocation approved of (as well as the Liturgy, & c.) If all this shou'd prove lawful (as it never will) and they fhould turn Nonconformists to your Canon, and hereupon they fhould all be filenced, and Popery thereupon come in. Who were guilty of all this? They, with that degree of guilt, which all Men have, in that they are imperfect: Or you, with that more heinous Guilt, which is incompafibly greater. If you faid, All Minifters fhall be Silenced, and People Excommunicated that have any Error and Sin; Their Error and Sin is some Culpable Caufe of the Confequent ruin of the Church; but nothing in compaffion of Yours, who are the Grand Caufe.

"Strict. And for this, if they refufe to fland to the Judgment of Foreign Churches, I refer them to Mr. Baxter, one of the most Eminent Divines of their own party, who, in the 2d. Chapter of the bill of his Diffutations, having enumerated the Controverted Ceremonies (viz. the Surplice, Kneeling at the Lord's Supper, the Rails, and the Crofs in Baptifm) thoug he finds fault with the impropriety of them (which the Governors are to answer for) yet, that they may be obeyed without fin (which are all that Subjects are concerned in) he concludes of all, but the Crofs in Baptifm only; which he would not have excepted neither, if it were used (as we fay it is) as a Teaching, or a Profefling Sign only; and not as a Sacramental, as he mistake it to be: for we do not use it as a means to confer Grace, which is the formalis ratio of a Sacramental Sign; but to signifie, and put us in mind of Grace only. The like he con-
The Life of the Part III

"cludes concerning the use of the Liturgy. And as for the Government, the "Proposer doth not propose the Alteration of it, and consequently implieth, "it may be submitted to as it is, without fin.

A. 1. You speak all this against your self, to tell the World how narrow your Church, and how fruit your Charity is; whilst he, that you lay, is so much of your mind, is judged unworthy to be permitted to Preach the Gospel of Christ, and worther to lie in a Common Gaol among Thieves and Rogues, yea, that it is better for any Congregation to have no Minister than rich. All this Complacy with you is as good as none, to procure him but leave to Preach Repentance. For he offered you to Preach only on the Creed, and Catechism, and could not prevail, though responible for anything had amis'd. And he challenges you to name any one of all the Complying Principles of that Book which he hath ever receded from, or contradicted.

2. They refuse not to stand to the Judgment of other Protestant Churches, that shall hear themselves speak for themselves.

3. Did Mr. Baxter in that Book, or any where else say, That it is Lawful to Subscribe according to the Canon, as ex Animis, that there is nothing in all your Liturgy, or Book of Ordination, contrary to the Word of God? Or that the English Protestant Frame may be Sworn to for Obedience? Or, that King or Parliament have no power to make, or Endeavour any alteration of your Church-Government, if they had sworn it? no nor a Lay-Chancellor's Spiritual Power; Nor any Subject to Petition, or any way endeavour the fame, if he had sworn it, &c. Did he ever say that it was lawful to Excommunicate as many of Christ's faithful Members, either by Pronunciation, or Rejecting them from Communion, as the Bishops or Chancellors will command him? Or to deny Baptism to the Children of all that Scruple Crossing them, or that insist on their duty of Covenanting in their Children's Name themselves? Did he ever say, that your New Subscription, Declaration, Oath, or Re-ordination are Lawful? I think not.

4. He that can submit to your Government, that is, peaceably obey you without sin, cannot therefore Subscribe, that you stand by a Divine Right, or that all is faultless, and nothing alterable in your Government. He would have lived peaceably in Israel when the Priesthood was Corrupted, and the High-Places not taken down, or in the Greek Church, where are many faults, or among the Saracens, or Pagans; but he would have lain in Gaol rather than make a Covenant (Contrary to part of his Baptismal Vow) never to obey God in endeavouring any reformation of these in his place and Calling, telling all others, that none of them are bound to do it, no not if they had Vowed it; Or rather than he would have Subscribed his Approbation and Consent to all, and Covenanted to live and die impenitently herein: He taketh not these for things indifferent. But we find that you will not let men live under you quietly on Terms of patient Submission, unless they be fully of your mind.

You say the Proposer propothes not the alteration of the Government; Therefore it may be submitted to without fin.] He propothes it not because he knoweth you would not consent: Bishop Ether's Primitive Episcopacy was the Government desired in vain, for our Healing, 1660. But again, I say, All, that may be submitted to, may not, by Subscriptions, Covenants, or Oaths, be justified and approved.

5. Lastly, As, to the Cross, he then thought, and thinks still, that it is forbidden by the Second Commandment, and that as an Image and Symbol of Christianity, and a New Humane Sacrament, of which before.

If possibly Light may have any Acceptance, I will adjourn these Questions for the Opponent whatsoever.

Qu. 1. Do you not believe in your Conscience, that Agreement would be more eciale and common on our Terms of Meer Christianity, and Things Necessary, than on Yours, by adding many things doubted of, and needles? Will not more agree in the Creed, than in Aquinas's Sums, if it were all true?

Q. 2. Doth not the knowledge of Humane Darkness, and Variety of Educations, Tempers, Interests, Convert, &c. and the Pudicity of very knowing Men convince you, that Concord must be in few, and great, and evident things?
Q. 3. Doth not the Experience of all Ages prove it past doubt?

Q. 4. Doth not the Conscience of your own Frailty, and imperfect Knowledge moderate you? Dare you say, That you are not ignorant of plainer and greater things than we suffer about?

Q. 5. Do you not hold, That God must be first obeyed, and none against him? And should not a desire to obey God first be cherished? And do you cherish it, by saying to us, [Though you think it a heinous sin to conform, yet do it, or Suffer for your Distress?]

Q. 6. Was it not an Act of Christ's Wisdom, Mercy and Sovereignty, to make the Baptismal Covenant (which the Church explained by the Creed) to be the Stablished Universal Test and Badge of his Disciples and Church-Members? And did it not seem good to the Holy Ghost, and the Apostles, Acts 15, to impose only necessary things? And is it not a Condemning, or Contradicting God needlessly, to take a Contrary Course?

Q. 7. Is not Christ's way, and the first Churches, most likely to save the People's Souls, and yours to damn them? For you will confess, that Christ's few evident necessary Conditions of Christianitie would save Men, if Bishops and Rulers added no more. But if a multitude more (which you count Lawful) are added, then the Nonconformists to them are in danger of Damnation, for the Crime of Contempt of your Authority: So that consequently you make all your Impositions needful to Salvation, and so make it far harder to be saved, than otherwise it would have been.

Q. 8. What hindereth any debauched Conscience from entering into your Ministry, who dare Say, or Swear anything; while he that feareth an Oath, or a Lie, may be kept out? And against which of these should you more carefully shut the Door?

Q. 9. If Agreement be desirable, Which side may more easily, and at a cheaper rate yield and alter, you or we? If you forbear Imposing an Oath, Subscription, Declaration, or Ceremony, it would not do you a Farthing's-worth of hurt: If we Swear, Subscribe, Declare, Conform, we take our selves to be heinous and wilful sinners against God: You call that Indifferent, which we believe is Sin.

Q. 10. Do you not confess, that you are not Infallible? yea, and subscribe, that General-councils are not; even in matters of Faith? And yet must we subscribe our Ancient to every word in their Books, or else be Silenced, or Suffer? Do these well confit?

Q. 11. Dare you deny, that many of your Silenced Brethren Study as hard as you to know the Truth, and have as good Capacity? And are they not as like to be impartial, who suffer as much by their Judgment, as you gain by yours? Judge but by your selves. Doth their kind of Interest tempt you more than your own to partiality?

Q. 12. Is it not gross Uncharitableness, and Usurpation of God's Prerogative, to say, That they do it not out of Conscience, when you have no more from the nature of their Caufe, Motives, or Conversation, to warrant such a Censure? And they are ready to take their Oaths, as before God, that were it not for fear of finning, they would Conform.

Q. 13. Do your Consciences never startle, when you think of Silencing 1800 such Ministers? and depriving so many Thousand Souls of their Ministry? 1 Thes. 2. 15, 16.

Q. 14. Can you hope to make us believe while we dwell in England, that the People's Ignorance and Vice is so far Cure, or the Conformists, for Number and ...
Q. 15. Is not the loss of a Faithful Teacher, where, through Fauclty, or Un-
qualifiedness of the Conformable, he is necesssary, a very great Affliction to the
People? And, Do the Innocent Flocks deserve to suffer in their Souls for our
Nonconformity?

Q. 16. Could not Men of your great Knowledge find out some other Punish-
ment for us (such as Drunkards, Swearers, Fornicators have,) which may not
hurt the People's Souls, nor hinder the Preaching of Christ's Gospel?

Q. 17. Seeing at Ordination, we profess, that all things necessary to Salvation
are in (or provable by) the Scripture, Do you not confess, that your Inven-
tions are not necessary to Salvation? And is the Nonconformist's Ministry no
more necessary?

Q. 18. How say you, That only Christianitv is necessary to a Member of the
Universal Church, and so much more be necessary to the Members of particular
Churches, and the Universal confiil of them?

Q. 19. Did any National Church Impose any one Liturgy, or Subscription be-
sides the Creed, or any Oath of Obedience to the Bishops, for 300, 400, 500 years
after Christ's Nativity?

Q. 20. Can you Read Rom. 14. and.15, and not believe that it bindeth the
Church-Rulers as well as the People?

Q. 21. Did the Ancient Discipline, not enforced by the Sword for 300 years,
do less good than yours? Or was any Man Impriscon'd or Punisht by the Sword
to nominate, because Excommunicate, as a Contemner of Church-power in not re-
penting, for many Hundred years after there were Chnstian Magistrates?

Q. 22. Hath not the making falfe Conditions of Communion, and making
Unnecessary things necessary therefo, been the way, by which the Papists have
Schismatically divided Christians?

Q. 23. Should not Bishops be the most skilful and forward to heal, and the
most backward to divide or persecute?

Q. 24. Could you do more to extirpate Epicepacy, than to make it hateful
to the People, by making it hurtful?

25. Would you do as you do, if you loved your Neighbour as your selves, and
loved not Superiority?

Q. 26. Were not those, that Gildas called no Minis ters, yet, as too many now,
obtruded on the People? And was not the Case of the Bishops that St. Martin
separated from the Death, like yours, or much fairer?

S. 257. A little after some Great Men of the Houfe of Commons drew up a
Bill, as tending to our Healing, to take off our Oaths, Subscriptions and Decla-
rations, except the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance, and Subscriptions to the
Doctrin of the Church of England, according to the 13th of Eliz. But shewing
it to the said Bishop of Winchester, he caus'd them to forbear, and broke it: And
instead of it he furthered an Act only to take of Affent and Content, and the
Renunciation of the Government, which would have been but a Cunning Snare to
make us more remediless and do no good; seeing that the same things with the
repeated Clains would be still by other continued Obligations required, as may
be seen in the Canon for Subscription, Act. 2, and in the Oxford Act, for the Oath,
and confining Refusers. And it's credibly averred, that when most of the other
Bishops were against even this eningning hew of abatement, he told them in the
Houfe
Part III
Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Chapter 1

House [that had it beca but to alate us a Ceremony, he would not have spoken in it: But he knew that we were bound to the same things still, by other Clauses or Obligations, if these were Repealed.]

§ 258. But on Feb. 21. all these things were Suddenly ended, the King early, suddenly, unexpectedly Proroguing the Parliament till November. Whereby the Minds of both Houses were much troubled, and Multitudes greatly exasperated, and alienated from the Court: Of whom many now saw that the Leading Bishops had been the great Causes of our Distractions; but others hating the Nonconformists more; were still as hot for Prelacy and their Violence as ever.

§ 259. All this while the aspiring fort of Conformists, that looked for Preferment, and the Chaplains that lived in fullness; and other Malignant Faction; Clergymen, did Write and Preach to Hill up King, Parliament, and others, to Violence and Cruelty, against the Liberty, and blood of the Nonconformists, who lived quietly by them in Labour and Poverty, and meddled not with them, besides their necessary Difficult. Some railed at them as the most intolerable Villains in the World; especially S. Parker (jocularly confuted and detected by Mr. Marvel a Parliament Man, and one Hickeringhill, and others, came near him in their malignity; And Papists, taking the advantage, set in and did the like. One Wrote, a Sober Enquiry of the Reasons why the Nonconformable Ministers were Hill so valued by the People, (which was their grievous vexation,) And pretended many Causes, I know not whether more malignantly or foolishly, which none could believe but Strangers, and those that were blinded by the Faction, Malignity, or False Reports. One Dr. Afteton, Chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, Wrote a Book, 1. To persuade those to Subscribe who held it lawful, and forbore it only for fear of offending others; falsely intimidating, that this was the Nonconformists Cafe; when I never knew one Man such among them all to this day. 2. To Hill up Rulers to Violence, to Ruine us, persuading them that it is no Persecution: And the Man was not afraid to profess to the World [That as he was going to meet us at the Bar of God, the Reason why so many Subscribed not, was Reputation and Interest, Pride and Covetousness.] And that he might not see Stark Mad with Malice, in charging Men with Covetousness, that I lost all, and lived so poorly upon the Charity of others (most only poor themselves,) he giveth you 2 proofs of their Covetousness. 1. That by Non-conformity they got Living for their conformable Sons. 2. That they left nothing by their Non-conformity (as Bishop Curnow also vehemently told me:) words which tell the world that History is no more credible to Posterity, than either the Consent of all Parties, or the notoriety of fact, or the honesty of the Writer, can make it so, by being known as it's evidence: Words which tell you that it's hard to devise words, so false and impudent, befeeming the Devil himself were the speaker, which Carnal Clergy-men may not be drawn with great confidence to utter. For 1, the 1000, or 2000 Ministers that were Silenced, I have not yet heard of thirty in all, nor of twenty, or twelve yet living, that have Conformable Sons in the Ministry. And of those I know not of one that Conformed by his father's consent, And why should not the father's Conformity be the like to help his Son to a Living than his Non-conformity, when the far greates part of the Prefengers or Patrons are Conformists? And would not covetousness rather make both father and son Conform, that both might have Livings, than the Son alone? And do a thousand or 1600 Ministers, that have no Conformable Sons in the Ministry, refuse Conformity, that 20, or 40 of other Minister's Sons may have Livings? Did I not consider, that among Strangers and Malignants, any thing may be believed that is bad, I should think the Devil a fool, for playing his game so unskilfully. 2. And that they lose nothing, by losing all their Church maintenance now above eleven years together, is a thing hardly to be believed by their poor families, or neighbours, who know that many go in rags and want bread, and even in London, more than one have lately died of Cold and Difcoes, contracted by poverty and want of the necessaries Comforts of Life. And it is a wonder of God's mercy, and the honour of charitable People, especially in London, that it is not so with a very great number of them.

§ 266. This Malignity invite me once more to recite my own case: I have loft not only the Bishoprick which they offered me by Non-conformity, but all Ministerial maintenance these eleven years now near 24. years in 1684. I have these eleven years Preached for nothing: I know not to my remembrance that I have received
received a great, as for Preaching these twelve years, but what I have received (unless I may call about the sum of ten pounds which some persons gave me on particular occasions, and 35 lb. which those gave me in the jail to defray my Prisong-charges, by that name, or ten pounds for 
*Ann.,* which Sergeant Fountain gave me till be dyed, to whom I never Preached, nor was it on that account) only four pounds I received for Preaching, the Merchant's Lecture, and 6 lb. more was offered me as my due and some offered me somewhat after a year's Preaching at Mr. Turner's Church: but I sent it every penny back to them, and resolved (while it is as it is) to take no money for my Preaching. 1. Because I preach but in other men's Churches, to people that maintain other Ministers already. 2. Because I want not, but have to give, when multitudes are in great necessity. 3. Because I will be under no temptation by dependence or obligation which may hinder me from dealing plainly with Differents and Offenders. 4. Because I perceive that, when men's purses are sought to, it tempts many to question whether we sincerely seek the good of their souls. On all which Accents & not (I think,) from proud disdain, I have for long refused money for preaching. And whereas they say how much I receive for my printed books, again at this year 1674, proofs that having printed about 70 Books, no one Lord, Knight, or any person to whom (as it's called,) any of them were Dedicated or inscribed, ever offered me a great, the City of Coventry and the Lady *Ann.,* each a piece of Plate of about 4 lb. value; And whereas the fifth Book printed is my due from the Bookseller, which I use, for almost all of them, to give my friends, which amounteth to many thousands, I remember not that every one person, noble or ignoble offered me one great to this day, for any book I gave them. And I mention all this, because I am not capable of confuting the malicious calumniators by distant inferences so well as by my own case; But yet that the Readers may partly conjecture, at the cafe of many of my Brethren, by my own: who yet never received a great from my Inheritance or Patrimony (my poor kindred having much more than all: ) We're not malicious indeed, these Apologies were needlefs, for men, that the world feethe are turned out of all. Yea we our selves pay constantly to the maintenance of the Conformable Ministers, though we have no part our selves.

And I can truly say that I have offered money to my old acquaintance, who live shenoned in a very poor and hard condition, who have flilly refused it because they thought it unlawful while they had Bread and Drink, to take money while many of their Brethren were in greater need.

And at the same time while these envious Preachers cried out against our Preaching, and perverted men how fully we were maintained, they laboured for Laws to increase their settled maintenance, and some of them in my hearing Preached how miserable a cafe the Clergy were in, were they left to the people's kindnefs and bounty: And yet proclaim our fulnefs, who are left to the kindnefs of those few (who also pay fully their Tythes to the Parifh Ministers,) who, thes Envyers say, are the smaller and poorer part in the Land; which comparatively is true, (though by this time I think the far greatest part are grown into unlike with the present Prelates, who yet cleave to their Church.) And if their noble, rich, and numerous followers would leave them in want, were they left to their Charity, it seems they take their Church to consist of men much more covetous, and less Religious and liberal than our few poor men.

S. 261. The Lord's day, before the Parliament was dissolved, one of these Prelates Preached to them to perwade them that we are obilinate, and not to be tolerated, nor cured by any means, but *Vergence,* urging them to set Fire to the Fa- got, and teach us by Serpents or Scorpions, and open our eyes with Gall. Yet none of these men will procure us leave to publish, or offer to Authority the Reasons of our Non-conformity. But this is not the first proof that a carnal, worldly, proud, ungodly Clergie, who never were errorios in their own prefixed belief, nor felt the power of what they Preach, have been, in most Ages of the Church, its greatest plague, and the greatest hinderers of Holiness and Concord by making their formalities and Ceremonies the chief of Holinefs, and their Worldly Interest and Domination the only cement of Concord; And O how much hath Satan done against Christ's Kingdom in the World, by setting up Faddists and Rulers over the Churches, to fight against Christ in his own name and livery, and to destroy piety and peace, by a pretence of promoting them!

S. 262. This forseid Preacher brings to my remembrance a Silenced Minister who
who heard the Sermon, Mr. John Humphrey, a man not trait and factious in Doctrine, Government or Worship, as his Books shew for the middle way, about Election, Justification, &c. and his former Writings, for giving the Lord's Supper to the Ungodly to convert them, and his own Reordination, and writing for Reordination: The former Sessions of Parliament he printed a sheet for Concord, by restoring some silenced Ministers, and tolerating others, for which he was imprisoned (as was Dr. Ludovici Molinus M. D. Son to old Peter for writing his Paterum as against the Prelatists: but delivered by the Common Act of Pardon. And this Session the said Mr. Humphrey again printed another sheet, and put it into the hands of many Parliament men; which though flighted, and frustrate by the Prorogation of the Houfe, yet I think hath so much reason in it, that I shall here annex it, though it speak not at all to the righteousness of our Cause, and the Reasons of our Non-conformity, that the Reader may see upon what Terms we stood: But the truth is, when we were once contrived into the Parliament's Inquisition and persecution, it was resolved that we should be saved by the King or not at all; and that Parliaments and Laws should be our Tormenters, and not our Deliverers any more.

Mr. John Humphrey's Papers given to the Parliament-Men.

Comprehension with Indulgence.

Nihil est jam dictum quod non fuit dictum prius. Terence.

It hath pleased his Majesty by several gracious Overtures to commend a Union of his Protestant Subjects to the consideration of a Parliament. A design full of all Princely Wisdom, Honesty, and Goodness. In this Achievement there is a double interest (I apprehend) to be distinguished and weighed; that of Religion it self, and that of the Nation. The advance of Religion doth consist much in the Unity of its Professors, both in Opinion and Practice, to be of one Mind, and one Heart, and one way (in Discipline and Worship) so far as may be according to the Scriptures. The advance of the Nation does lie in the freedom and flourishing of Trade, and uniting the whole Body in the common Benefit, and dependence on the Government. The one of these befriends an Established Order and Accommodation; the other befriends Indulgence, Liberty of Conscience, or toleration. For while People are in danger about Religion, we dare not launch out into Trade; (say they) but we must keep our Moneys, being we know not into what straits we shall be driven; and when, in reference to their Party, they are held under severity, it is easy for those, who are designing Heads, to mould them into Wrath and Faction; which, without that occasion, will melt, and dissolve it self into bare Dissent of Opinion, peaceably rejoicing under the Enjoyment of Protection.

The King we know is concerned, as Supreme Governor, and as a Christian, Protestant Governor. As he is King, he is to seek the welfare of the Nation, as he is a Christian the Flourishing of Religion; and the Protestant Religion particularly is his Interest, as this Kingdom doth lie in Ballance (he being the chief Party) with its Neighbour Nations.

The Judgment now of some is for a Comprehending All, which may take in those who are for our Parochial Churches, that severity then might be used for reclaiming all whoever separate from them: The Judgment of some others is, for a free and equal All of Grace to all indifferently (the Papists with most excepted) whether separatists or others, abhorring Comprehension, as more dangerous to them, upon that Account mentioned, than all the Acts that have passed. Neither of these Judge up to the full interest of the King and Kingdom, as is proposed. It becomes not the Presbyterian, if his Principles will admit him to own our Parochial Churches, and enjoy a Living, to be willing to have his Brethren, the Independents, given up to Perfection: And it becomes not the Separatist, if he may but enjoy his Convenience, to Repine, or envy at the Presbyterian for reaping any further Emolument, seeing
The \textit{LIFE} of the

Part III.

facing both of them (supposing the later may do so) have as much at the bottom as can be, in their Capacities, defired of either. It is an Act therefore of a mixt Complexion, providing both \textit{Comprehension} and \textit{Indulgence} for the different Parties, must serve our Purpose.

And to this end (as we may humbly hope) there is a \textit{Bill} at present in the House, \textit{A bill for the ease of the Protestant Dissenter in the business of Religion}. Which that (upon this present Prorogation) it may be cast into this Model, I must present the same, yet in a little farther Explication.

There are two forts (we al all know) of the \textit{Protestant Dissenters}, one that own the Established Ministry, and our Parish Congregations, and are in Capacity of Union upon that account, defining it heartily upon condensation to them in some small matters: The other, that own not our Churches, and so are unequalable of a Conjunction, who do not, and cannot desire it, or seek it.

For the one, that which we propose is a farther Latitude in the present Constitution, that fish may be received, and this we call \textit{Comprehension}, or \textit{Accommodation}. Let us suppose that nothing else were required of a Man, to be a Minister of a Parish than there is to the Parishioner to be a Member of a Parish Church, as part of the National: If a person Baptized will come to Church, and hear Common-Prayer, and receive the Sacrament, and does nothing worthy of Excommunication, he is, he may, he must be received for a Parochial Member: In like manner, If a Minister first ordained (and to Episcopally, or Classically approved for his Abilities for that function) will but read the book of Liturgy, and Administer the Sacraments according to it, and does nothing which deserves suspension (we appeal to all this indifferently sober) why should not this suffice a Man, for the enjoying his Living, and exercising the Office unto which he is called?

For the other, there is indeed nothing can be done to bring those in, and join them with us in Parochial Union; yet is there this to be proposed, that you bear with them, and not let any be perfected meerly for their Consequences; and that we call \textit{Indulgence or Toleration}. If the Presbyterian now may be comprehended, he will be satisfied, to act at his Ministry without endeavouring any Alteration other-wise of Episcopacy: If the Congregationalists be indulged, he will be satisfied tho he be not comprehended, for that he cannot submit unto, and so shall there be no Difobligation put on any, but all be pleased, and enjoy the ease of this \textit{Bill}. Let but the Grounds of \textit{Comprehension} be laid wide enough to take in all who can own, and come into the public Liturgy (which we suppose as yet to be the greater weight of the Nation), and when the Countenance of Authority, and all State-Emoluments are cast into one Scale, and others let alone to come of it, without perfecution to inflame them, or preference to encourage them (especially if one Expedition be used, which shall not pass unmentioned in the clothe, that such as came in may find it really better to them, to be a Priest to a Tribe, than a Levite to a Family) we need not doubt but time the Miffrels of the Wife and Unwife; will discover the peaceable like of such Counsel.

And here let me pause a little; for methinks I see what Irreclaimables hang on the Fences of the Parliament-House at this Motion, what prejudices I mean, and Impressions have been laid on the Members by former Acts. There was a Speech delivered by the then Chancellor in \textit{Chrift-Church Hall} in \textit{Oxford}, to the Parliament there, and the Scholars assembled, Wherein the Glory of contriving the \textit{Oxford-Oath}, and Consequentially of the like former Impostions, was most magnificently, as well as fitfully enough arrogated to its proper Author. It was, it seems, the designed Policy of that Great Man, to root those Principles out of Men’s minds upon which the late Wars (as he suppos’d) were built, and he would do it by this Invention, to wit, the Impuling upon them new \textit{Declarations, Oaths} and \textit{Subscriptions}, of a strain framed contrary to those Principles. I do remember now the resent before of \textit{Ejusdems} to the Apology of the Angel, where the \textit{Woods} and the \textit{Seas} would encounter one another. \textit{Folly} (fays he) \textit{it was a foolish purpose}; for the trees could not come down from the hills, nor the Waves get up from the shores, I must say the fame of this Policy. It was really a great vanity to think that folk should be made to swear away their thoughts and beliefs. Whatever it is we think or believe, we do think it, we must think it, we do believe it, we must believe it, notwithstanding any of these outward Impostions. The honest Man indeed will refuse an Injunction against his Conscience, the knife will swallow it, but both retain their \textit{Principles}, which the last will be the likeliest to put any villainous \textit{Practice} on. On the Contrary, there is nothing
Part III. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

nothing could be advised more certain, to keep the Covenant, and such Principles alive in Men’s heart’s, and memories than this perpetual injuring the Reformation of it. Nor may you wonder, if that Leffon link deep into Men’s flesh which you will teach them with Brains and Thorns, as Oideon taught the Men of Emaubah. Besides, it is the most impolitick thing that ever could have been, for such Contests, as are of that dangerous Consequence to Majesty and the Government to have them once disputed, or brought into question, to be put into these Declarations, Oaths and Subscriptions, which necessitates the Examination of them to fo many. It was the wisdom of the Ancient Church, instead of Contention about the Jewish Ceremonies, to take care they might have an honourable burial: And I dare say if that great Lord Chancellor had but put off his Cap to the Covenant, and bidden it a fair Adieu only, he should have done more towards its Extirpation, than by all this iterated trouble to Men’s Conscience. And if it shall therefore please the succeeding Ministers of our State, instead of going to root out the Principles of Innovation which are got into people, by this means (which is no means to do it, but the means to rivet them more in us, to endeavour rather to root out the Canons from us, which make men willing to entertain such Principles, and desire Change: I suppose their Policy will prove the founder. The way to establish the Throne of the King is this, to make it appear, that all those Grievances, and all those Good things which the People in the late times expected to be removed, or to be obtained, by a Common Wealth, or a Change of the Government, may be more effectually accomplished by a King in the Acts of his Parliament.

I am sensible how my Theme rests upon me, and that I begin to shoot wide; I take my Aim therefore again, and two things, in earnest, I would expect from this Bill, as the sum of what is necessary to the end of it, our Eafe, if it be made to serve the turn. The one is, that Bishop Land be confined to his Cathedrals: and the other, that Chancellor Hide be totally expelled our Acts of Parliament. By the fift, I mean, that the Ceremonies in the ordinary Parish Churches be left to the Liberty of the Minifter, to use, or use them not, according to his Conscience, and Prudence toward his own Congregation: And by the latter, that all these new devised Oaths, Subscriptions and Declarations together with the Canonical Oath, and the Subscription in the Canons be suspended for the time to come. If that be too much I shall content my self with a modeler motion, that whatsoever.these Declarations be, that are required to be made, signed or sworn, they may be imposed only as to the Matter and End, leaving the Takers but free to the use of their own Expressions. And this Expedit I gather from my Lord Cook, who hath providently, as it were, against such a season, laid in this observation: The form of the Subscription set down in the Canons, ratified by King James, was not expressed in the 42d of the 13th of Elizabeth. Infin. p. 4. c. 74. And consequently if the Clergy enjoined this freedom until then, in reference to the particulars therein contained, what hindersthey might not have the same restored, in reference also to others? It is true, that it may seem hard to many in the Parliament, to make any thing themselves have done: But tho this be no Rule for Christians, who are sometimes to repeat as well as believe, if they be loth to do repent any thing, what if they shall only Interpret or Explain? Let us suppose then some Clause in this Bill, or some new Act, for Explanations. If any Nonconformist cannot come up to the full meaning and intent of these Injunctions rightly Explained, let him remain in statu quo, under the Slate only of Indulgence, without benefit of Compriecjon: for so long as those, who are not Nonconformist may yet enjoy that eafe, as to be indulged in some equal measure answerable to his Majesty’s Declaration, whether Compriecjon be large or narrow, such Terms as we obtain are pure Advantage, and such as we obtain nor are no loss: But if any does, and can honestly agree to the whole sense the Parliament intends in such Impositions, why should there be any Obstruction for such a Man, tho he delivers himself in his own words, to be received into the Established order with others? Unlesse men will look on these Injunctions only to be contrived for Engines of Battrry, to destroy the Nonconformist: And not as Instruments of Unity, to edify the Church of God.

I will not leave our Congregational Brethren neither, so long as I have something more that may be said for them, nor ordinarily considered by any. It is this, that tho indeed they are not, and cannot seek to be of our Churches as they are Parochial, under the Diocese or Superintendency of the Bishops; yet do they not refuse, but seek to be comprehended within the Church as National under his Majesty. I will explain.
explain myself. The Church may be considered as 'Univer
ta,' and so Christ alone is
the head of it, and we receive our Laws from him; Or as Particu
lar, and so the Bishops are Heads, Guides, or Bishops over their respective flocks, who are com-
manded therefore to obey them in the Lord: Or as National, which is an accidental and
external respect to the Church of God, wherein the King is to be acknowled-
ged the supreme Head of it, and as I judge no otherwise: For thus also runs the
nature, That our Sovereign Lord shall be taken and rejected the only supreme Head in Earth
of the Church of England, called Ecclesia Anglicana. Now if it should please the King
and Parliament, to allow and approve these separate Meetings, and Stated Places for Worship, by a Law, as His Majesty did by his Declaration, I must profess that, as
such Assemblies by this means must be constituted immediately integral parts of the Church as National, no less than our Parish Conjunctions: So would the Congre-
gate Churches (at least those that understand themselves) own the King for Head over them, in the same sense as we own him Head over ours, that is as much as to say, for the supreme coercive Governor of all (in this accidental regard) both to keep every several Church to that Gospel-order themselves profess; and to subserve their Conditions in things indifferent, that nothing be done but in sub-
ordination to the peace of the Kingdom.

Well, Let us suppose then a liberty for these separate Assemblies under the vitifica-
tion of his Majesty and his Judges, and not the Bishops; I would fear know what
were the Evil you can find in them. If it lie in any thing, it must be in that you
call Schism. Separation then let us know, in itself simply considered, is nothing, neither good, nor Evil. There may be reason to divide or separate some Christi-
ans from others out of prudence, as the Catholicans of old, from the fully infruct-
ed, for their greater Edification; and as a Clapper or two is added to a Parish
Church when the people elle were too big a Congregation. It is not all Division
then or Separation that is Schism; but sinful Division. Now the supreme Authority
as National Head, having appointed the Parochial Meetings, and required all the
Subjects of the Land to frequent them, and them alone, for the Acknowledging,
Glorifying, or National serving and worshipping the only true God, and his Son,
whom we have generally received: And this Worship or Service, in the nature of
it being intrinsically good, and the external Order (such as that of time and place, and the like Circumstances) being properly under his Jurisdiction, it hath seemed
to me hitherto, that unless there was something in that order or way prescribed
which is sinful, and that required too as a Condition of that Communion, there is
no Man could refuse his attendance on these Parochial Assemblies, without the sin
of Disobedience, and consequently his separation thereby becoming sinful, proves
Schism: But if the Scene be altered and these separate Assemblies made Legal, the
Schism, in reference to the National Church, upon the same account, does vanish.
Schism is a separation from that Church whereof we ought or are bound to be Members:
if the supreme Authority then looses our obligation to the Parish-Meeting, so
that we are bound no longer, the iniquity (I say, upon this account) is not to be found,
and the Schism gone. So here, a way opened for the Parliament (if they please) to
rid the Trouble and Scruple of Schism (at once) out of the Land. If they please
not, yet is there something to be thought on for the Separatift in a way of forbear-
cance, that the innocent Christian, at least, as it was in the time of Trajan, may not
be fought out unto Punishment: Especially when such a toleration only is desired, as
is consistent with the Articles of Faith, a Good Life, and the Government of the Nation.

And now I turn me to the Houfes. My Lords and Gentlemen! I will suppose
you honest persons, that would do as you would be done unto; that would not
wrong any; or if you did, would make them recompence. There hath been very
hard Acts passed, which when the Bills were brought in, might haply look smooth
and fair to you; but you saw not the Covert Art, secret Machination, and purpose-
fully contrived shares against one whole Party. If such a form of words would not,
another should do their business. By this means, you in the first place, your selves,
some of you were overstript: Mutinudes disposed of their Livings: The Vine-
yard Left out to others: The Lord Jesus, the Maker of it, deprived of many of his faithful Labourers; And the poor sheep (what had they done?) bereft of their accustomed spiritual food, to the hazard of their Eternal Souls. Among many Arguments therefore for Liberty in other Papers, from Policy, Convenance, Reason of State, and
Reason of Religion, I have this one to offer you of a more binding Nature, an Argu-
ment from Justice, Righteousness, and Restitution to the Displaced. It is true, that

the Places they once had, are filled, and disposed: but there are others enough. There are many of those, who possefs their, do also keep their own, and keep more. There are many who are Canons, Deans, Prebendaries, that are also Parliam. Reftors, Vicars; who have Benefices and Honours by keeps, and by the bollard. If it shall please you therefore in this Bill on the Aprul, or in another, to take Cognizance of Dignities, that, for the preventing an Idle, Scandalous, Covetously overgrown, unprofitable Minis try, every Man who hath more than one Cure of Souls, or one Dignity, shall give them up into a publick Stock, or to a general Distribution, you shall do the Church right, and the Ejected right, you shall give such Drones their Dae, and God his Due, and shew the way by this means for the making your Grace intended in this Bill, of Signification. In the Name of God, Sirs, let me move you to this, if it were only Hac vice, for a present needful Conjunction of us at this season. We see the jaws of Popery, and the Sectary opening upon us, if the sober Protestant Interest be not united, we perish. I know who will be ready to stamp here and throw drift in the Air, for it is these Sons of the 'hoife-Leach, whose voice is still Gisse Givè, that will never be contented with a single portion. A Dignity therefore with a Living let them be allowed: but one Dignity and one Cure of Souls should be all, tho' they cut themselves with Lances. It is this dam'd hard objection at the bottom, the Priests Covetousnes and Corruption, rather than their Dispute about things indifferent, that really hinders the Church's peace and prosperity.

To Conclude. According to what every Man's mind is most upon (the Publick Interest, or his own) such is his value more or less.

§ 263. About this time was a great change of Affairs in Scotland; their Parliament concurring with this of England, in differing the present Councils and Proceedings (but not so much Proclaiming the danger of Popery, as Aggravating the Burdens and Grievances of the People, against the great Commissioner the Duke of Lauderdale; ) So that Duke Hamilton became the Head of the Opposition, and most of the Nobility and Commons adhered to him, and were against D. of Lauderdale: And the Parliament went so high that D. Lauderdale was fain to Adjourn them: Whereupon D. Hamilton came to England with their Grievances to the King (with some of the Nobility). But the King, tho' he gave him fair respect, sharply rebuked him and their Proceedings, and stuck close to D. Lauderdale against all opposition.

§ 264. At last D. Lauderdale found the way to turn their own Engin against themselves, and whereas many of their Grievances had been settled by themselves by Act of Parliament (while they were ruled by him), he acquainteth the King how heavy and unufferable they were, and to the King, by a Letter, releaseth them: And among their burdens was a great income settled upon D. Hamilton for some Service, Lofs or Loan to the King, by his Predecessors, which he that had complained of Grievances was now to lose by the King removing the Grievances: Whereupon he professed that he had been still ready to remit those Revenues; but he could not do it in this way of a Letter against a Law, left by the same way another Letter should take away the rel of his Estate: And he got the hands of Lawyers to testify it was against Law, and sent it to the King, who in displeasure rejected his Narrative, and so the Distinction in Scotland increa

§ 265. At this time ( psit 16:4.) God hath so much increased my Languishing, and laid me so low, by an incessant irritation of my head, and translation of my great fatuency thither to the Nerves and Members, increaing thef ten or twelve weeks to greater pains, that I have reason to think that my time on Earth will not be long: And O how Good hath the Will of God proved hitherto to me? And will it not be best at last? Experience can teach me to lay to his praise, Great peace have they that love his Law, and nothing shall offend them: And thus my flesh and heart do fail, God is the Rock of my heart and my portion for ever.

§ 266. At this time came out my Book called, The poor Man's Family Book; which the remembrance of the great use of Mr. Dent's plain Man's path way to Heaven (now laid by) occasioned me to write, for poor Country Families who cannot buy or read many Books.

§ 267. I will not here pass by the Commemoration of one among many of the worthy silenced Ministers of London, that such Examples may provoke more to some imitation, viz. Mr. Thomas Gouge: He is the eldest Son of old Dr. William Gouge Deceased: He was Pastor to that great Parish called Stepneys; whence he

Tt t t 2 was
was ejected, with the rest of his brethren at the time when the restored Prelates acted like themselves. I never heard any one person, of what rank, fort or sect soever, speak one word to his Dihonour, or Name any fault that ever they charged on his Life or Doctrine, no not the Prelatifs themselves, save only that he confounded not to their Impostures, and that he did so much good with so great Industry: God blest him with a good Estate, and he liberally used it in works of Charity: When the fire consumed much of it, and when he had settled his Children, and his wife was taken from him by Death; of an hundred and fifty pound a year that he had left, he gave an hundred of it to charitable uses. His daily work is to do all the good he can, with as great diligence and constancy as other Men labour at their Trades: He visiteth the poor, and feeketh after them: He writeth books to stir up the rich, to devote (at least) the tenth part of their Estates to works of Charity: He goeth to the rich to persuade and urge them; He collecteth money of all that he can prevail with, and travelleth himself (tho’ between 60 and 70 years old) into Wales, Winter and Summer, and diffenfeth the money to the poor labouring persentttd Miniftrers: He hath settled himself in the chief Towns of Wales a great number of Schools, for Women to teach Children to read, having himself undertaketh to pay them for many hundred Children; He printeth many thousands of his own practical Books, and giveth them freely throughout Wales, (at his own charge): And when I do something of the like by mine, he undertaketh the Distribution of them: He preacheth in Wales himfelf till they drive him from place to place by persecution; when he returneth home, he visiteth the Prisoners, and helpeth them to books, and preacheth repentance to them: The poor and the ignorant are those that he liveth for, doing good to Soul and Body daily, save that he Solliciteth the Rich to contribute to fuch uses. The reading of Mr. Jef. Allen’s Life hath raised his Reflection and Activity to fuch a Course of Life, which was far higher than other Mens before.

§ 268. Mr. Sherlock’s book before mentionted making a great noife, and he and the Author of the fober Inquiry, and others of them, when they reproached other Nonconformifts being pleased to put in fome Exceptions of me by Name, I thought my felf the more oblidged to difown their Mifcarriages. And I firt in Difcourfe fought to convince Mr. Sherlock; and left he fhould not either understand or report me aright (Writings being furer Vindications than Memory) I fent him fome Ani-

madverfions, which have fince been Printed.

§ 269. My old friend Dr. Thomas Good now published a book called, Dubitamins and Fir. Laws, againft Atheifm, Infidelity, Popery, and then Presbyterian, Independency, and Antipaptifity; very superficial: He was formerly indeed a profefled Prelatift, but moderate, and himfelf never hindered from his Miniftral work and maintenance, and joineth with us in our Disputations at Fedeminfifter, and our Con-

cord in Harlechfhire among the differting parties. Yet being Canon of Hereford, and Mr. of Baliol Colledge in Oxford (who old, waiting for more) he afferted in his Book, that they were condemed things indifferent that we refufed Conformity for, and that all the Nonconformifts (without Exception) had a hand in the late King’s Death, one way or other, by Consent, &c. The Impedancy of which affertion mov-

e me to write the Contradiction here adjoined.

To my Reverend Friend Dr. Good, Mr. of Baliol Colledge in Oxford.

Reverend and Worthy Sir,

IT is now about a Month since I received a Letter from you for the furthering of a good work, which I sent to Mr. Foley by his Son Mr. Paul F. not having opportunity my felf to fee him: I have flayed fo long for an Answer, not hearing yet from him, that I think it is not meet any longer to forbear to acquaint you with the Reafons of the delay: He liveth quite at the other end of London from me, and my weaknefs and buiness keep me much within Doors, and it’s hard to find him within except at thofe hours when I am constrained to be in bed. But I have reafon to Con-
Conjecture that his Answer will be 1. That the Rich man whose judgments are for Conformity, are far more Numerous than those of another mind, and therefore fitter to promote that work: And there are so very few that do any thing for the ejected Minifters, that none of them live on brown bread and water, which hindereth these Gentlemen from other kind of Charitable works. 2. And I must crave your patience (being confident, by your ancient kindnes, of your friendly Interpretation) while I tell you, that this day I heard one say, we can expect that Dr. Good do make his Scholars no better than himself: And what reason have we to maintain and breed up Men, to ufe us as he hath done in his late Treatife. I got the book, and was glad to find much good, and several moderate paffages in it (And I knew you so well, that I could not but expect moderation): But when I perused the paffages referred to, I could say no more for them, but that I would write to you, to hear your Answer about them. For I confess they surprized me—Tho' at the fame time I received many new books of a fanguine Complexion from other hands without Admiration.

I. The first paffage referred to was pag. 104. [Which are confessedly things indifferent.] This is spoken indifferently of the Presbyterians: Where have I lived? I know not one Presbyterian living that divideth from you for any thing which he confetteth indifferent; I crave your Answer containing the proof of this; At leaft to name some one of them that we may reprofe him. We take conformity to be fo far from indifferent, that we forbear to tell the World the greatnes of the Sin which we think to be in it, left Men cannot bear it, and left it should defaft the people to the Minifty of the Conformifts.

II. Your pag. 156. I pass by: The main matter is pag. 160. 161. that tho' All the Nonconformifts were not in Actual Arms against the King—nor did they all as natural Agents cut off his head; but morally, that is, very finfully and wickedly, they had their hand ftrained with that Royal blood: For whichever did Abet these Sons of Belial in their Rebellions, Treafons, Murders of their King and fellow Subjects, either by confenting to their Villanies, praying for their Prosperity, praising God for their Successes, &c. The Charge is high: If it be not true. 1. They are almost as deeply wronged as you can wrong them. 2. Our Rulers are wronged by being fo provoked to abhor them, Silence and Destroy them. 3. Pufterity is wronged by a misinforming History.

I. You are too old to be ignorant, that it was an Epifcopal and Eratian Parliament of Conformifts, that firft took up those Arms in England against the King: The Members yet living profefs that at that time they knew but one Presbyterian in the Houfe of Commons: Interfet forced or led them to call in the Scots, and Presbyterian came in with them. If you doubt of it, see the Propositions to the King at Nottingham, where a Limited Epifcopacy is one.

II. The Lord Lieutenants that feized on the Militia were far moft Conformifts, and scarce any Presbyterians at all.

III. The General Officers and Colonels of the Earl of Effex Army were ten to one Conformifts, and few, if any Presbyterians, fave after, deboft, Mercenary Scots, if they were fuch, which I know not: And the General Epifcopal himfelf.

IV. The Major Generals of the Militia, in the feveral Countries were moftly Conformifts and Searce any Presbyterians.

V. The Assembly at Westminfter, when they went thither were all Conformifts, fave about 8 or 9 and the Scots Commissioner.

VI. One of the two Arch-Bifhops was a General in the Parliament's Army.

VII. Many of the prefent Conformable Minifters were in Arms againft the King, and fome wrote for his Death, and many of them took the Covenant and Engagement.

VIII.
VIII. The most of the conformable Gentry of my acquaintance that were put upon it, took the Engagement against the King and House of Lords.

IX. The Non-conformable Ministers of Gloucestershire (Mr. Geery, Mr. Capell, Mr. Ashall, &c.) were against the Parliament’s War, though the Parliament’s Garrison was over them. Mr. Rappfield (who hath lain 6, or 7 years in the common Jail for Preaching) with his Brother (sometimes Speaker of the House of Commons) were so much against the Parliament’s Cause, that to this day (even while he lay in Jail) he most zealously made his followers renounce it: Many Non-conformists in many Counties were of the same mind.

X. Many of the Non-conformists lived in the King’s Quarters, and never were drawn the other way; as Dr. Comant (lately one of them) and others in Oxford, and so in other parts.

XI. Some of the Non-conformists were in the King’s Army: Poor Martin of Wen-len lost an Arm in his Army, and yet the other Arm lay long with him in Warwick Jail for Preaching.

XII. Almost all the Non-conformists of my acquaintance in England, have Independents and Seculars, refused the Engagement, and took Cromwell and the Common-wealth-Parliament for Lilliputers, and never approved what they did; nor ever kept their days of Fasting or Thanksgiving. (To tell you of the London Ministers printed Declarations against the intended Death of the King, you will say; unsatisfactory, because too late.)

XIII. Most of the Non-conformable Ministers, of my acquaintance, were either boys at School, or in the University, in the Wars, or never medled with it: so that I must profess that setting them altogether, I do not think that one in ten throughout the Kingdom can be proved to have done any of these things that you name, against the King.

XIV. We have oft with great men put it to this trial. Let them give leave but to so many to Preach the Gospel, as cannot be proved ever to have had any hand in the Wars against the King, and we will thankfully acquiesce, and bear the Silence of the rest: make but this Match for us, and we will joyfully give you thanks.

XV. Who knoweth not that the greatest Prelatists were the Makers of the Principles that the War was raised on, (Bilson, Jewel, &c.) (and Hooker (quite beyond them all?)

XVI. But because all proof must be of individuals, I intreat you as to our own Country where you were acquainted, tell me if you can, I say it seriously if you can, what ever was done or said against the King, by Mr. Ambrose Squire, Mr. Kimberley, Mr. Lovell, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Reginalds, Mr. Hickman, Mr. Trusham, Mr. Baldwin, junior, Mr. Baldwin, senior, Mr. Sergeant, Mr. Walden (dead,) Mr. Jos. Baker, (dead,) Mr. Wiby, Mr. Brain, Mr. Stephen Baxter, Mr. Bedwell, Mr. Butler, Mr. Ecclehill, Mr. Read, Mr. Rock, Mr. Finch, of Welbury, Mr. Wells of Breton, Mr. Pryfon, &c. I pass by many more. And in Shropshire by old Mr. Sam. Hildesham, old Mr. Sam. Fisher, Mr. Talents, Mr. Brian of Shrewsbury, Mr. Bawet, Mr. Keeling, Mr. Berry, Mr. Malden of Newport, Mr. Tho. Wright (dead,) Mr. Taylor, &c.—-These were your Neighbours and mine: I never heard to my remembrance of any one of them that had any thing to do with Wars against the King. It is true (except Mr. Fisher, and some few) they were not ejected, but enjoyed their places; And did not you as well as they? If I can name you so many of your Neighbours that were innocent, will you tell the King and Parliament, and the Papists, and Polterity, that all the Non-conformists (without any exception) had their hands defiled with the Royal blood? What! Mr. Cooke of Chester, and Mr. Birch, &c. that were imprisoned and persecuted for the King! What! Mr. Geery that died at the news of the King’s Death? What! Mr. Francis Netherfolk, and Mr. Bell his Rector who wrote so much against the Parliament, and was their prisoner at
Part III. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

at Keneworth Castle almost all the Wars. What may we expect from others, when Dr. Good shall do thus——I put not in any Excuse for my self among all these. It may be you know not that an Assembly of Divines (twice met) at Coventre (of whom two Doctors and some others are yet living) first sent me into the Army to hazard my life, (after Nasty Fight) against the Course which we then first perceived to be designed against the King, and Kingdom; nor what I went through there two years in opposing it, and drawing the Soldiers off: Nor how oft I Preached against Cromwell, the Rump, the Engagement, but specially their Wars, and Fasts, and Thanksgivings: Nor what I said to Cromwell for the King (never but twice speaking with him,) of which a Great Privy Counsellor told me but lately, that being an Ear-witness of it, he had told his Majesty. But yet while I thought they went on Bilstone’s Principles, I was then on their side, and the Observator (Parker) almost tempted me to Hooker’s Principles, but I quickly saw those Reasons against them, which I have since published. His Principles were known by the first Book, before the last came out, And I have a friend that had his left in Act. S. But I am willing unfeignedly to be one of those that shall continue Silenced, if you can but procure leave to Preach Christ’s Gospel only for those that are no more guilty of the King’s blood, than your self, and that no longer than there is real need of their Ministerial Labour. Reverend Sir, If you will but so long put your self as in our Cafe, I shall hope that with patience you will read these Lines, and pardon the necessary freedom of

Your truly Loving friend and obliged Servant,

London, Feb. 10. 1673.

Riob. Baxter.

§ 270. Taking it to be my duty to preach while Toleration doth continue, I removed the last Spring to London, where my Difficulties increasing, this Winter, a fatilent constant Headach added to the rest, and continuing strong for about half a year, constrained me to cease my Fryday’s Lecture, and an Afternoon Sermon on the Lord’s days in my house, to my grief; and to Preach only one Sermon a week at St. James’s Market-house, where some had hired an inconvenient Place. But I had great encouragement to labour there, 1. Because of the notorious Necessity of the people: for it was noted for the habitation of the most ignorant, Atheistical, and Popish about London, and the greatness of the Parish of St. Martins, made it impossible for the tenth (perhaps the twentieth) person in the Parish to hear in the Parish-Church: And the next Parishes St. Giles, and Clement Danes were almost in the like case: Besides that the Parson of our own Parish, (St. Giles) where I lived, Preached not, having been about three years suspender by the Bishop of Office, but not a beneficio, upon a particular Quarrel: And to leave ten or twenty for one, untaught in the Parish, while most of the City Churches also are burnt down, and unbuild, one would think, should not be justified by Christians. 2. Because, beyond my expectation, the people generally proved exceeding willing and attentive and tractable, and gave me great hopes of much success.

§ 271. Yet at this time did some of the most Learned Conformists assault me with sharp accusations of Schism, meere because I ceased not to Preach the Gospel of Christ to people in such necessity. They confess that I ought not to take their Oaths, and make their impoded Covenants, Declarations and Subscriptions against my Conscience; but my Preaching is my sin which I must forbear, (though they accuse me not of one word that I say.) They confess the foresaid Matters of fact, (that not one of a multitude can possibly hear in the Parish Churches, through the greatness of some Parishes, the lowness of the Minister’s voices, and the paucity of Churches since the burning of the City:) And they confess that the knowledge of the Gospel is (ordinarily) necessary to salvation, and teaching and hearing necessary to knowledge; and that to leave the people untaught (especially where so many are speaking for Atheism, Belligerency, and Infidelity,) is to give them up to Damnation: But yet they say that to do so is my duty, because the Bishop is against my Preaching: And I ought to rest satisfied that it is the Bishop, and not not I, that must answer for their Damnation. Alas poor Souls! Must they needs be damned by thousands, without making any question of it? as if all the question were, who should answer for it. I will not believe such cruel men
I undertake to prove to them to them, 1. That our English Species of Diocesan Prebend, and Lay Chancellours power of the Keys, is contrary to God's Word, and destructive of true Disciplin, and of the Church form and Offices instituted by Christ. 2. That were tht Offices Lawful, the men have no true calling to it, being not chosen or consented to by the Clergy, or the People. 3. That if their Calling were good, they have no power to forbid the present Silenced Ministers to Preach the Gospel (but thereby they serve Satan against Christ and Man's salvation.) Paul himself had his power to edification, and not to destruction: And Christ the Saviour of the World, giveth his Ministers only a saving power, and to none a power to famish and damn the people's Souls. 4. That we are Dedicated as Ministers to the Sacred office, and it is Sacrilege in our selves or others, to alienate us from it, while we are not unfit or unable for it. 5. That we are Charged (as well as Timothy) before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the Dead at his appearing, that we Preach the Word, and be in season, and out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort, &c. 6. That the Ancient Paltors for many Hundred years did Preach the Gospel against the Wills of their Lawful Princes, both Heathens and Arrians. 7. That the Bishop hath no more power to forbid us to Preach, than the King hath: And these men confess that Ministers unjustly Silenced may Preach against the Will of Kings (but not, say they of Bishops.) 8. That were we Lay-men we might teach and exhort (as Lay-men, as Origen did) though we might not do it as Paltors much more being Ordained the Ministers of Christ. And that now to us it is a work which both the Law of Nature and our Office or Vow do bind us to, even a Moral Duty: And that when Christ judgeth men for not Feeding, Clothing, Visiting his Members, it will not excuse us to say, that the Bishop forbid us: That if King, or Bishop forbid us to feed our Children, or to save the lives of drowning, or famishing men, we must disobey them, as being against a great command of God; Love and the Works of Love being the great indispensible Duties. And Souls being greater Objects of Charity than Bodies. 9. That it was in a Case of Pharisaical Church Disciplin, (when Christ avoided not converse with sinners when their good required it) that Christ sent the Pharisees to learn what this meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice: and at two several times repeateth the same words. 10. That Order is for the thing Ordered and it's ends; and a power of Ordering Preachers is not a power to depose necessary Preaching and famish Souls. 11. And I shew them that I my self have the Licence of the Bishop of this Diocese, as well as Episcopal Ordination; and that my Licence is in force and not recalled: 12. And that I have the King's Licence. 13. And therefore after all, to obey these Silencers (may no Bishop doth forbid me, otherwise than as his Vote is to the Acts of Parliament, which is as Magistrates,) and to fulfill their will that will be content with nothing, but our forfaking of poor Souls, and ceasing to Preach Christ, this were no better than to end my Life of comfortable Labours, in obeying the Devil the Enemy of Christ and Souls; which God forbid.

§ 272. Yet will not all this satisfy these men, but they cry out as the Papists: Schism, Schism, unless we will cease to Preach the Gospel: And have little to say for all, but that No society can be governed, if the Rulers be not the Judge. Yet dare they not deny but a Judgment of differing duty from sin, belongeth to all Subjects; or else we are Brutes, or must be Atheists, Idolaters, Blasphemers, or what ever a Bishop shall command us. But under the Cenufes of these unreasonable Men, who take our greatest Duties for our licentious sin, must we patiently serve our Lord: But his approbation is our full reward.

§ 273. On July 5th (1674) at our Meeting over St. James's Market-house, God vouchsafed us a great Deliverance. A main Beam before weakened by the weight of the People Io cracked that three times they ran in terror out of the room, thinking it was falling: But remembering the like at Dunstan's Well, I reproved their fear as senseless. But the next day taking up the boards we found that two reeds in the Beam, were so great, that it was a wonder of providence that the floor had not fell, and the roof with it, to the destruction of multitudes. The Lord make us thankful.
§. 274. A person unknown professing Infidelity (but whether an Infidel, or a judging Papist, I know not) sent me a Manuscript, called Examen Scripture, charging Scripture with Immorality, Fallacies, and Contradictions, from the beginning to the end, and with seeming Seriousness and Respectfulness importuned me to Answer him. I was in so great pain and weakness (and engaged in other work) that I sent him word that I had not time or strength for so long a Work. He flourished about a Dozen Inclinations, and desired my Answer to them; I gave him an Answer to them, and to some of his General accusations; but told him, That the rational Order to be followed by a Lover of Truth, is first to consider of the proofs brought for Christianit3 before we come to the Objections against it. And I proved to him, that Christianity was proved true many years before any of the New Testament was Written, and that so it may be still proved by one that doubted of some words of the Scripture; and therefore the true order is, to try the truth of the Christian Religion first, and the perfect Verity of all the Scriptures afterwards. And therefore Importuned him first to Answer my Book, called, The Reasons of the Christian Religion: and then if I lived, I would answer his Accusations. But I could not at all prevail with him, but he still insisted on my Answering of his Charge. And half a year (or more) after, he sent me a Reply to the Answer which I had hastily given him: And though he before professed, that none in the World but I and his servant knew of it, yet accidentally, by speech with Dr. Stillingfleet, I understood that the same M. S. was sent to him; Therefore I sent him the Reply to mine; and desired him, seeing he had more strength and levity, to answer altogether for himself and me, and then I need not do the same.

§. 275. It pleased God to give me marvellous great Encouragement in my Preaching at St. James's: The Crack having frightened away most of the Richer sort (especially the Women,) most of the Congregation were young men, of the most capable age, who heard with very great Attention, and many that had not come to Church of many years, received so much, and manifested so great a Change (some Papists, and Divers others returning publick Thanks to God for their Conversion) as made all my Charge and Trouble wert to me. Among all the Papists, rude and ignorant People who were Inhabitants of those parts, we had scarce any that opened their mouths against us, and that did not speak well of the Preaching of the Word among them; though when I came first thither, the most knowing Inhabitants assured me, that some of the same persons with my Death; Among the ruder sort, a common Reformation was notified in the place, in their Conversation as well as in their Judgments.

§. 276. But Satan, the Enemy of God and Souls, did quickly use divers means to hinder me: 1. By Persecution. 2. By the Charges of the work, and, 3. By the troublesome Clamours of some that were too much inclined to Separation. And first a fellow, that made a Trade of being an Informer, accused me to Sir William Powney, a Justice near, upon the Act against Conventicles: Sir William dealt so wisely and fairly in the busines, as frustrated the Informer's first attempts (who offered his Oath against me.) And before he could make a second Attempt, Mr. David Lloyd (the Earl of St. Albans's Baylliff) and other Inhabitants, so searched after the quality of the Informer, and prosecuted him (to secure the Papish from his Charge of Children) as made him fly, and appear no more. That had been the first Silenced, and the first sent to Gaol, upon the Oxford-Act of Confinement, was the first prosecuted upon the Act of Conventicles, after the Parliament's Condemning the King's Declaration and Licences to Preach.

§. 277. But shortly after the Storm grew much greater: The great Ministers of State had new Confinations: The Duke of Lauderdale, the Lord Treasurer, (Sir Thomas Osborne, made Earl of Danby,) The Lord Keeper (Sir Heneage Finch,) the Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Morley) and the Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Ward,) &c. were the Men that the World talk'd of, as the Doers of the Business: The first thing, that appeared, was, That His Majesty called the Bishops up to London, to give him Advice what was to be done for the securing of Religion, &c. The Bishops, after divers Meetings and Delays, (the said Duke, and Lord Treasurer, being appointed to meet with them,) at last Advised the King to recall His Licences, and put the Laws in Execution. Which was done by a Declaration and Proclamation, Declaring the Licences long since void, and requiring the Execution of the Laws against Papists (most largely mentioned) and Conventicles. No sooner was this Proclamation published, but special Informers were set on Work
to Afsert the Execution; and I must here also be the firft that must be Ac-
cused.

§. 278. A little before the King had Recalled his Licences, knowing on what
A furmifions they would proceed, according to the Act of Uniformity, I did, to
Obviate the A furmifion, deliver, in Words and Writing, this following Prefe-
Hion: [Though when I began to Preach in this place, I publicly profeffed, That it was
the notorious Nefceffity of the People, who are more than the Parfits-Church can hold, which
moved me thence, and that we Met not in Opofition to, or Separation from the
Publick Churches; yet perceiving that by none we are misinformed, I repeat the fame
Prefeßion: And that we Met not under colour or pretence of any Religious Exercise in
other manner, than according to the Liturgy and Practice of the Church of England:
And that were I able, I would accordingly Read my Self.] For the understanding of
this, it muft be known, 1. That being my Self unable both to Read and
Preach, I had an Afliffant, who daily Read the Scripture-Sentences, the 99th
Psalm, the Psalms for the Day, the two Chapters for the Day, Singing the
Psalms appointed for Hymns, using the Lord’s Prayer, the Creed, and the
Decaoghe; all which is the Greateft part of the Liturgy, though none of
the Common Prayers were used. 2. That I forbear the firft of much of the
Common Prayer, which I think lawful and good, mecurly because many of the
Nonconformifts could not, bear it. 3. That the Act againft Conventicles pun-
nifhed none but [those that meet on colour, or pretence of any Religious Exercise in
other manner than according to the Liturgy and practice of the Church of England.]
4. That my Judgment was, that my Meeting was not such, and that I broke no
Law: And therefore I made this open Prefeßion, as Preparatory to my An-
swer before the Magiftrate; not expecting that any fuch means should free me
from fuffering in the leaft degree, but that it fhould conduce to the clearing of
my Caufe when I Suffered. But, upon this Paper, thofe that are unable, or un-
willing to fuspend their Conufures, till they understand the Caufe, and that
cannot underftand Words in their plain and proper fignification, but according to
their own Preconceptions, did profently divulge, all over the Land, many false
Reports of it and me: The Separatifts gave out prefently, That I had Conform-
ed, and openly declared my Aflent and Conformity, &c. And fo confidently did
they affirm it, that almoft all the City believed it: The Afliffats again took the
Report from them, and their own willingneasf that fO it fhould be, and reported the
fame thing: In one Epifcopal City they gave Thanks in Publick that I Con-
formed: In many Counties, their News was, That I most certainly Conformed,
and was thereupon to have a Bishoprick (which, if I fhould, I had done foolifh-
ly in lofing Thirteen years Lordship and Profit, and then taking it when I am
dying.) This was divulged by the Conformifts, to fortife their Party in the
Concers of their Innocency, and by the Separatifts, in Spleen and Quarrelsome
Zeal. But confident Lying was too common with both. And yet the next day,
or the next day after, Letters fled abroad on the contrary, that I was fent to
Gaol for not Conforming.

§. 279. Not long before this, having Preached at Pinners-Hall for Love and
Peace, divers false Reports went current among the Separatifts, and from them to
other Nonconformifts, that I Preached againft the Imputation of Christ’s Righte-
oufnes, and for Juftification by our own Righteoufnes, and that the Papifts and
Protestants differ but in Words, &c. So that I was constrained to publish the
truth of the Cafe, in a fheet of Paper, called, An Appeal to the Light. Which,
though it evinced the falhhood of their Reports, and no one Man did ever after
juftifie them, that ever I could hear of, yet did they perfevere in their General
A furmifion; and I had Letters from feveral Countries, that the London Auflcers
had Written to them, that I had both in the Sermon, and in that Paper, called,
An Appeal to the Light, done more to strenthen Popery, than ever was done by any Pa-
ijfts. This was the reward of all my Labours, from the Separating Independ-
ents.

§. 280. So faithfully ready are Men to receive false Reports, that many of fober
Principles, and some of my moft intimate Friends, believed them, and were ready
to fecond the Defamation: But when-ever they came to me, and debated the
Cafe, and heard me speak, every Man of them confefled their Error, and Misun-
derftanding. The fecret fomenters of the Accufing Reports and Quarrels, did
it with fo little Privacy and Caution as befoomed Wife Men: But the open Back-
bites
bitter were especially some very few more Ministers, accounted carnal judges. Men: But the Women, and Independent Men were the chief.

§. 231. This greatly rejoiced the Persecuting Prelates; and, 1. They; hence inferred, That the Nonconformists were as bad a People as they had reported them, and that whatever was thought Judicious, or Moderate, in any of my Writings, Preaching, or Conversation, the Nonconformists had no right to any Imputation of it, or Reputation by it, because I was one that they disowned: 2. They would hence have drawn me off from the Nonconformists, telling me, That I was more spoken of, and used by them, than by the Prelates. To both which I answered, 1. That they knew not the Nonconformists so well as I; and that tho' the London-Separats, and a few other weak and passionate persons, made all this noise, yet the generality of the Ministers and sober People, especially in the County, were of my mind: 2. That all this Cenature and Glamour was a very small thing, in comparison of what I suffered by the Bishops, who had their 13 years, if not more, deprived me of all Ministerial Maintenance, and also forbidden me to Preach Christ's Gospel, though I did it without pay; and had sent me among Rogues, to the Common Gaol; and had deprived me much of the end of Life, which is more to me than Life itself.

§. 282. While I was thus murmured at by Backbiter, Sectaries and Prelats, when the King's Licenses were recalled as aforesaid, I was the first that was apprehended by Warrant and brought before the Justices as a Conventicler. One Keating, an ignorant fellow, had got a Warrant, as Bayliff and Informer, to search after Conventicles (Papists and Protestants) which he prosecuted with great animosity and Violence: Having then left St. James's (the Leaf of the House being out,) I Preached only on Thursdays at Mr. Turner's; and by the Act I am to be judged by a Justice of the City, or Division where I Preach, but to be disfranied on by Warrant from a Justice of the Division or County where I live. So that the Preaching-place being in the City, only a City-Judge might judge me. Keating went to many of the City-Judges, and none of them would grant him a Warrant against me. Therefore he went to the Justices of the County, who lived near me, and one Sir John Medlicos, and Mr. Bentet (Brother to the Lord Arlington) ignorant of the Law herein, gave their Warrant to apprehend me, and bring me before them, or some other of His Majesty's Justices: The Constable and Informer gave me leave to choose what Justices I would go to. I went with them to seek divers of the best Justices, and could find none of them at home, and so spent that day (in a cafe of pain and great Weakness) in being carried up and down in vain: But I used the Informer kindly, and spoke that to him, which his Conscience (tho' a very ignorant fellow) did not well digest. The next day I went with the Constable and him to Sir William Poltnay, who made him shew his Warrant, which was signed by Henry Mountague (Son to the late worthy Earl of Manchester) as Bayliff of Westminster, Enabling him to Search after Male-Priests and Conventicles; but I hear of no Male-Priests fave one that was ever medled with to this Day; and that one delivered (as we all desired.) Sir William shew him, and all the Company, in the Act, that none but a City-Judge had Power to judge me for a Sermon Preached in the City: and to the Informer was defeated: As I went out of the House I met the Countes of Warwick, and the Lady Lucy Mountague, Sitter to the said Mr. Henry Mountague, and told them of the Cafe and Warrant, who allured me. That he whole Hand was at it, knew nothing of it, and some of them sent to him, and Keating's Warrant was called in within two or three days. But it proved that one Mr. Barwell, Sub-Bayliff of Westminster, was he that set Keating on work, and gave him his Warrant, and told him, How good a Service it was to the Church, and what he might gain by it. And Barwell sharply Chid Keating for doing his work with me no more skilfully: And the Lord of Arlington most sharply Chid his Brother for granting his Warrant: And within a few days Mr. Barwell riding the Circuit, was call by his Horfe, and died in the very Fall. And Sir John Medlicos, and his Brother, a few weeks after, lay both dead in his House together. Shortly after Keating came several times to have spoken with Me, to ask me Forgivenes, and not meeting with me, went to my Friends in the City with the fame Words (when a little before he had boasted, how many Hundred pounds he would have of the City-Judges for refusing him Justice. At last he found me within, and would have fall'n down on his knees to me, and ask'd...
ask me earnestly to forgive him: I ask him what had changed his mind; Herold me that his Confidence had no peace from the hour that he troubled me; And that it increased his Difficult to know Justice would be, nor was one Conspired of forty execute the warrant, and all the people cried out against him; But that which set home was Mr. Barnew's Death (for Sir John Medlicott's he knew not of). I exhorted the Man to an Universal Repentance and Reformation of Life, and he told me he would never meddle in such Businees, nor trouble any Man, and promised to live better himself than he had done.

§ 283. A little before Dr. Manton's Meeting also was surprized, and he having notice of it before, was absent, and yet Mr. Bedford to preach for him: For it was resolved to have sent him to the Common Goal, upon the Oxford Act, as a refuter of the Oath, besides the penalty of a Convenient: The justices were Mr. Ball (Brother to Dr. Ball Preacher at the Temple) the violenteft of them, and Mr. Roff and Mr. Philips, the fame two Men that had sent me to the Goal four years before: They offered Mr. Bedford the Oath, but it proved that he had taken it before, and so far defeated them: But he was fined accordingly to the Act in 284. (and the place 285.) which the Lord Wharton, the Counteffes of Bedford, Manchester and Clare, and other hearers paid: But two of the justices swore that he said, that the King did not in good earnest desire the execution of this Law; which he professed he never said) And for this the King sent him to Prison.

§ 284. An Accident at this time fell out, which occasioned a little seeming stop of my trouble; which I will relate as the Duke of Lauderdale told it me himself, who was present. The Lord Falcon-bridge being with the Bishop of Salisbury (Ward) after reported that the Bishop told him, that it was nothing of the Bishops, but of the Lord Treasurer, that the Act was thus Executed: The Lord Treasurer charged it as an injury on the Bishop: The Lord High Chamberlain (E. of Lindsay) told it Bishop Mordry, who told it Bishop Ward, who went to the Lord Treasurer and Complain of it as a false injurious report of the Lord Falconbridge; The Lord Treasurer took him to the King, who sent for the Lord Falconbridge, who (before the King, the D. of Lauderdale, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord High Chamberlain, &c.) was accused by Bishop Ward for a false report of his words: The Lord Falconbridge could not make it good, but tho' he spake not those very words, he took the Scope of his Speech to be of that Importance: The King (said the Duke to me) said I must tell you this my Self: I called the Bishops to give me their advice, what was to be done for the present Seeming of the Church, and the Protestant Religion, and they told me, that there was nothing to be done, but they thought it not safe for them to give advice in it: I told them that I took this for a Lie, and ask them who, or what they were afraid of: And I appoitned these Lords to see them give their Answer. Among other passages the Lord Falconbridge said that the Bishop called the Execution of the Law a trick: The Bishop Answered I said not that the Execution of the Law was a trick; but that to begin with, Mr. Baxter was a trick of some, to make it thought that we are reconcilable to the nuis de nature and peace the Men. And thus they were drawn in to give their seeming judgment against my Suffering (tho' there was great reason to think that Papists and Erastians were the Contrivers of it.)

§ 285. For the better understanding of many of these matters, it must be known, that at 2 or 3 of the last Sessions of Parliament, Bishop Morly had, on all occasions in the Company of Lords, Gentlemen and Divines, cried out of the danger of Popery, and talk much for abatements, and taking in the Nonconformists, or else we are like all to fall into the Papists hands; so that there were no Lords or others for agreement, but he made himself the head of their Design, and so got an interest still in the work, as the forwardest defier of it: Dr. Fulwood, Mr. Collyer, and Divers others, came to me to advise about a way of Concord, as encouraged by this Bishop's words; I sent him word by them all, that I had heard these many years of these agreeing peacemaking purpofes and defiers of his Lordship, but having known so much of his Endeavours to the contrary I intreated him by some Deals to convince me of his sincerity, for till then I was not able to believe it. And the Event showed that my incrédule was not without caufe.

§ 286. At his Sessions of Parliament approaching, he set upon the fame Course again, and Bishop Ward as his second and chief Coagent joined with him, and they were famed to be the two Bishops that were for Comprehension and Concord, none so forward as they: At first Dr. Bates brings me a message from Dr. Tillotson Dean of Canterbury, that he and Dr. Stillingfleet desired a Meeting with Dr. Manton, Dr. Bates
Part III. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Bates, Mr. Pool, and me, to treat of an Act of Comprehension and Union; and that they were encouraged to it by some Lords both Spiritual and Temporal. We met to consider whether such an Attempt was safe and prudent, or what was not offered by some Bishops, as a Share to us: I told them my opinion, that Experience would not suffer any Charity to believe any better of some Bishops, but that they knew Dr. Stillingfleet and Dr. Tillotson to be the likeliest Men to have a hand in an Agreement, if such a thing should be attempted, and therefore that they would make themselves the Masters of it to defeat it, and no better line was to be expected as from them: But yet that these two Doctors were Men of so much Learning, Honesty and Interrect, that I took it as our Duty, to accept the offer, and to try with them, how far we could agree, and to try them first whether they would promote us thereby, unless it came to maturity to be further notified by Consent: And that we might hope for this Success, as quickly to agree with these two Men, and in time it might be some advantage to our desired Unity, that our Terms were such as these two worthy Men contended to.

§ 287. Accordingly Dr. Manton and I were desired by the rest to try them: We went to Dr. Tillotson, who promised Morley and Bishop Ward that had let them on work, and the Earl of Carlile and Halifax chiefly who encouraged them. Hereupon we agreed to meet the next week with him and Dr. Stillingfleet, to try how far we could agree on the Terms. I had before drawn up the form of an Healing Act, and read it to no one but Mr. Hampden, (who told me it would never pass): Before the next Meeting Dr. Manton was sent to abeond at the Lord Wharton's, being designed (as is aforesaid) to the Common Goal (such was the Treaty which we were invited to: But I went alone, and met the two Doctors: I found them sincere in the business, and concinced that Bishop Morley and Ward were so also. Upon their promise of secrecy, I freely told them my thoughts of the Bishop of Winchester, and what an attempt I had lately made with him (besides all heretofore) at the request of the Earl of Orery, and that after his Calls for Concord, he granted me no one abatement or alteration or indulgence desired: I shewed them the form of the Act which I had prepared; They desired me to leave it with them to consider on. Shortly after Dr. Tillotson brought me a Draught with several omissions and alterations: I drew up my own again, with some little alterations, required by his Draught: This heard I debated, till we came to an agreement of the whole: I was then desired to Communicate it to some Nonconforming Brethren: Dr. Manton was gone into the Country: Dr. Bates was sick: I Communicated it to Mr. John Corbet, Mr. Talents, Mr. Pool, Dr. Scobie, and Mr. Humphrey: When we had made such further small Corrections as all agreed on, Mr. Pool and I were desired to meet the two Doctors for a further procedure. They met us, and we again read the Draught, but would give them no Copy; and agreed with them that they should take the present time while Bishop Morley was out of Town (as like to frustrate) and to defile Bishop Ward, and Bishop Piersen of Chester (a Learned sober Man) to meet us, and to hear what we had agreed on, and promise us secrecy (Bishop Ward once came in upon us, when we were together, but withdrew.) They promised us to try it speedily: But when they had only in General told Bishop Ward, &c. how far we had gone, and how fair we were for Agreement, and told them some of the particular Materials, there was a full end of all the Treaty; The Bishops had no further to go: We had already carried it too far. Hearing no more of the Doctors, we sent to know how the Cafe went, and understood by them, that their Hopes and Labours were at an end. I feare to Dr. Tillotson to know whether they would give me leave to tell any to promote our Concord, how far they agreed with us, that their Names might be some advantage to the work: And he wrote to me as followeth.

'em 11. 1674. Sir, I took the first opportunity after you were with us to speak to the Bishop of St. who promised to keep the matter private, and only to acquaint the Bishop of Chester with it in order to a Meeting: But upon some General Discourse I plainly perceived several things could not be obtained: Moreover he promised to appoint a time of Meeting, but I have not heard from him since: I am unwilling my Name should be used in this Matter; nor but that I do most heartily desire an Accommodation, and shall always endeavour it: But I am sure it will be a prejudice to me, and signify nothing to the effecting of the thing, which as Circumstances are cannot pass in either House, without the Concourse of a considerable part of the Bishops, and the Countenance of His Majesty; which at present I see little reason to expect. I am, Your affectionate Brother and Servant,

John Tillotson.

§ 288.
§ 288. A short time after told these Doctors what these fame Bishops were even then contriving, when they cried up Agreement, and set them on this work, even to bring things much higher than they were, by putting an Oath on the Lords, Commons and Magistrates; of which more anon. But, because some would know the Terms which we agreed on, I shall here annex the Form, to a word; only telling them that would understand it, 1. That it is not what we would have, had we our Choice, but what we would possibly hope might have been granted us: We had not the least hopes of more. 2. That we did not annex the latter Particulars, as if we would not have been glad of the former alone, could no more be had: For the bare opening of the Door, for our Entrance, would have done something for a present shift. 3. That the passage that borrowing Common Prayers, in extraordinary Cases should not be punishable, had several uxes, which unless we had opportunity here to open, as we debated it, cannot be suddenly understood by each Reader. And many will say that too much or too little is yielded, that know not our Circumstances and hear not our Reasons: But it may somewhat satisfy considering, Men that both parties did agree in the form here annexed; tho' the Bishops had rather all our Distractions and Miseries were by the greatest Cruelty continued.

An Act for the Healing and Concord of his Majestie's Subject's in matters of Religion.

Whereas the Concord and Conjunct Labours of all able Godly Ministers of Christ, are of great use to the safety of the true Religion, and peace of the Kingdom, and the Salvation of their Flocks, and Experience prove that this Concord cannot be now obtained, without some Abatement of the terms of Uniformity required by the present Laws, Be it enacted by His Majesty, &c.

1. That no other Oath, Subscription, Declaration, Covenant or promise, shall henceforth be necessary to, or required of any Priests or Deacons for their Ordination, Institution, Induction, License to preach and perform their Office, nor of Students in the Universities, nor School-Masters, besides the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the promises at Ordination of Ministerial fidelity contained in the form of Ordination, and the subscribing to the Doctrine and Sacraments of the Church of England according to the statute of Eliz. 13. in the words [J. A. B. do so] and the Articles of the Church of England, as they are expressed in the Articles of the Church]; And the Oaths for the proper privileges of the Universities and Colleges; and to this following Declaration against Rebellion and Dilloyalty, [J. A. B. do hold that it is not lawful for any of his Majesty's Subjects upon any pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, his Person, Authority, or Rights and Dignity, nor against any Authorised by his Laws or Legal Commission; and that such lyeth no obligation on me, or any of his Majesty's Subjects from the Oath commonly called the Solemn League and Covenant, to endeavour any Change of the present Government of his Majesty's Kingdoms, nor to endeavour any reformation or alteration of the Church Government (as it is now by Law established) by Rebellion, Sedition, or any other unlawful means.

II. And be it enacted by, &c.--That in such Churches or places of publick worship where the Liturgy is read, and the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper according admittance, by the Incumbent, or the Lecturer, or Curate, or other Minister, no other shall be punished for not using it there, or for not baptizing, or not administering the Lord's Supper; provided that such other Minister be oft present at the reading of the Liturgy, and that he read it himself at least twelve a year, and as often baptize Children (if offered thereto) and administer the Lord's Supper according to the Liturgy, if he have care of Souls. Provided that no Minister shall be punished as guilty of Omission, for any brevity which is caused unavoidably by sickness, weakens, or any just extraordinary causes: But if otherwise the Liturgy be in any Church disabled, the Incumbent shall be punishable as is already appointed by the Law.

And
And Be it enacted—-that no Parent shall be forbidden to enter his own Child into. Covenant with God in baptism, by speaking such promising and undertaking words, as by the Liturgy and Canon are now required of the Godfathers and Godmothers alone. Nor shall any Minister be forced against his Conscience to baptize any Child, who is not thus offered to God, by one of the Parents, or by such a pro parent as taketh the Child for his own, and undertake such the Christian Education. Be it also Enacted that no person shall be constrained against his Conscience to the use of the Cross in Baptism, or of the Surplice, nor any Minister to deny the Lord's Supper to any for not receiving it kneeling; nor read any of the Apocrypha for Lessons; nor to punish any Excommunication or Abolition against his Conscience: but the Bishop or Chancellor who decreeth it shall cause such to publish it as are not dissatisfied to do, or shall only affix it on the Church-Door. Nor shall any Minister be constrained at Burial to speak only words importing the salvation of any person, who within a year received not the Sacrament of Communion, or was suspended from it according to the Rubrick or Canon, and satisfied not the Minister of his serious Repentance.

III. And whereas many persons having been ordained as Presbyters by Parochial Pastors in the times of Usurpation and Distraction, hath occasioned many Difficulties; for the present remedy hercuf, be it Enacted—-That all such persons as before this time have been ordained as Presbyters by Parochial Pastors only, and are qualified for that Office as the Law requircth, shall receive power to exercise it, from a Bishop by a written Instrument (which every Bishop in his Diocess is hereby empowered and required to Grant) in these words and no other [To A. B. or C. in the Country of D. Take thou Authority to exercise the Office of a Presbyter, in any place and Congregation in the King's Dominions whereunto thou shalt be lawfully called.] And this practice sufficing for present Concord, no one shall be put to declare his Judgment, whether This, or That which be before received, shall be taken for his Ordination, nor shall be urged to speak any words of such Signification; but each party shall be left to Judge as they see cause.

IV. And whereas the piety of Families, and Godly Converse of Neighbours is a great means of preferring Religion and Sobriety in the World, and left the Act for suppressing feditious Conventicles should be mis-interpreted as injurious thereto; be it declared—that it is none of the meaning of the said Act, to forbid any such Family Piety or Converse, tho more then four Neighbours should be peaceably present, at the Reading of the Scriptures, or a Licensed Book, the singing of a Psalm, repeating of the publick Sermons, or any such Exercise which neither the Laws nor Canons do forbid, they being performed by such as join with the allowed Church-Assemblies, and refuse not the Inspection of the Ministers of the Parish; Especially where persons that cannot read are unable to do such things at home, as by Can. 13. is enjoyed.

V. And whereas the form of the Oath and Declaration, imposed on persons of Office and Trust in Corporations, is unsatisfactory to many that are Loyal and peaceable, that our Concord may extend to Corporations as well as Churches, Be it Enacted—-That the taking of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the Declaration against Religion and Disloyalty, here before prescribed, shall to all Ends and purposes suffice instead of the said Oath and Declaration.

VI. And whereas there are many peaceable Subjects, who hold all the Essentials of the Christian Faith, but conform not to so much as is required to the Established Ministry and Church-Communion, Be it Enacted—that All and only they who shall publicly take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, before some Court of Justice, or at the open Sessions of the County where they live, and that then and there Subscribe as followeth. [I A. B. do unfeignedly & from all my Baptismal Covenant, and do believe all the Articles of the Creeds called the Apostles, the Nicene, & Constantinopolitan; and the truth of the holy Canonical Scriptures, and do renounce all that is contrary hereto.] shall be so far tolerated in the Exercise of their Religion, as His Majesty, with the advice of his Parliament or Council, shall from time to time, find consistent with the peace and safety of his Kingdoms.

VII.
VII. And left this Act for Concord, should occasion Discord, by emboldening
unpeaceable and unruly or heretical men, be it enacted——that if any either in
the allowed or the Tolerated Assemblies that shall pray or Preach Rebellion, Sedition,
or against the Government or Liturgy of the Church, or shall break the Peace by
tumults or otherwise, or flir up unchristian hatred and strife, or shall preach against,
or otherwise oppose the Christian verities or any Article of the sacred Doctrine
which they subscribe, or any of the 39. Articles of Religion, they shall be punished
as by the Laws against such Offences is already provided.

I will here also Annex the Copies of some Petitions, which I was put to draw up, which
never were presented.

I. The first was intended while the Parliament was sitting to have been offered; but the
Parliament-Men thought it was better forbear it.

II. The second was thought fit for some Citizens to have offered; but by the
same Council it was forboren.

III. The third was thus occasioned: Sir John Babor told Dr. Manton that the
Scots being then suspected of some insurrection, it was expected that we renewed
the profession of our Loyalty, to free us from all suspicion of Conspiracy with
them. We said that it seemed hard to us that we should fall under suspicion, and
no cause alleged: We knew of no occasion that we had given: But we were
ready to profess our continued Loyalty, but desired that we might with it, open
our just resentment of our Cafe. They put me to draw it up; but when it was
read, it was laid by, none daring to plead our Cause so freely and signify any
sense of our hard usage.

I. May it Pleafe Your Majesty, with the Lords and Commons
Assembled in Parliament.

When the Common profession of resolved moderation had abated Men's fears
of a Silencing Prelacy; and the published Declarations of Nobilitie
and Gentry against all dividing violence and revenge, had helped to unite
the endeavours of Your Subjects which prospered for Your Majesty's desired Re-
formation; when God's wonderful providence had dissolved the Military Powers
of Ulrarpers, which hindered it; and when Your welcome appearance, Your Act of
Obiution, Your Gracions Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs (for which the
House of Commons solemnly gave you thanks) did seem to have done much to the
Cure of our Divisions; we had some hopes that our common revived Love and
Concord, would have tended to Your Majesty's and our common joy, in the har-
mony, strength and prosperity of Your Kingdoms; and that we might among
your inferior Subjects have enjoyed our part in the common tranquility. But the
year 1662. dissolved those hopes, fixing our old Difficulties, and adding more,
which since then also have been much increased: Being conquered and vowed
to the sacred Ministry, we dare not desist it, left we shortly appear before our
Judge, in the guilt of factional, & perfidiousnes against Christ and the people's
Sous. But we are forbidden to exercise it, unless we will do that which we profess
as Mea that are paffing to our final Doom, we would readily do, were it not for
fear of God's displeasure and our Damnation. Deprivation of all Ministerial main-
tenance, with heavy Multics (on such as have not money to pay) and long Im-
prisonments in the Common Goals with Malefactors, and banishment (to those
that shall survive them) and that into remote parts of the World, were the pe-
nalities appointed for us by your Laws. Voluminous reproaches are published a-
gainst us; in which our Superiors and the World are told, that we hold
that things indifferent are made unlawful by the Commands of lawful Gover-
nours,
nours, and that we are guilty of Doctrines inconsistent with the Peace and Safety of Societies; and that we are moved by Pride and Covetousness; as if we were proud of Men's Scorn, and covetous of forbid Want and Beggary, and ambitious of a Good; and that we are Unpeaceable, Disloyal, Odioua and Intolerable Perions.

Left we should seem overt-searly, and our Petitions themselves should prove offensive, we have been silent under Twelve years sufferings (by which divers Learned and holy Divines have been hastened home to Glory) hoping that Experience would have effectually spoken for us, when we may not Speak for ourselves. And did we believe that our own presurires were the greatest consequent Evil, and that the People's knowledge, and piety, and the allowed Ministers Number Suficiency and Diligence, were such as made our Labour needs, and that the History of our Silence and Sufferings would be the future Honour of this Age, and the future Comfort of your Souls, and theirs that ingitate you against us, before our Common Judge, we would joyfully be silent, and accept of a Dismission. But being certain of the contrary, we do this once adventure, humbly to tender to Your Majesty, and Your Parliament, these following Requests.

1. Because God saith, That he that hateth his Brother is a Murderer, and hath not Eternal Life: We humbly crave leave once to Print and Publish the true State and Reasons of our Nonconformity to the World; to save Men's Souls from the guilt of unjust Hatred and Calumny: And if we err, we may be helped to Repentance by a Confratnion, and the Notoriety of our shame.

2. That in the mean time this Honourable House will appoint a Committee to consider of the best means for the Healing our Calamitous Divisions, before whom we may have leave at last to Speak for ourselves.

3. That these annexed Professions of our Religion and Loyalty may be received, as from Men that better know their own Minds than their Accusers do, and who, if they durst deliberately lie, should be no Nonconformists.

4. That if yet we must suffer as Malefactors, we may be punished but as Drunkards, and Fornicators are, with some Penalty which will consist with our Preaching Christ's Gospel, and that shall not reach to the hurt or danger of many Thousand Innocent People's Souls, till the Re-building of the Burnt-Churches, the lessening of great Parishes, where one of very many cannot hear and worship God; and till the quality and number of the Conformable Ministers, and the knowledge, piety, and sobriety of the people have truly made our Labour needs; and then we shall gladly obey your Silencing Commands.

And whereas there are commonly reckoned to be in the Parishes without the Walls, above Two hundred thousand personrs, more than can come within the Parish Churches, they may not be compelled in a Christian Land to live as Atheists, and worse than Infidels and Heathens, who, in their manner, publickly worship God.

The Professions of our Religion.

1 A. B. Do willingly profess my continued resolved content to the Covenant of Christiitianity which I made in my Baptism, with God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, forsaking the Devil, the World, and the sinful Lusts of the Flesh: And I profess my Belief of the Ancient Christian Creeds, called, The Apostles, The Nicene, and, The Constantinopolitane and the Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, fuller opened in that ascribed to Athanasius: And my Content to The Lord's Prayer, as the Summary of Holy Duties, and to The Dialogue, with Christ's Institutions, as the Summary Rule of Christian Practice: And to all the Holy Canonical Scriptures, as the Word of God: And to the Doctrine of the Church of England professed in the 39 Articles of Religion, as in sense agreeable to the Word of God: And I renounce all Heretics, or Errors, contrary to any of these; And I do hold that the Book of Common Prayer, and of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, containeth in it nothing so disagreeable to the Word of God, as maketh it unlawful to live in the Peaceable Communion of the Church that useth it.
The Profession of our Loyalty and Obedience.

I do willingly, and without equivocation and deceit, take the Oaths of Allegiance, and the King's Supremacy, and hold my self obliged to perform them. I detest all Doctrines and Practices of Rebellion and Sedition: I hold it unlawful for any of His Majesty's Subjects, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, His Person, Authority, Dignity, or Rights, or against any Authorized by his Laws or Commissions: And that there is no Obligation on me or any other of his Subjects, from the Oath Commonly called, The Solemn League and Covenant, to endeavour any change of the present Government of thee His Majesty's Kingdoms; nor to endeavour any Reformation of the Church, by Rebellion, Sedition, or any other unlawful means.

The Overplus, as a remedy against Suffocation.

We believe and willingly embrace all that is written in the Holy Scriptures for the power of Kings and the Obedience of their Subjects, and the infinuals of Rebellion and Revilence. And concerning the same we content to as much as is found in any General Council, or in the Confession of any Christian Church on Earth (not respecting Obedience to the Pope,) which ever yet came to our knowledge; or as is owned by the Confess of the Greater part of Divines, Politicians, Lawyers or Historians in the Christian World, as far as our Reading hath acquainted us therewith.

II. To the King's most Excellent Majesty; The Humble Petition of some Citizens of London, on the behalf of this City, and the Adjoyning Parishes, Sheweth.

That the Calamitous Fire 1666, with our Houses and Goods, Burnt down near 90 Churches, few of which are yet Re-edified; And divers Parishes, whose Churches yet stand, are so great, that it is but a small part of the Inhabitants that can there hear; whereby great Numbers are left in ignorance, and as a prey to Papists and other Seducers, and which is worse, to Atheism, Infidelity, and Irreligion: And if many of their ancient ejected, silenced Pastors, who, for refusing certain Subscriptions, Declarations, Promises, Oaths and Practices, are called Nonconformists, had not through great Difficulties and Sufferings exercised their Compulsion to the people's Souls, in Preaching and Visiting the Sick, they had been yet more miserable delinquent and forsaken.

Your Petitioners being sensible, that Christian professing the Belief of a Life to come, and that the holy Scriptures should not, by such Judgments, as our Plagues and Flames be hardened against God, but he awakened to Repentance and Holiness of Life, and that so Great and Honourable a City, should not, after all, turn worse than Infidels and Heathens, who are taught by Nature, publicly to Worship God, do humbly request, that till the Great Parishes have Capacious Churches or Chapels, and the ruined Churches are re-built, and furnished with able Conformable Ministers, those Protestant Nonconformists who will Teach the people where others do not, may not be therefore punished, or be forbidden, and the Souls of many Thousands which are hailing to another World, be deprived of such necessary helps, the Preachers being responsible for whatever they speak or do amiss. This Necessary Compulsion to this famous City, even to the Souls of Men, which we humbly crave will more oblige Your Majesty's Loyal Subjects, to Pray for the Continuance of Your Prosperous Reign.
May it please Your Majesty,

We Your Majesty's Subjects, Dedicated to the Sacred Office, from which we must not Perfidiously and Sensually alienate our selves, once ( vainly) hoped that the Established Publick Ministry might have received Men of our Size of Science and Conscience, till all the Churches had been furnished with Wiser Better Men: But God (for our Sins and Trial) and Men (we know not why) have otherwise decreed. We choose not this Calling (nor our costly Nonconformity) as the way of Wealth or Worldly Honour; Nor ever expected that God should make us a Golden-Bridge to Heaven; Nor desire to be Lords over God's Flock, or Rule them by Constraint, remembering who said, [But with you it shall not be so:] Gain is not our Godliness, or Church-Glory, but Godliness our Gain; We like not Divise's Choice so well as Mary's; But yet could gladly have clapped both Lazarus and Martha's fruits, and have served God without distraction: We have Flesh that is not in love with Suffering, nor ambitious to live on Alms: It is Divine Relief that must keep those Men's Consciences from a timorous or treacherous surrender, which are beguiled by Sixteen years Poverty and Reproach, and from the Prophaneenes of selling their Birth-right for a Morsel: But (though Sensibility of our Brethren's Sufferings, be not Impatient Murthering, yet) it is a more Grievous Burden, which constraineth us at last to Speak, viz. That so great a part of our maturest Age (in which, by the experience of good and evil, our own and others, we should have been far wiser and fitter to serve God in his Church, than we were in unexperienced Youth) should be so far left as it hath been, as to the Work to which we were Ordained: That (Unheard) we should be suppos'd to Erroneous, or Criminal, as that no Punishment of our Bodies can give satisfaction without the Suffering of the Souls of Men, by our forbearing to Preach the Word of Life! That while with grieved Souls we must see the sad Divisions and Sides that Prevail, and the doleful advantages that Satan hereby getcheth, for the ruin of Piety, Love and Peace, and the increase of Atheism, Infidelity and Maliciousness, and Confusion, and every evil work, and are told so loudly, by our notorious Necessity, that all our Endeavours conjoint would be too little. When we have foreseen and foretold all this, and used our most earnest Requests and Endeavours to have prevented it; We must yet be defamed by Tongues and Priests, as the Authors and Fomenters of it, and as men of Unfcapeable and varly humour, and of Unpeaceable Schihametical and Fiditious Principles; That being thus rendered odious, we are made incapable of Publick or Private use to Multitudes, whose Lives declare their need of help. That many whom we must honour and reverence, are hereby drawn into the guilt of Calumni and Injury to the Church, as well as to us, whose Cafe and Reasons (as to the New Conformity) they never understood, or heard. That so many Men's minds, and Zeal and Parts should be so ill employed on all sides, as to be reaking in the bleeding Wounds which they are obliged to the uttermost of their Diligence to heal: That while Preachers are against Preachers, and Heavenly Love and Joy is turned into Envying and Strike; We should go for the Aim that blow the Coals, and rob Your Majesty of the Honour and Joy of Ruling an Unanimous Ministry, and a Peaceable, Loyal, Unsuspected People; We must not be guilty of setting forth by Your Majesty's Interest, and Your judgment of us, and Favour to us, and the Interest of the Church, and the People's Souls, as to remain still silent under all this. And, with greatest reverence of God, we must profess, That if the faithful search of our Consciences should show us, that all this is caused by any self-seeking, or willfulness of ours; and that we were not still willing, at the dearest rate (except nothing, which is no way to Peace) to close those Wounds, but preferred any Worldly Interest before the Peace and Harmony of Souls, we should take it to be Kin to Judas's Sin, and should tremble to think.

X x x x 2.
how quickly a revenging God would judge us, and what a dismal entrance upon Eternity such guilty Souls are like to have.

But the penfe and conscience thus complain, it is but the introduction to our thankful acknowledgment of the favours which your Majesty hath vouchsafed us: Your Clemency, protection and forbearance hath revived our comforts, which consisted in that work which is the business of our Lives. Our Loyal fidelity shall express our gratitude more than words: And because some in this also would render us fulfiled, we take it for our Duty to protest, that tho' we take not and digest not, as easily as is expected, all Subscriptions, Declarations and Oaths, which are of late imposed, It is not from any Principle of Disloyalty: For we firmly hold that every Soul must be subject to the Higher Powers, not only for Wrath but Conference sake: And that Honour, and Obedience in Lawful things, and patience under wrongful prelures is our Duty to our Rulers; In short, we know not of one word in scripture, one Canon of any Generall Council, one Confession of any Christian Church on Earth, which speaketh more for Subjects Submission, and peaceable obedience to Kings, than we do heartily acknowledge: And we believe that no Law or Covenant of our own, can disoblige us from any part of this obedience, or warrant us to Rebel. We would not have the King of Rome (the pretended Viceroy of the King of Kings) to be King over our Majesty or your Kingdoms; The world's Experience longwits tell us that Clergymen are fitter to be kept by the Sword in Peace and Quietness, than to be trusted with the Sword; and we would not have Kings be made their Executioners: For we are past doubt that the Controversies and Contentions of the Worldly Tyrannical, and the self-conceited Clergy, have been many hundred years more Calculous to the Christian World, than the bloody Wars: We are our selves so far from desiring Grandeur and Dominition, that we would not be so much as the Fasliors of any but Contenters; and with that the Clergie's State were such as neither armed or straitened the diligent Labourers, nor fo tempted and invited Ambitious Worldly minds, as such, being the seekers, must usually be the Masters of the Church, who are likely to be Enemies to the holy Doctrine which condemneth them. We long, we pray, we groan for the Concord of the Christian World: And we are sure that whoever shall be the blessed and honored Instruments of that work, must do it by breaking dividing Engines, and making the primitive simplicity, the terms of Union: even a few plain, certain, necessary things: while the Sword of the Magistrate constraineth the turbulent: to peace and mutual forbearance in the rest: We are not for cruelty to any: We greatly approve of your Majesties Averfions to perfecution. But we believe that it is the Learning, Godliness and Concord of the Ministry, which shall be publickly settled by your Laws, which must be the chief means of preferring Religion, Loyalty and Peace, and therefore must deeply retent it that we are rendered so unverifiable in that kind, and that well meaning men should so long misunderfland our cause, and judge, defame and use us as if we were the hinderers of that sweet agreement which our Souls most earnestly desire, and would purchase by any Lawful price. In summ, the belief of the Heavenly Glory through Christ, kindling the Love of God and Man, and teaching us to love Soberly, Righteousiy, and Godly, and the Government of Magistrates keeping all in peace upon these terms, is the Religion and State that we delire.

And the grief of our Souls for the present Divisions doth call up our thankful remembrance, that once by your Majesty's favour, we were Commissioned to speak for our selves about the old Conformation, and to treat with your Bishops for such Alterations as were necessary to our Concord: And that your Majesty published to Gracious a Declamation of Ecclesiastical Affairs, as, had it lived, had prevented our present frictions; yet that your House of Commons gave your Majesty the publick Thanks for your healing means: (Tho' now some take all our Divisions and Disfarrations, to be a smaller evil, than the Terms of that your Majesty's Declaration would be). And if ever your favour allow us to speak for our selves also as to the New Conformity, and to open to the world, the matter and reasons of our Nonconformity, we cannot doubt but it would much abate the Confuses and Injuries of Multitudes that understand us not, and consequently abate their guilt, and all unbrotherly Discontents and Subscriptions, and Men's unthankful dislike of your Majestys Clemency. And so far as God by your Majesty's favour shall open our Lips, that our mouths may shew forth his praise, we shall be obliged to greater thankfulness to your Majesty, and to pray for your pious and prosperous Reign, and that we may all live a quiet and peaceable Life in all Godliness and Honesty, as becometh your Majesty's Loyal Subjects.
§ 239. While the said two Bishops were fraudulently seeming to set us on this Treaty, their cause required them outwardly to pretend that they would not have me troubled; but underhand I was full the first that was haunted after and perfected: And even while I was in this Treaty, the informers of the City (let on work by the Bishops) were watching my preaching, and contriving to load me with divers convictions and fines at once: And they found an Alderman Justice even in the Ward where I preached, fit for their Design, one Sir Thomas Drury, who understood not the Law, but was ready to serve the Prelates in their own way. To him Oath was made against me, and the place where I preached, as for two Sermons, which came to three score pounds fine to me, and fourscore to the owner of the place where we assembled: But I only was fought after and prosecuted.

§ 250. The Reader must here understand the present case of the City as to such things: The Execution of these Laws, that were to ruin us for preaching, was so much against the hearts of the Citizens, that fearce any could be found to execute them: Tho the Corporation Oath and Declaration had now moulded the City (and all the Corporations of the Land, except some few (as Taunton, &c.) which were utterly dissolved by it) yet were the Aldermen for the most part utterly averse to such Employment, so that whenever an Informer came to them, tho (they forfeited an 1001. every time that they refused to execute their Office, yet some shifted out of the way, and some plainly denied and repulsed the Accusers, and one was fled for it; And Alderman Forth got an Informer bound to the behaviour for breaking in upon him in his Chamber against his will. Two fellows called Strawd and Marshalt became the General Informers in the City, and some others under them. In all London, notwithstanding that the third parts of those great fines might be given the Informers, very few would be found to do it: And those two were presently fallen upon by their Creditors on purpose, and Marshalt laid in the Compter for Debt, where he remained for a considerable time; but Strawd (keeping a Coffee-Houfe) was not so deep in debt, but was bailed. Had a Stranger of another Land come into London, and seen five or six poor ignorant forry Fellows (unworthy to have been inferior Servants to an Ordinary Gentleman) hunting, and infulting over the ancient Aldermen, and the Lord Mayor himself, and all the Reverend, faithful Minifters that were ejected, and eighty nine Churches were destroyed by the Fire, and in many Parifhes the Churches yet standing, could not hold a sixt, or tenth part of the People, yet tho those that Preached for nothing were prosecuted to utter ruin, with such unwearied cagernefs, sure he would have wondered what these Prelates and Procurators are; and it may convince us that the term δικαιολογοs, given in Scripture to some Men (translated false Accusers) is not unmeet. When Men pretending to be the Fathers of the Church dare turn loofe half a dozen paltry, silly Fellows that know not what they do, to be, to go many Thoufand Sober Men, as Wolves among the Sheep, to the disfracture of so many a City, and the disturbance of so many thousand for worshipping God. How lively doth this tell us, that Satan, the Prince of the Aereal Powers worketh in the Children of Disobedience, and that his Kingdom on Earth is kin to Hell, as Christ's Kingdom is to Heaven.

§ 291. When I understood that the design was to ruin me, by heaping up Convictions, before I was heard to speak for my self, I went to Sir Thomas Drury, and told him that I undertook to prove that I broke not the Law, and defired him that he would pass no Judgment till I had spoke for my self before my Accusers. But I found him so ignorant of the Law, as to be fully persuaded, that if the Informers did but swear in general that I kept [an untimely meeting in Presence of a Religious Exercise in other manner than according to the Liturgy and practice of the Church of England] he was bound to take this general Oath for Proof, and to record a Judgment; and so that the Accusers were indeed the Judges, and not he: I told him that any Lawyer would soon tell him the contrary, and that he was Judge whether by particular Proof they made good their general Accusation, (as it is in cafe a Man be accused of Felony or Treafon, it is not enough that Men swear that he is a Felon or Traytor, they muft name what his Fact was, and prove him guilty:) And I was at charge in Feeding Counfellors to convince him, and others; and yet I could not persuade him out of his mistake: I told him that if this were fo, any two such Fellows might defame, and bring to Fines, and Punishment, himself, and all the Magiftrates and Parliament-Men themselves, and all that meet in the Parish-Church...
es, and Men had no Remedy. At last he told me that he would consult with other Aldermen at the Sessions, and they would go one way: When the Sessions came I went to Guild-Hall, and again desired him that I might be heard before I was judged: But though the other Aldermen (five or six) were against such doings, I could not prevail with him, but (professing great Kindness) he then laid all on Sir John Forreell, the Recorder, saying, that it was his Judgment, and he must follow his Advice. I desired him, and Sir Thomas Allen, that they would defer the Recorder, that I might be heard before I was judged, and that if it must pass by his Judgment, that he would hear me speak: But I could not procure it; the Recorder would not speak with me: When I saw their Resolution, I told Sir Thomas Davis, if I might not be heard, I would record to Posterity the injustice of his Judgment, and Record: But I perceived, that he had already made the Record, but not yet given it in to the Sessions: At last, upon Consultation with his Leaders, he granted me a hearing, and three of the Informers met me at his House, that had sworn against me: I told them my particular Case, and asked them what made my Preaching a Breach of that Law, and how they proved their Accusation? They first said, Because I Preached in an unconfecrated Place: I told them, 1. That the Act only laid it on the manner of the Exercise, which the Place was nothing to: And, 2. That it was the Practice of the Church of England to Preach in unconfecrated Places, as at Sturbridge Fair, at the Spittle, at Whitehall Court, and many such like.

They next said, [Because I am a Nonconformist.] I easily convinced them that I am not a Nonconformist in Law-fence, but in the same Case with a Conformist that hath no Benefice (whatever I am in conscience), the Law obliging me to no more than I do. And if I were, that is nothing to the manner of the exercise.

Their last and great proof was, that I used not the Common Prayer. I undertook to prove to them that Law commandeth the use of the Common Prayer only in Church Meetings, and not in every other subordinate or by-Meeting for Religious Exercises, such as ours was: And that it was not the sense of the Act that Conformable persons that Communicate in the Liturgy with the Parish Churches, should be judged Conventicles, whenever above four of them joyned in a Religious Exercise without the Liturgy: For else all Tutors in the University should be punishable, and all School-masters that teach their Scholars and pray with them (if above 16 years of age) and they that instruct Prisoners at Newgate, and they that exhort and pray and sing Psalms with them at the Gallows, with many such instances: We ought not to judge so uncharitably of King and Parliament, unconstrued, as to think that they would allow Multitudes to meet at a Play-house, a Mulick-house, a horfe-race, a Bear-baiting, or Dancing, or any game, and allow many to meet at a Coffee-house, Ale-house, or Tavern, or in any private house, and do, on pain of utter ruin, only forbid Conformable persons, to join more than four, in singing a Psalm, or reading a Chapter or a Licensed book, or in praying together, or Conference tending to Religious Edification.

In Summ, they confert they could not Anfwcr me, nor prove their charge, but they still believed that I was guilty: The Justice was far from thinking that they proved it, that he motioned to them to Retract their Oaths (or else still he thought that he must condemn me:) They denied to do that, and said, That the Bishop affair'd them, That it was a Conventicle and I was guilty: I defined them, if it must all lie upon the Bishop, that I might Speak with them to the Bishop for myself: They told me, That it was the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and they were all now going to him, and promised to bring me word when I might Speak with him; But I heard no more of them of that: But the Justice retracted not his Judgment, but delayed a Month or more, to give out his Warrant to dittrein, though I daily look when they take my books (for they will find but little else:) Thongh both Justice and Accusers have before witness confed that they cannot prove me guilty, but one profeflected to go on the belief of the Recorder, and the other of the Arch-bishop.

§ 292. But God hath more mercy on these ignorant Informers, than on the Pharisaical Inftigators of them: For tho' repeat, but no Prelate, (save one) that I hear of, doth repeat: One of them that Sware against me, went the next fast to Redriff, to Mr. Roscvel's Church, where a Fast was kept, where hearing three
three Ministers pray and preach, his heart was melted, and with Tears, he lamented his former course, and particularly his Accusing me, and seemeth resolved for a new reformed Course of Life, and is retired from his former Company to that end. And a third (the chief) of the Informers lately in the Streets, with great kindness to me, professed, that he would meddle no more (coming by when a half distracted Fellow had Struck me on the head with his Staff, and furiously reviled me for Preaching, with the titles of Rogue, Villain, Hypocrite. Traytor, 
&c. (as the Prelats and Papists often do.)

§ 293. The Parliament meeting Apr. 13. they fell first on the D. of Lauderdale, renewing their desire to the King, to remove him from all publick Employment and Trust: His chief accussing Witness was Mr. Burnet, late Publick-Professor of Theology at Glasgow, who said, That he asked him whether the Scots Army would come into England, and said; What if the Disflicting Scots should Rife, an Irish Army should cut their Throats, &c. But because Mr. Burnet had lately magnified the said Duke in an Epistle before a published book, many thought his witnesses now to be more unsavoury and revengeful: Every one judging as they were affected. But the King sent them Answer, That the words were spoken before his late Act, of pardon, which if he should Violate, it might cause jealousies in his Subjects, that he might do So also by the Act of Indemnity.

§ 294. Their next Assault was against the Lord Treasurer, who found more Friends in the House of Commons, who at last acquitted him.

§ 295. But the great work was in the House of Lords, where an Act was brought in to impose such an Oath on Lords, Commons, and Magistrates, as is Imposed by the Oxford Act of Confinement on Ministers, and like the Corporation-Oath (of which more anon.) It was now flipp'd that bringing the Parliament under this Oath and Teft was the great work which the House was to perform: The Summ was, That none Commission'd by the King may be by-Arms reified, and that they would never endeavour any alteration of the Government of Church or State. Many Lords spoke vehemently against it, as destructive to the Privileges of their House, which was to Vote freely, and not to be prebolgi'd by an Oath to the Prelates: The Lord Treasurer, the Lord Keeper, with Bishop Morley and Bishop Ward, were the great Speakers for it, And the Earl of Shaftsbury, Lord Hollis, the Lord Halifax, the D. of Buckingham, the Earl of Salisbury, the chief Speakers against it: They that were for it, being the Major part, many of the rest Entered their Protestation against it: The Protesters the first time (for they protest'd three more afterward) were the Duke of Buckingham, the Marquefs of Winchester, the Earls of Salisbury, Bristol, Barkshire.

§ 296. The Protestings Lords having many days striven against the Teft, and being overvoted, attempted to join to it an Oath for Honesty and Confidence in these words: "I do swear that I will never by threats, injunctions, promises, or invitations, by or from any person whatsoever, nor from the hopes or prospects of any gift, place, office, or trust whatever, give my vote, other than according to my opinion and conscience, as I shall be truly and really persuaded upon the debate of any business in Parliament." But the Bishops on their sides did cry it down and caft it out.

§ 297. The Debating of this Text did more weaken the Interest and Reputation of the Bishops with the Nobles, than any thing that ever befell them since the King came in: so much doth unquiet overdoing tend to undoing. The Lords that would not have heard a Nonconformist say half so much, when it came to be their own case, did long and vehemently plead against that Oath and Declaration as imposed on them, which they with the Commons had before imposed on others. And they exercised so much liberty for many days together in opposing the Bishops, and free and bold speeches against their Teft, as greatly turned to the Bishops Disgagement, especially the Earl of Shaftsbury, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Bristol, the Marquefs of Winchester, the Earl of Salisbury, the Lord Hollis, the Lord Halifax, and the Lord of Alesbury.

Which for the Tongues of Men at so much liberty, that the common talk was against the Bishops: And they said, that upon Trial, there were so few found among all the Bishops, that were able to speak to purpose (Bishop Morley of Winchester, and Bishop Ward of Salisbury being their chief Speakers) that they grew very low also, as to the Reputation of their parts.

§ 298. That
§ 298. At first, though the Text was carried by the Majority, yet those, that were against it, with others, prevailed to make it great an alteration of it, as made it quite another thing, and turned it to the greatest disadvantage of the Bishopps, and the greatest accommodation of the Cause of the Nonconformists, of any thing that this Parliament hath done. For they reduced it to these words, of a Declaration and an Oath.

["I A. B. do declare, That it is not lawful, on any pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King; And that I do abhor that Traiterous Position, of taking Arms, by His Authority, against His Person, or against those that are Commissioned by him according to Law, in time of Rebellion and War, in acting in pursuance of such Commission.

[I A. B. do Swear, that I will not endeavour an Alteration of the Protestant Religion now established by Law in the Church of England; nor will I endeavour any Alteration in the Government of this Kingdom in Church or State, as it is by Law Established.

§ 299. This Declaration and Oath thus altered, was such as the Nonconformists would have taken, if it had been offered them in stead of the Oxford-Oath, the Subscription for Uniformity, the Corporation and Vesty Declaration: But the Kingdom must be Twelve years rack to Diffraction, and 1800 Ministers forbidden to Preach Christ's Gospel, upon pain of utter ruin, and Cities and Corporations all New-Modelled and Changed, by other kind of Oaths and Covenants; and when the Lords find the like obtruded on themselves, they reject it as intolerable: And when it past, they got in this Provifo, That it should be no hindrance to their Free-Speaking and Voting in the Parliament: Many worthy Ministers have lost their Lives by Imprisonments, and many Hundred their Maintenance, and Liberty, and that opportunity to serve God in their Callings, which was much of the comfort of their Lives, and mostly for refusing what the Lords themselves at last refuse, with such another Declaration. But though Experience teach fome that will no otherwise learn; it is fad with the World, when their Rulers must learn to Govern them at fo dear a rate; and Countries, Cities, Churches, and the Souls of Men, must pay fo dear for their Governors Experience.

§ 300. The following Explication will tell you, That there is nothing in this Oath and Declaration to be refus'd. 1. [I do declare, That it is not lawful] can mean no more, but that [I think so] and not that I pretend to Infallible certainly therein. 2. [To take Arms against the King.] That is, either against his Formal Authority, as King; or against His Person (Life, or Liberty) or against any of His Rights and Dignity: And doubless the Person of the King is inviolable, and so are His Authority and Rights; not only by the Laws, but by the very Constitution of the Kingdom: For every Common-wealth being essentially constituted of the Pars Imperium, and pars fiducia materialiter, the Union of the is the Form of it, and the Dissolution is the Death of it: And Hoftility is Dissolution and Dissolution. Therefore no Head or Sovereign hath power to destroy, or fight against his Kingdom, nor any Common-wealth or Kingdom against their King or Sovereign Rulers: unlefs in any cafe the Law of Nature and Nation, which is above all Humane Positive Laws, should make the dissolution of the Republick to become a Duty, (As if some Republick should cast off the Essential Principles of Society.) By Law, neither King nor Kingdom may destroy or hurt each other: For the Governing Law suppoze their Union (as the Constitution, and the Common good, with the due Welfare of the Sovereign, is the end of Government, which none have power against.

But it must be noted, that the words are [against the King's Will] and not [against the King's Will;] for if his Will be against his Welfare, his Kingdom, or his Laws, though that Will be signified by his Commissioners, the Declaration disclaimeth not the relucting of such a Will by Arms.

3. And if there be any that affert, that the King's Authority given them right to take up Arms (against his Person, or Lawful Commissions,) it must needs be a Falsc and Traiterous Affertion: For if his Person may be Houstefully fought against, the Common-wealth may be dissolved, which the Law cannot suppoze; for...
for all Laws die with the Common-wealth: And it is a contradiction to be authorized by him to resist by Arms his Commissions, which are according to Law: For the Authority, pretended to be his, must be his Laws, or Commissions, and to be Authorized by his Laws, or Commissions, to resist his Laws, must signify, that his Laws are contradictory, when by one we must resist another: But so far as they are contradictory, both cannot be Laws, or Lawful Commissions; For one of them must needs nullify the other (either by Fundamental Priority, or by Posterity, signifying a Repeat of the other.)

And it must be noted, that yet the Tyrannous Position medleth not with the Question of taking Arms against the King’s Person, or Commissioners by the Law of God, of Nature, or of Nations, but only of doing it by his own Authority.

4. And that it is not lawful to take Arms against any Commissioned by him, according to Law, in time of Rebellion and War, in pursuance of such Commission,] is a Truth so evident, that no sober Persons can deny it: The Long Parliament that had the War, did vehemently affect it, and therefore gave out their Commissions to the Earl of Essex and his Soldiers, to fight against Delinquent Subjects, for the King and Parliament.

5. And the Oath containeth no more, than our not endeavouring to Alter the Protestant Religion established, or the King’s Government or Monarchy: It cannot, with any true reason, be suppos’d to tie us at all to the Bishops; much less to the English Disease or Corruption of Episcopacy, or to Lay-Chancels, Lords, &c. but only to the King, as Supreme, in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil, so far as they fall under Coercive Government.

This is thus proved past denial. 1. The word [*Protestant Religion as established in the Church of England*] cannot include the Prelacy; For, 1. The Protestant Religion is essentally nothing, but the Christian Religion as such, with the disclaiming of Popery, and so our Divines have still profess’d: But our Prelacy is no part of the Christian Religion.

2. The Protestant Religion is common to us with many Countryes which have no Prelacy: And it is the same Religion with us and them.

3. The words of the Oath distinguish the Religion of the Church of England, from the Church of England it self, and from Government.

4. If Episcopacy in general were proved part of the Protestant Religion, the English Accidents and Corruptions are not so: They, that say that Episcopacy is *true Divinity*, and unalterable, do yet say, that National, and Provincial Churches are *true Humane;* and that so is a Diocesan, as it is distinct from Parochial, containing many Parishes in it: And if the King should set up a Bishop in every Market-Town, yes, every Parish, and put down Diocesanes, it is no more than what he may do: And if by [*the Protestant Religion established*] should be meant every alterable mode or circumstance, then King-James changed it when he made a new Translation of the Bible, and both he and our late Convocation (and King and Parliament by their Advice) did change it when they added new Forms of Prayer: And then this Oath bindeth all from endeavouring to make any alteration in the Liturgie, or mend the Translation, or the Metre of the Psalms, &c. or to take the keys of Excommunication and Absolution out of the hands of the Lay-Chancellors, &c. which none can reasonably suppose.

2. And that our Prelacy is not at all included in the word [*Government of the Kingdom in Church and State*] but only the King’s Supreme Government in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil, is most evident: 1. Because it is expressly said [*The Government of the Kingdom*] which is all one with the Government of the King. For a Bishop, or a Justice, or a Mayor, is no Governor of the Kingdom, but only in the Kingdom, of a Particular Church, City, Corporation, or Division; The *summa potestas* only is the Government of the Kingdom, as a Kingdom; And because forma denotat, we cannot take the Kingdom to signify only a Church or City.
2. Because else it would change the very constitution of the Kingdom, by making all the inferior Officers inalterable, and so to be essential constitutive parts: Whereas only the pars Imperans and pars Sedilis are constitutive parts of every Kingdom, or Republick, and the Constitutive pars Imperans is only the summa potestatis except where the mixture and fundamental Contract is such, as that Inferiour Officers, are woven so into the Constitution, as that they may not be changed without it's Dissolution, which is hardly to be supposed, even at Venice. The Oaths between the summa potentias and the Subject, are the bonds of the Commonwealth; their Union being the form, that must not be dissolved: But to make Oaths of Allegiance, or Unchangeableness, reach to the Inferiour Magistrates or Officers, is to change the Government or Constitution.

3. And so it destroyeth the Regal power, in one of it's chief properties or prerogatives, which is to alter inferior Officers; who all receive their power from the Supreme, and are alterable by him (even by the Magnus which hath the Legislative powers.) And this would take away all the King's power to alter so much as a Mayor, Justice or Conflagle. For, mark, that Government of the Kingdom (in Church and State) are fet equally together without any note of difference, as to alteration: If therefore it extend to any but the Supreme, even to inferior Officers, it were to extend to them as Governing the State (even to the lowest) as well as the Church. But this is a supposition to be Contemned.

4. And if the Distinction should be meant de personis Imperstantibus, and should intend only [Bishops and King] by [Church and State], 1. It would suppose that King and Parliament do take [Bishops and King] for two coordinate Heads, in governing the Kingdom, 2. And that they fet the Bishops before the King; which is not to be supposed.

5. And to put all out of question, the Oath is but Conform to former Statutes, Oaths, Articles of Religion and Canons, 1. The Statutes which declare the King to be only Supreme Governor of the Church, I need not cite. 2. The Oath of Supremacy is well known of all. 3: The very first Canon is, that the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury and all Bishops, &c. shall faithfully keep, and observe all the Laws for the King's Supremacy over the Church of England, in causes Ecclesiastical: And the 2d. Canon is to condemn the dangers of it. And the 36. Canon obligeth all Ministers to subscribe that the King's Majesty under God is the only Supreme Governor of this Realm as well in all Spiritual and Ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal. And (as the Parliament are called the Representative of the People or Kingdom as distinct from the Head, so) the 139. Canon excommunicateth all them that affirm [that the Sacred Synod of this Nation, in the Name of Christ and by the King's Authority assembled is not the true Church of England by Representation]: So that they claim to be but the Representative of the Church as it is the Body distinct from the Head Chief, and the King as their chief Governor. 4. And all that are Ordained are likewise to take the Oath of Supremacy ["I do utterly testify and declare in my Conscience that the King's Hignefs is the only Supreme Governor of this Realm as well in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical things or Causes, as Temporal,"] 5. And it is also inferred in the Articles of Religion, Art. 35. And it is added expostorily ["Where we attribute to the Queen's Majesty the Chief Government (by which title we understand the minds of some fardemous folks to be offended.) ", we give not to our Princes the Miniftering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments---but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all Godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himself, that is, that they shall rule all Eflates and Degrees committed to their Charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and refrain with the Civil Sword, the Stubborn "and evil Doers.""] Here it is to be noted, that, though, no doubt, but the Keys of Excommunication and abjuration belong to the Pfators, and to the Civil Magistrate, yet, the Law, and this Article, by the word [Government] mean only [Coeftive Government by the Sword] and do include the power of the Keys under the title of [Miniftering the Word and Sacraments,] Church Guidance being indeed nothing else but the Explication and Application of God's word to Cases and Conflences, and administering the Sacraments accordingly. So that as in the very Article of Religion, Supreme Government, appropriated to the King only, is contradistinguifhed from [Miniftering the Word and Sacraments,] which is not called Government there, so are we to understand this Law and Oath: And many Learned Men think, that Guidance is a fitter name than Government for the Pfator's Office. And
And therefore Gratios de Imper. Stan. Pot. would rather have the Name Caunos or Rulers used than Laws as to their Determinations: Though no doubt but the Name [Government] may be well applied to the Pastor's Part, so we distinguishing as Bishop and other judicious men use to do, calling one [Government by God's Word (upon the Conscience) and the other Government by the sword.] (as seconding Precepts with enforcing penalties and Multis.)

§ 301. While this Test was carrying on in the house of Lords, and 500 pounds Voted to be the penalty of the Refusers, before it could come to the Commons, a difference fell between the Lords and Commons about their priviledges, by occasion of two Suits that were brought before the Lords, in which two Members of the Commons were parties, which occasioned the Commons to send to the Tower, Sir John Figg, one of their Members, for appearing at the Lords Bar without their consent, and four Counsellours (Sir John Churchill, Sergeant Pemberton, Sergeant Peete, and another) for pleading there; And the Lords Voted it illegal, and that they should be releas'd: Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower obeyed the Commons, for which the Lords Voted him a Delinquent; And so far went they in daily Voting at each other, that the King was fain to Prorogue the Parliament, June 9. till October 13. there appearing no hope of Reconciling them. Which rejoiced many that they rofe without doing any further harm.

§ 302. June 9. Ketting, the Informer being commonly detected for prosecuting me, was cast in Gaol for Debt, and wrote to me to endeavour his Deliverance, which I did; and in his Letters, faith [Sir, I assure you I do verily believe that God hath bestowed all this affliction on me because I was so vile a wretch as to trouble you: And I assure you I never did a thing in my Life that hath so much troubled my self as that did: I pray God forgive me: And truly I do not think of any that went that way to work that ever God would favour him with his mercy: And truly without a great deal of mercy from God; I do not think that ever I shall thrive or prosper: And I hope you will be pleased to pray to God for me, &c.]

§ 303. A while before another of the chief Informers of the City and Accuser (Marshall) died in the Counter where his Creditors laid him, to keep him from doing more harm: Yet did not the Bishops change or cease: Two more Informers were set on work, who first assaulted Mr. Cafe's Meeting, and next got in as hearers into Mr. Read's Meeting where I was Preaching; And when they would have gone out to fetch Justices (for they were known) the doors were lockt to keep them in till I had done, and one of them (supposed to be from Ulham) flayed weeping: Yet went they straightforward to the Justices, and the week following heard me again as Informers at my Lectures; but I have not yet heard of their Accusatior.

§ 304. But this week (June 9.) Sir Thomas Davis (notwithstanding all his foreaid Warnings and Confessions) sent his Warrants to a Justice of the Division where I dwell, to disfain on me (upon two judgments) for 50 pounds; for Preaching my Lecture in New-street: Some Conformis are paid to the value of 20 pounds a Sermon for their Preaching, and I must pay 20 pounds and 40 pounds a Sermon for Preaching for nothing: O what Puffs hath the Church of England, who think it worth all their unwearied Labours, and all the edium which they contract from the People, to keep such as I am, from Preaching the Gospel of Christ, and to undo us for it as far as they are able, though these many years they do not (for they cannot) accuse me for one word that ever I Preached: nor one Action else that I have done: While the greatest of the Bishops Preach not thrice a year (as their Neighbours say) themselves.

§ 305. The dangerous Crack over the Market-houfe at St. James's put many upon defiring that I had a larger safer place for Meeting. And though my own dulls, and great backwardnes to troublesome business made me very averse to go great an undertaking, judging that it being in the face of the Court, it would never be endued, yet the great and unceasing importunity of many (out of a fervent desire of the good of Souls) did constrain me to undertaik it: And when it was almost finifhed (in Oxenden-street) Mr. Henry Coventry, one of his Majesties principal Secretaries, who had a house joining to it, and was a Member of Parliament, spake twice against it, in the Parliament: But no one Reconded him.

§ 306. I think meit to recite the names and liberality of some of those pious and Charitable persons who contributed towards the building of this place (The money
money was all put into the hands of Mr. Tho. Stanley a worthy sufficient Citizen in Bread-street, who undertook the care and Disbursement, for I never touch'd one penny of it my self, nor any one for me: Nor did I think meet to make a publick Collection for it in the place where I Preach'd.) The Lady Armine—60 l. (on her death-bed. Sir John Maynard—40 l. Mr. Brooke Bridges—201. Sir James Lang- bane—20 l. (at first time.) The Counteys of Clare—10 l. The Counteys of Tre- coloncl—6 l. The Lady Clinton—5 l. The Lady Eleanor Hollis—5 l. The Counteys of Warwick—201. Mr. French—and Mr. Brandon ( Non-conformable Ministers)—20 l. The Lady Richards—5 l.—Mr. Henry (a Parliament man) 5 l.—Sir Edward Har- ley—10 l.—Mr. Richard Hamilton and Mr. John his Son—8 l.—The Lady Fitz-James and her three Daughters—6 l.—Sir Richard Chiverton—1 l. Mrs Neighbours 1 l. Alderman Henry Averell and his Son-in-law Mr. Booth (the first Undertakers) 100 l. Collected among all their City Friends, and Ours whom they thought meet to move in it.

And that we might do the more good, my Wife urged the Building of another. Meeting-place in Bloomsbury, for Mr. Read (to be furthered by my sometime helping him); the Neighbourhood being very full of People, Rich and Poor, that could not come into the Parish-Church, through the greatness of the Parli (and Dr. Bowman, the Parli-Parlons, having not Preach'd, Prayed, Read, or Admini- tered Sacraments thefe Three or Four Years.

§ 307. This Week (Jun. 14.) many Bishops were with the King, who, they say, granted them his Commands to put the Laws against us in Execution: And on Tuesday about Twelve or Thirteen of them went to Dine with the Sheriff of London, Sir Nathaniel Herne; where the business being mentioned, he told them, that they could not Trade with their Neighbours one Day, and fend them to Goal the next.

§ 308. Dr. Tully, by his book called Justificatio Paulina, constrained me to Publifh Two Books in Vindicacion of the Truth and my self, viz. Two Dif- putations of Original Sin, and a Treatise of Justifying Righteousness; in which I publisht my Old Papers to Mr. Christopher Cartwright. Dr. Tully presently fell ill, and to our common Loss shortly died.

§ 309. I was so long wearied with keeping my Doors shut against them that came to diftrain on my Goods for Preaching, that I was fain to go from my Houfe, and to fell all my Goods, and to hide my Library firft, and afterwards to fell it: So that if Books had been my Treasure, (and I valued little more on Earth) I had been now without a treasure. About Twelve Years I was driven an Hundred Miles from them; and when I had paid dear for the Carriage, after Two or Three Years I was forced to fell them. And the Prelates, to hinder me from Preaching, deprave me also of thefe private Comforfs: But God faw that they were my Snare: We brought nothing into the World, and we mett carry nothing out. The Loss is very tolerable.

§ 310. I was the willefer to part with Goods, Books, and all, that I might have nothing to be diftrusted, and go on to Preach: And accordingly re- moving my Dwelling to the New Chappel which I had built, I purpoited to ven- ture there to Preach (there being Forty Thoufand Perfons in the Parli (as is sup- pofed) more than can hear in the Parish-Church, who have no Place to go to for God's Publick Worship; So that I fet not up Church againft Church, but Preach'd to thofe that muf't elfe have none, being both that London should turn Atheifts, or live worse than Infidels. But when I had Preach'd there but Once, a Resolution was taken to surprize me the next Day, and fend me for Six Months to the Common Goal, upon the Act for the Oxford Oath. Not knowing of this, it being the hottest part of the Year, I agreed to go for a few Weeks into the Countrey, Twenty Miles off: But the Night before I should go, I fell so ill, that I was fain to fend to disappointment both the Coach and my intended Companion (Mr. Syvoffier): And when I was thus fully refol- ved to fay, it pleaf'd God, after the Ordinary Coach-Hour, that Three Men, from Three parts of the City, met at my Houfe accidentally, just at the fame time (almoft to a minute) of whom, if any One had not been there, I had not gone; viz. the Coachman again to urge me, Mr. Syvoffier, whom I had put off, and Dr. Cox, who compell'd me, and told me, elfe he would carry me into the Coach. It proved a special mercifull Providence of God; for after one Week of Languihing and Pain, I had Nine Weeks greater Ease than ever I
expected in this World, and greater Comfort in my Work. For my good Friend Richard Bristow, Esq., Clerk of the Exchequer, whose importunity drew me to his House, spared for no Cost, Labour or Kindness for my Health or Service. For understanding of which, and much more in these Papers, seeing I record such things for the Notice of Students and Physicians, that other mens Health may have some advantage by my Experiences and Sorrows, I must here digress, to mention the State of my vile Body, not otherwise worthy the notice of the World.

§ 311. What is before written, hath notified, that I have lain in above Forty Years constant Weaknesses, and almost constant Pains: My chief Troubles were incredible Inflammations of Stomach, Bowels, Back, Sides, Head, Thighs, as if I had been daily fill'd with Wind: So that I never knew, heard, or read of any man that had near so much. Thirty Physicians (at least) all call'd it nothing but Hypochondriack Flatulency, and somewhat of a Scorbatical Malady: Great bleeding at the Nose also did emaciate me, and keep me in a Chaceatical Atropie. The particular Symptoms were more than I can number. I thought my self, that my Diseafe was almost all from Debility of the Stomach, and extreme Acrimony of Blood, by some Fault of the Liver. About the Year 1648, finding the Inflation much in the Membranes of the Reins, I suspected the Stone, and thought that one of my extreme Leavens might possibly feel it: I felt both my Kidneys plainly indurate like Stone; But never having had a Nephritick Fit, nor Stone came from me in my Life, and knowing, that if that which I felt was Stone, the Greatness prohibited all Medicine that tended to a Cure: I thought therefore that it was best for me to be ignorant what it was: And so far was I from melancholy, that I soon forgot that I had felt it, even for about Fifteen Years. But my Inflations beginning usually in my Reins, and all my Back, daily torn, and greatly paint'd by it, 1672. it turned to terrible Suffocations of my Brain and Lungs; So that if I slept, I was suddenly and painfully awakened: The Abatement of Urine, and continual Pain, which Nature almost yielded to as Victorious, renewed my Suspicion of the Stone, And my Old Exploration: And feeling my Lean Back, both the Kidneys, were greater indurate than before, and the Membrane so sore to touch, as if nothing but Stone were within them: The Physicians said, That the Stone cannot be felt with the Hand! I defined Four of the Chief of them to feel them: They all concluded that it is the Kidneys which they felt, and that they are hard (like Stone or Bone); but what is it they could not tell; but they thought, if both the Kidneys had Stones so big, as seemed to such feeling, it was impossible but I should be much worse, by Vomiting and Torment, and not able to Preach, and go about. I told them besides what Skenes and many Observators say; That I could tell them of many of late times, whose Reins and Gall were full of Stone (great ones in the Reins, and many small ones in the Gall), who had, some of them, never suspected the Stone, and some but little: But while One or Two of the Physicians (as they use) did say, It could not be, left they should (as they thought) discourage me, I became the Common Talk of the City, especially the Women; as if I had been a melancholy Humourist, that conceived my Reins were terrify'd, when it was no such matter, but mere Conceit. And so while I lay Night and Day in Pain, my suppos'd Melancholy (which, I thank God, all my Life hath been extraordinary free from) became, for a Year, the Pity, or Derision of the Town. But the Discovery of my Case was a great mercy to my Body and my Soul: For,

1. Thereupon, seeing that all Physicians had been deceived, and perceiving that all my Flatulency and Pains came from the Reins by Stagitation, Regurgitation and Acrimony, I cast off all other Medicine and Diet, and Twice a Week kept clean my Intestines by an Electuary of Caffia, Terebinth. Cypr. and Rhub. &c. or Pills of Rhub. and Terebinth. Seio. Using also Syrup of Mallow in all my Drink; and God hath given me much more Abatements and Intermissions of Pain this Year and half, than in my former overwhelming Pains I could expect.

2. And whether it be a Schyrus, or Stones (which I doubt not of), I leave to them to tell others, who shall disbelieve my Corps: But sure I am that I have wonderful Cause of Thankfulness to God, for the Ease which I have
have had these Forty Years: Being fully satisfied, that (by ill Diet, Old Cheefe, Raw Drinks and Salt Meats) whatever it is, I contrasted it before Twenty Years of Age, and since Twenty One or Twenty Two, have had just the same Symptoms as now at Sixty, saving the different strength of Nature to relift. And that I should in Forty Years have few hours without pain (to call me to redeem my Time), and yet not one Nephritic Torment, nor Acrimony of Urine (save One Day of Bloody Urine) nor intolerable kind of Pain. What greater Bodily Mercy could I have had? How meriful, how suitable hath this Providence been. My Pains now in Reins, Bowels and Stomach, &c. are almost constant; but with merciful Alleviations upon the foresaid.

§ 312. As I have written this to mind Physicians, to search deeper, when they use to take up with the General Hiding Names of Hypochondriacs and Scorbuticks, and to caution Students; so I now proceed to that which occasioned it. I had tried Cow's Milk, Goats Milk, Yeast Milk, and lastly, Aifes Milk, and none of them agreed with me; But having Thirty Years ago read in many great Practitioners, That for Bloody Urine, and mcer Debility of the Reins, Sheep's Milk doth Wonders (see Gordonius, Forfixus, Schendo, &c.) I had long a desire to try it, and never had Opportunity. But as I was saying this to my Friend, a Child answered, That their next Neighbour (a Quaker) did kill milk their Sheep (a Quarter of a Year after the usual time, or near). Whereupon I procured it for six Weeks, to the greatest increafe of my Eafe, Strength and Health, of any thing that ever I had tried.

2. And at the same time, being driven from Home, and having an Old Licence of the Bishop's yet in Force, by the Countenance of that, and the great Industry of Mr Berisford, I had Leave and Invitation for Ten Lord's Days to Preach in the Parish-Churches round about. The first Parish that I Preach'd in, after Thirteen Years Ejection and Prohibition, was Rickmersworth, and after that at Sarryat, at Kings Langley, at Cheffam, at Chalford, and at Armgbam, and that often Twice a Day: Tho' heard that had not come to Church of Seven Years; and Two or Three Thousand heard where scarce an Hundred were wont to come, and with so much Attention and Willingness, as gave me very great Hopes that I never spake to them in vain. And thus Soul and Body had the Special Mercies.

§ 313. But the Centnaries of Men pursuied me, as before: The Envious Sort of the Pretalists accuited me, as if I had intrud'd into the Parish-Churches too boldly, and without Authority: The Quarrelsome Sectaries, or Separatists, did in London speak against me, for drawing People to the Parish-Churches and the Liturgy; and many gave out, That I did Conform. And all my Days nothing hath been charged on me so much as my Crimes, as my contrefte and greatest Duties. But the pleading of God, and saving Souls, will pay for all.

§ 314. The Countries about Rickmersworth abounding with Quakers, because Mr W. Pen, their Captain, dwelleth there, I was diligent that the Poor People should once hear what was to be said for their Recovery; Which coming to Mr Pen's Ears, he was forward to a Meeting, where we continued speaking to Two Rooms full of People, (Failing,) from Ten a Clock till Five (One Lord and Two Knights, and Four Conformable Ministers, besides others, being present, from all the Time, and some part). The Success gave me Cause to believe that it was not labour lost: An Account of the Conference may be publish'd ere long (if there be caufe.)

§ 315. Whilst this was my Employment in the Country, my Friends at home had got one Mr Seddon, a Nonconformist of Derbyshire, lately come to the City as a Traveller, to Preach the Second Sermon in my New Built Chappell: He was told (and over-told) all the Danger; and desire not to come, if he feared it: I had left word, That if he would but step into my House, through a Door, he was in no danger, they having no Power to break open any but the Meeting-house: While he was Preaching, Three Judges, with Soldiers (supposed by Secretary Coventry's sending) came to the Door to seize the Preacher. They thought it had been I, and had prepared a Warrant upon the Oxford Act, to send me for Six Months to the Common Goal. The good man,
and Two Weak Honest Persons intrusted to have directed him, left the House where he was safe, and thinking to pass away, came to the Justices and Soldiers at the Door, and there stood by them, till some one said, This is the Murderer. And so they took him, and blotted my Name out of the Warrant, and put in his, Though almost every Word fitted to my Cafe, was false of him. To the Gaolhouse he was carried, where he continued almost Three Months of the Six; and being earnestly desirous of Deliverance, I was put to Charges to accom- plish it, and at last (having Righteous Judges, and the Warrant being found faulty) he had an Habeas Corpus, and was freed upon Bonds to appear again the next Term.

§ 316. By this means my Case was made much worse: for, 1. The Justi- cies, and other Professors, were the more exasperated against me. 2. And they were now taught to hop every Hole in the next Warrant (to which I was still as liable as ever): So that I had now no Prospect that way of Escape. And yet though my Charge, Care and Trouble had been great for his Deliverance, and Good People had dealt very kindly with him, my usual Back-biter's (the Prelates and Separatists) talk commonly of me, as one that had unworthily saved my self from Danger, and drawn a Stranger into the Scare; and therefore deferred to bear all the Charges: Though, as is said, 1. I was Twenty Miles off, Preaching publicly. 2. They that ask'd him to Preach, told him the worst. 3. He went into Danger from Safety, by the Conduc't of some Persons of that confionous humour. 4. My Danger was increased by it, as well as my Charges. But Man's Ap- provation is a Poor Reward.

§ 317. Just when I came home, and was beginning to seek Mr. Sedgwick's De- liverance, Mr. Roffe Die, the Fiercest of the Justices, who had sent me to Goal before. The other Two are one Mr. Grey, and Sir Philip Mat- thews.

§ 318. The Parliament being fate again, a Letter was secretly printed, contain- ing the History of the Debate in the Lord's Houfe the former Sessions a-bout the Telft, and it was Voted to be burnt by the Hangman, but the more de- fi'red, and read it. In which it appeareth, That when it came to be their own Cafe, more was laid by the Lords for the Cause of the Nonconformists, than ever they were permitted to say for themselves.

§ 319. A most Excellent Book was written for the Nonconformists (for Abatements, and Forbearance, and Concord) by Dr. Herbert Crofts, Bishop of Hereford, without his Name; of which, more afterward.

§ 320. The Lords and Commons Revived their Contests about their Powers and Priviledges, and the Lords appointed four Lawyers to plead their Cause, and the Commons set up Orders, or Votes, to forbid them. And the Duke of Buckingham made a Notable Speech against Perfection, and defined the Content of the Lords, that he might bring in a Bill for the Eafe of His Majesty's Protestant Subjects in matters of Religion; but while it was preparing, the King, on Mon- day, November 21st. Prorogued the Parliament, till February come Twelve- month.

§ 321. The Speeches of the Earl of Shaftsbury, and others, about the Telft, were secretly Printed, and a Paper of Reasons for Diolving this Parliament, and Call- ing a New One, which were given in the House of Lords: And the Debates of this Telft (opening a little of the Nonconformists Cause, as to the Ox- ford Oath) together with what the Earl of Shaftsbury hath done, with Wit and Resolution, hath alienated many, even of the Conformists, from the present prevailing Bishops.

§ 322. The other of the fierce Justices, that subscribed a Warrant for my im- priornent, died shortly after; viz. Colonel Grey. The Death of Mr. Bar- well, Sir John Medlicot, Mr. Roff, and Mr. Grey, besides the Death of some Informers, and the Repentance of others, and the Death of some late Opposers of the Clergy, made me, and some others, the more to be compassionate Persecutors, and dread God's Judgments.

§ 323. The Town of Northampton lamentably burnt.

§ 324. An Earthquake in divers Counties.

§ 325. My Dear Friend, Sir Matthew Hole, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, falling into a Languishing Difeafe, from which he is not like to Recov- er, resolv'dly petitioned for a Dismission, and gave up his Place, having gone through
through his Employments, and gone off the stage with more universal love and honour, for his Skill, Wisdom, Piety, and received Justice, than ever I heard or read, that any True Man ever did before him, or any Magistrate in the World of his rank, since the days of the Kings of Israel. He resolved, in his weakness, that the place should not be a burden to him, nor he to it. And after all his great practice and places, he tells me, That with his own Inheritance and all, he is not now worth above five hundred Pounds per annun: so little sought he after gain: He may most truly be called [The Pillar and Badge, or Ground of Justice] as Paul called (not the Church,) but Timothy (in the Church) the Pillar and Badge of Truth. His digested knowledge in Law above all Men, and next in Philosophy, and much in Theology, was very great: His sincere honesty and humility admirable: His Garb and Mien, and Attendance so very mean and low, and he so resolutely avoided all the Diversions and Vanities of the World, that he was herein the Marvel of his Age. Some made it a Scandal, but his Wisdom chose it for his Convenience, that in his Age he Married a Woman of no Efficac, suitable to his Disposition, to be to him as a Nour: He succeeded me in one of the meanest Houses that ever I had lived in, and there hath ever since continued with full content; till now that he is going to his Native Country, in likely-head to die there: It is not the least of my pleasure that I have lived some years in his more than ordinary Love and Friendship, and that we are now waiting which shall be first in Heaven: Whither, he faith, he is going, with full content and acquiescense in the Will of a gracious God, and doubts not but we shall shortly live together. O what a blessed World were this, were the Generality of Magistrates such as he.

S. 325. Part of a M. S. was put into my hand to peruse by a Bookeller, as Written by one that greatly valued my Judgment, and would refer his Writings to my Censure, but not content to have them Printed: Whereupon I valuing them, did judge them worthy to be published, but made some Alterations in some phrases liable to Misinterpretation, in the Piece called, The Right Knowledge of Christ Crucified: I conjectured not who the Author was, and not long after the Book was Printed, and proved to be the foresaid Lord Chief Justice Hale's, called, Contemplations Moral and Divine, published by a Friend of his: by which he will Preach when he is dead: the Books prefently all bought up for his Name, and being useful for their Spiritual, Rational, Serious, and Plain Manner of Writing, as well as Acceptable for his fake.

S. 327. When I had been kept a whole Year from Preaching in the Chappel which I Built, on the 16th of April, 1676. I began in another, in a Temporal time; for the necesity of the Parish of St. Martin's, where, about 60000 Souls have no Church to go to, nor any Publick Worship of God! How long, Lord!--

S. 328. About Feb. and March it pleased the King importantly to Command and live the Judges, and London-Justices, to put the Laws against Nonconformists in Execution; but the Nation grew backward to it: In London they have been oft and long commanded to it; and Sir Josiah Sheldon, the Arch-bishop of Canterbury's near Kinman being Lord Mayor; on April 30th the Execution began: They required especially to fend all the Ministers to the Common Gaols, for Six Months, on the Oxford-Act, for not taking the Oath, and dwelling within Five Miles. This day Mr. Josiah Read was sent to the Gaol, taken out of the Pulpit, Preaching in a Chapel in Bloomsbury, in the Parish of St. Giles, where it is thought, that 20000, or 30000 Souls at least, more than can come within the Church, have no Publick Worship of God, or Teaching: He is a Laborious Man, (whom I Educated, and sent to the University,) and did so much good to the Poor Ignorant People that had no other Teacher, that Satan did owe him a Malicious Disturbance. He built the Chappel in his own House (with the help of Friends,) in commision to those People, who, as they Crowded to hear him, so did they follow him to the Justices, and to the Gaol to shew their Affections: It being the place where I had used oft to Preach, I suffocated somewhat the more Maliced. The very day before, I had new secret hints of Men's Delires of Reconciliation and Peace, and Motions to offer some Proposals towards it, as if the Bishop were at last grown Peaceable: To which (as ever before I yielded, and did my part, though long Experience made me suspect that some Mischief was near,) and some Suffering prettily to be expected from them. The forward-est of the two Justices that sent him to the Gaol, was one Harry a Soulter, one of
of them that was accused for slitting Sir John Coventree's Nose, about which there was so great a stir in the House of Commons: The other was one Robinson. But since then so many have been sent to the Goals for the same cause, and so many died there, that I must forbear particular Instances and Enumerations.

§ 329. After Northampton, Blakesford, and many other Towns, Southwark was Burned (between 600 and 1000 Houles,) the People suspecting that it was done by Design: And one taken for attempting again to Burn the rest of Northampton, confest that he was hired, and that Southwark was fo Burnt; whom Sir John Majson sent hereupon to Goal.

Additions of the Years 1675, 1676, 1677, 1678, &c.

§ 1. At this time Mr. Le Blank of Sedan sent to me his desire that I would publish here his Scatter'd Theses in one Volume, which I purposed, and Wrote an Epistle to it: But some Conformists, hearing of it, would not have the Publication to be a Nonconformists work, and to my Bookseller took 50 Books for his Title to the Copy which I gave him, and quit his Interest in it to a Conformist: But Le Blank sent an Epistle of his own, to prevent the Conformists; and died as soon as it was Printed and Published. A Work sufficient to end most of the Doctrinal Controversies of this Age, if the Readers were but capable receivers of the evidence which he giveth them.

§ 2. In June, 1676. Mr. Jane the Bishop of London's Chaplain, Preaching to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, turned his Sermon against Calvin and Me; And my charge was, That I had sent as bad men to Heaven, as some that be in Hell.] I because in my Book, called, The Saints Reft; I had said, that I thought of Heaven with the more pleasure, because I should there meet with Peter, Paul, Athis, Chrysostom, Jerom, Wickliff, Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Beza, Bullinger, Zanchy, Paracelsus, Pigafetor, Hooper, Bradford, Latimer, Glover, Sanders, Philpot, Reigndoll, Whitaker, Cartwright, Brightman, Bayne, Bradford, Bolton, Ball, Hiderham, Pembile, Twisse, Ames, Preston, Sibbs, Brook, Pim, Hambden. Of which thefe the Man knew to be in Hell, I cannot conjecture: It's like those that differed from him in Judgment; But till he prove his Revelation, I shall not believe him: the need which I perceived of taking away, from before fuch Men any thing which they might stumble at, had made me blot out the Names of the Lord Brooke, Pim, and Hambden, in all the Impreffions of the Book (which were many) yet were made ever since 1659; and yet this did not satisfe the Man: But I must tell the Reader, that I did it not as changing my Judgment of the persons well known to the world: Of whom Mr. John Hambden was one that Friends and Enemies acknowledged to be moft Eminent, for Prudence, Piety, and Peaceable Counsels, having the most univerfal Praife of any Gentleman that I remember of that Age. I remember a moderate, prudent aged Gentleman, far from him but acquainted with him, whom I have heard saying, That if he might choose what perfon he would be then in the world, he would be John Hambden. Yet these Damning Prelates are the Men that are for our Silencing, Imprisonment, and Ruin, as if we were unworthy to live on the Earth, because we will not aiffent and consent to the Liturgy, by which we are to pronounce all Men in England faved, except three forts, viz. the Excommunicate, Unbaptized, and Self-murderers; that is, of every one of the reft, we must fay, That God of his great Mercy hath taken to himself the Soul of this our dear Brother out of the Miseries of this Life, and that we hope to be with him: Were it his own, or any of the Crowd of Atheifts, Infidels, Papifts, Adulterers, or any Villains now among us, (for fuch are not Excommunicate) thus we must fiilly, contrary to all our Preaching, Pronounce them all faved, or forbidden ever to Preach God's Word: And yet I am condemned publickly for suppoling fuch Excellent perfon to be Saved. But Erroyrs and Sins contradict themselves, and Factual Damners, that, for Preferment, Condemn good Men, are ordinarily self-condemned.

§ 3. This maketh me remember how this laft year one Dr. Majfon (a great Preacher against Puritans) Preached against me publickly in London, laying, That when a Justice was sending me to prifon, and offered me to stay till Monday, if Z. Z. Z. I would
I would promise not to Preach on Sunday: I answered, [I shall not] Equivocally, meaning [I shall not promise] when he thought I meant [I shall not Preach].

O, thefe, say the Malignants, are your holy Men! And was such a pedulc, Fallhood fit for a Pulpit, from fuch Men that never fpoke one word to my face in their Lives? The whole truth is this, The forefaid Tho. Rofs, with Philips, being appointed to fende me to prifon for Preaching at Brainford, fhut the Chamber doors, and would neither flew or tell me who was my Accuser or Witnefs, nor let any one living be precent but themselves: And it being Saturday, I asked them to fay at home, to fet my Houfe in order till Monday: Rofs asked me, Whether I would promise not to Preach on Sunday? I answered, No, I fhall not: The Man not understanding me, faid, Well, you Promife not to Preach: I replyed, No, Sir, I tell you, I will not promise any fuch thing: If you binder me, I cannot help it, but I will not otherwise forbear. Never did I think of Equivocation. This was my prefent Anfwer, and I went Raft to Prifon upon it: Yet did this Rofs went this faltfe Story behind my back; and, among Courteors and Pretatives it past for current, and was worthy Dr. Maffen's Pulpit-imputdency: Such were the Men that we were perfecuted by, and had to do with: Dr. Maffen died quickly after.

§ 4. Being denied forcibly the ufe of the Chappel which I had built, I was forced to let it fland empty, and pay Thirty pounds per Annum for the Ground-Rent my self, and glad to Preach (for nothing) near it, at a Chappel built by another formerly in Swallow-firft: becaufe it was among the fame poor people that had no Preaching, the parish having 60000 Souls in it more than the Church can hold; when I had Preached there a while, the forefaid Justice Parry (one of them that was accufed for flitting Sir John Coventre's Nofe, ) with one Sabbes, signed a Warrant to apprehend me, and on Nov. 9. 1676. fix Confables, four Beadles, and many Messengers, were fet at the Chappel-doors to execute it: I forbore that day, and after told the Duke of Lauderdale of it; and asked him, What it was that occasioned their wrath againft me: He defired me to go and fpeak with the Bishop of London ( Compton: ) I did; and he fpoke very fairly, and with peaceable words: But prefently (he having fpoken allo with fome others) it was contrived that a noife was raifed, as againft the Bishop, at the Court, that he was Treating of a Peace with the Presbyterian: But, after a while, I went to him again, and told him, It was dupfided, That justice Parry was either let on work by him, or at leat a word from him would take him off; I defired him therefore to fpeak to him, or provide that the Confables might be removed from my Chappel-doors, and their Warrant called in: And I offered him to reign my Chappel in Oxenford-firft to a Conformift, foil he would procure my continued Liberty in Swallow-firft, for the fake of the poor multitude that had no Church to go to: He did as good as promise me, telling me, That he did not doubt to do it; and fo I departed, expecting Quietnefs the next Lord's-day: But, in- stead of that, the Confables Warrant was continued, though fome of them begg'd to be excuf'd, and, againft their wills, they continued guarding the Door for above Four and twenty Lord's-days after: And I came near the Bishop no more, when I had fo tried what their Kindnefs and Promifes signifie.

§ 5. It pleas'd God to take away (by torment of the Stone) that excellent faithful Minifter Mr. Tho. Wadworth in Snowfokwork, and juft when I was thus kept out at Swallow-street, his flock invited me to Snowfokwork, where (though I refused to be their Pfator) I Preached many Months in peace, there being no Justice willling to difturb us. This was in 1677.

§ 6. When Dr. Lampugh, now Bishop of Exeter, was Pfator at St. Martin's, old Mr. Sangar the Minifter, thence put out, thought it his duty to abide in the Parish with thofe of his ancient flock that defired him, and to vifit thofe as defired him in fickness (becaufe many that were againft our Preaching, pretended, that we might find work enough in private Visiftings and helps:) An old Minifter of Mr. Sangar's being fick near St. James's Market-houfe, fent to him to vifit her: By that time he had a while Prayed by her, Dr. Lampugh came in, and when he had done, came fiercely to him, faying, Sir, What bufinefs have you here? Mr. Sangar anfwered, To vifit and Pray with my fick Friend that fent for me. The Doctor ftrengly laid hold of his breech, and thrust him toward the Door, faying, Get you out of the Room, Sir, J to the great trouble of the Woman that lay fick in Bed by them, having buried her Husband but a little before: Had this been
been done to any other than to so Ancienc, Grave, Reverend, Peaceable, Moderate and Calm a Man as Mr. Sangar, who had been lawfully called before this Doctor to be Pastor of the Parish, and then Preached no where but to a few in his own small Houfe, it had been more excusable; Mr. Sangar oft preft to me the truth of what I say, which I mention to silence those our Accusers that would have us give over Preaching that we may do such private Works: Whereas, 1. I must be a year speaking that to people, one by one, which publickly I may tell them all in one day: And he, that hearth my Exhortation but once a year, and hearth Seducers, Sweaters, Carriers and Railers every day, may with all he had better friends than these pretenders to Peace and Obedience, that accuse us.

2. And such Influences flew, that we are enviied as much in our private duty, as in our publick: And did we speak only in private, our Perfidours would then vent their Suspicions of our Doctrin without any Contufion, and would fay, We are they that creep into Houfes, to lead the silly Women captive. O what a World is this! Where Atheifts, Infidels, and the moft Beafily Sinners are Members of the Church of England! When did we hear of any of them Excommunicate? and God's faithfulleft Servants reprehended, even by the envious Prelates, and publick-Priefts, as the intolerable Criminals of the Land for Preying and Preaching when they forbid them, and the necifity of Thounfands binds them to it, besides their Ordination Vow.

§ 7. When Dr. William Lloyd became Pastor of St. Martin's in the Fields, upon Lamplugh's Preferment, I was encouraged by Dr. Tillotfon to offer him my Chappel in Oxenden-Street for Publick Worship, which he accepted, to my great Satisfac	ion, and now there is constant Preaching there; Be it by Conformifts or Nonconformifts I rejoice that Christ is Preached, to the people in that Parish, whom ten or twenty fuch Chapels cannot hold.

§ 8. About March 1677, fell out a trifting bufinefs, which I will mention, left the fable pafs for truth when I am dead. At a Coffee-Houfe in Fuller's-Rents, where many Papifts and Protestantifts used to meet together, one Mr. Dyet (Son to old Sir Richard Dyet, Chief Justice in the North, and Brother to a defeased dear Friend of mine, the fome-time Wife of my old dear friend Colonel Sylvanus Tailor,) one that prefted himfelf no Papift, but was their Familiar, faid openly, That I had killed a Man with my own hand in cold blood; that it was a Tinker, at my door, that becaufe he beat his Kettle and disturbed me in my Studies, I went down and fifted him: One Mr. Peters occafioned this wrath by oft chal lenging in vain the Papifts to dispute with me; or anfwer my Books againft them. Mr. Peters told Mr. Dyet, That this was fo blame les a flander that he fhould anfwer it. Mr. Dyet told him, That a hundred Witneffes would teftifie that it was true, and I was tried for my Life at Worcefter for it: To be short, Mr. Peters ceafed not till he brought Mr. Dyet to come to my Chamber and confefs his fault, and ask me forgivenefs, and with him came one Mr. Tailbrook, an eminent, fober, prudent Papift, I told him that these ufages to fuch as I, and far worfe, were fo ordinary, and I had long fuffered fo much more than words, that it must be no difficulty to me to forgive them to any man, but especially to one whole Relations had been my deareft Friends: and he was one of the first Gentlemen that ever fpewed fo much ingenuity, as fo to confefs and ask forgivenefs; he told me, He would hereafter confefs and unlay it, and Vindicate me as openly as he had wronged me: I told him, to exclude him, that perhaps he had that Story from his late Pafor at St. Giles's, Dr. Boreman, who had Printed it, that fuch a thing was Reported; but I never heard before the particulars of the Vable. Shortly after, at the fame Coffee-houfe, Mr. Dyet openly confefs'd his Fault: and an Ancient Lawyer, one Mr. Giffard, a Papift, Son to old Dr. Giffard, the Papift Phyfician (as is faid) and Brother to the Lady, Abergavenny, was Angry at it, and made Mr. Dyet a weak Man, that would make fuch a Confeflion: Mr. Peters anfwered him; Sir, Would you have a Gentleman fo difingenuous, as not to right one that he hath fo wronged? Mr. Giffard anfwered, That the thing was True, and he would prove it by an Hundred Witneffes: Mr. Peters offered him a great Wager; that he would never prove it by any: but urging him hard he refufed the Wager: He next offered, that they would lay down but five Guineas to be hid on't on an Entertainment there, by him that loft the Wager: He refufed that also, Whereupon Mr. Peters told him, He would caufe my friends, if I would not my felf, to call him to juftice it in Weftminfter-Hall; referring the Judgment of Equity to the Company: The Papift Gentle...
men that were present, it's like considering that the Calumny, when open-
ed publickly, would be a Shur upon their Party, Voted, That if Mr. Giffard would
not confess his Fault, they would dishonour him out of their Company; and so he
was constrained to yield, but would not come to my Chamber to confess in to
me: Mr. Peters moderated the business, and it was agreed, that he should do it
there: He would do it only before his own Party: Mr. Peters said, Not fo;
for they might hereafter deny it: So it was agreed, That also before Mr. Pe-
ters, and Captain Edmund Hambden, he should confess his Faults, and ask forgive-
nesses; which he did.

§. 9. Near this time, my Book, called, A Key for Catholicks, was to be Re-
printed: In the Preface to the first Impression, I had mentioned with Praife the
Earl of Lauderdale, as then Prisoner by Cromwell in Windsor-Castle; from whom
I had many Pious and Learned Letters, and where he had so much Read over all
my Books, that he remembered them better, as I thought, than I did myself: I
had now left out that mention of him, it would have seem'd an Injudicious Re-
cantation of my kindnes: and to mention him now a Duke, as then a Prisoner,
was unmeet: The King used him as his special Counsellour and Favourite: The
Parliament had fet themselves against him: He still professed great kindness to
me, and I had reason to believe it was without difsembling. 1. Because
he was accounted by all to be rather a too rough Adverary, than a Flatterer of
one so low as I. 2. Because he spake the same for me behind my back, that he
did to my face. And I had then a New Piece against Transubstantiation to add
to my Book, which being defirous it should be Read, I thought best to joyn it with
the other, and prefix before both an Epifile to the Duke, in which I said not a
word of him but Truth; And I did it in the rather, that his Name might draw
some Great Ones to Read, at least, that Epifile, if not the short Additional Tract,
in which I thought I said enough to open the Shame of Popery. But the In-
dignation that Men had against the Duke, made some blame me, as keeping up the
Reputation of one whom Multitudes thought very ill of: Whereas I owned none
of his Faults, and did nothing that I could well avoid, for the aforesaid Reasons.
Long after this he professed his Kindnes to me, and told me I should never
want while he was able, and (humly) intreated me to accept Twenty Guinea's
from him, which I did.

§. 10. After this one Mr. Hutchinson ( another of the Disputants with Dr. Stil-
ingfleet, and Mr. Wray's Friend, one that had revolted to Popery in Cambridge long
ago, having pions Parents and Relations) Wrote two Books for Popery, one for
Transubstantiation, and another in which he made the Church of England Confor-
mifics to be Men of no Confidence or Religion, but that all Seriousnes and Confid-
ence was in the Papift and Puritan, and sought to flatter the Puritans, as he call'd
them, into kindnes to the Papifts, as united in Confidence, which others had not.
I Anfwerted these Books, and after fell acquainted with Mr. Hutchinson, but
could never get Reply from him, or Difpute.

§. 11. Two old Friends that I had a hand heretofore in turning from Ana-
baptiftry and Separation ( Mr. Tho. Lamb, and William Allen, that followed John
Goodwin, and after became Pastors of an Anabaptit Church) thought that Tradef-
men, fell on Writing against Separation more strongly than any of the Confor-
mable Clergy: But in Sense of their old Errors, run now into the other Ex-
treme, especially Mr. Lamb, and Wrote anfwart our gathering Affembles, and
Preaching when we are Silenced: Against whose Miftaken Endefaults I Wrote
a Book, called, The Nonconformit's Plea for Peace.]

§. 12. One Mr. Hollingworth also Printed a Sermon against the Nonconformitists,
and there tells a Story of a Scétry, that, Treating for Concord, with one after-
ward a Bishop, motion'd, That all that would not yield to their Terms should
be Banified; to shew, that the Nonconformitists are for Severity as well as the
Bishops. The Reader would think that it was Me, or Dr. Manton, or Dr. Bates,
that he meant, that had so lately had a Treaty with Dr. Wilkins, and Dr. Burton:
I Wrote to him, to desire him to tell the World who it was, that by naming
none, he might not unworthily bring many into Supficion: He Wrote me an
Answer full of great Eflimation and Kindnes, professing, That it was not me that
he meant, nor Dr. Manton, nor Dr. Bates, nor Dr. Jacob, but some Scétry that
he would by no means Name, but seemed to call Intimations towards Dr. Owen, one
unlikely to use such words, and I verily believe it was all a meer Fiction.

§. 13. About
Part III. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter. 

§ 13. About that time I had finished a book called, _Chaldecck Theologie_; in which I undertake to prove that besides things unrevealed, known to none, and ambiguous words, there is no considerable difference between the _Arminians_ and _Calvinists_, except some very tolerable difference in the point of perseverance: This book hath hitherto had the strange fate of any that I have written, except our _Reformed Liturgy_, not to be yet spoken against, or openly contradicted, when I expected that both sides would have fallen upon it: And I doubt not but some will do so when I am dead, unless Calamities had men other work.

§ 14. Having almost then finished a _Latin Treatise_, called, _Methodus Theologiæ_, containing near Seventy Tables or Schemes with their Indications and some Disputations on Schism, containing the _Nature, Order and Ends_ of all Beings, (with three more ) I gave my Lord Chief Justice _Hale_ a Specimen of it, with my foresaid _Chaldecck Theologie_; but told him it was only to show my respects, but desired him in his weakness to read things more directly tending to prepare for death: But yet I could not prevail with him to lay those by, so much as I desired, but he oft gave me special Thanks above all the rest for that book and that scheme: And while he continued weak Mr. _Stevens_ his familiar Friend published two Volumes of his own Meditations,which, though but plain things, yet were so greedily bought up and read for his sake, even by such as would not have read such things of others, that they did abundance of good. And shortly after, he published himself, in Folio a _Treatise of the Originacion of Men_, to prove the Creation of this World, very Learned, but large. He left many Manuscripts: One I have long ago read, a great Volumn in Folio, to prove the Deity, the Immortality of the Soul, Christiinity, the Truth of Scripture in General, and several books in particular; solidly done, but too copious, which was his fault. Two or three final Treatises written for me I have published expressing the simple and excellent Nature of true Religion, and the Corruption and great evils that follow Men's Additaments, called wrongly by the Name of Religion and contended for above it and against it; and shewing how most Parties are guilty of this sin. I hear he finished a _Treatise of the Immortality of the Soul_, a little before he dyed. But unhappily there is content about his Manuscripts, whether to Print them or not, because he put a clause into his Will that nothing of his should be Printed but what he gave out himself to be Printed before he dyed.

He went into the Common Church-yard, and there chose his grave, and died a few days after (on Chriftmasday.) Though I never received any money from him (five a Quarter's Rent he paid when I removed out of my house at _Eton_, that he might buy it and succeed me) yet as a token of his love (he left me) forty shillings in his Will, with which to keep his memory I bought the greatest _Cambridge Bible_, and put his picture before it, which is a Monument to my house. But waiting for my own Death I gave it Sir _William Ellis_ who laid out about Ten pounds, to put it into a more curious Cover, and keeps it for a Monument in his honour.

§ 15. I found by the people of _London_ that many, in the sense of the late Confusions in this Land, had got an apprehension that all Schism and Disorder came from Ministers and People's refitting the Bishops, and that Prelacy is the means to cure Schism, and being ignorant what Church Tyranny hath done in the World, they fly to it for refuge against that mischief which it doth principally introduce: Wherefore I wrote the History of Prelacy, or a Contradiction of all the History of the Church, especially _Bunyan_ and _Baronius_, and others of Councils; to shew by the testimony of their greatest flatterers what the Councils and Contentions of Prelates have done. But the History even as delivered by _Bunyan_ himself, was so ugly and frightful to me in the perusing, that I was afraid left it should prove when opened by me, a temptation to some to commen Christianity it self, for the fake and Crimes of such a Clergy. But as an Antidote I prefixed the due Condensation of the better humble sort of Pastors. But I must profess that the History of Prelacy and Councils, doth allure me that all the Schisms and Confusions that have been caused by _Athusiptis_, Separatists, or any of the Popular unruly Sectaries, have been but as fleas-bittings to the Church, in comparison of the wounds that Prelatical Uproarion, Contention and Heresies have caused. And I am so far from wondering that all _Baronius' industry was thought necessary to put the best vifor on all such Actions, that I wonder that the Papists have not rather
their employed all their wit, care and power, to get all the Histories of Councils burnt and forgotten in the World, that they might have only their own Oral flexible tradition to deliver to Mankind what their interest pro re iura shall require.

Alas how final was the hurt that the very Fanatics, the Mennon Fanatics, the very Quakers, or Ranters have done, in comparison of what some one Peje, or one Age of Council of Carnal, Tyrannical Prelates hath done. The Kingdom of Satan is kept up in the World, next to that Sensuality that is born in all, by his usurping and perverting the two great Offices of God's own Institution, Magistracy and Ministry, and wring the Sword and Word against the Instrutor and proper end: But God is just.

§. 16. Three years before this I wrote a Treatise to end our common Controversies, in Doctrinales, about Predestination, Redemption, justification, afurance, perseverance and such like; being a Summary of Catholic reconciling Theology.

§. 17. In November 1677. Dyed Dr. Thomas Manton to the great loss of London; Being an able judicious faithful man; and one that lamented the in temperance of many self conceited Ministers and people, that, on pretence of vindicating free grace and providence, and of opposing Arminianism, greatly corrupted the Christian Doctrin, and Schismatically opugged Christian love and Concord, hereticating and making odious all that spake not as erroniously as themselves. Many of the Independents inclining to half Arminianism, suggested suspicions against Dr. Manton, Dr. Bates, Mr. Howe, and my self and such others, as if we were half Arminians. On which occasion I Preached two Sermons on the words in Jude [They speak evil of what they understand not.] Which perhaps may be published.

§. 18. This year 1678. dyed Mr. Gabriel Sanger, a Reverend faithful Non-conformist, sometimes Minister at Martin's in the fields. And this day, on which I write this, I Preached the Funeral of Mr. Stubbs a holy Excellent Man, which perhaps may be published, if it can be licensed.

§. 16. Mr. Long of Exeter, wrote a book against the Non-conformists, as Schismatics, on pretence of confuting Mr. Hale's book of Schism; and in the end cited a great deal of my writings against Schism, and let fall divers passages which occasioned me to write the Letter to him which is inserted in the Appendix. No. 5.

§. 20. Some young Gentlemen wrote me a Letter desiring me publickly to resolve this Case: The King's Laws and Canons command us to join in the publick Purit-Baibh-Churches, and forbid us to join in private Meetings, or swallow with Non-conformists: Our parents command us to join with Non-conformists in their Meetings, and forbid us to hear the Conformists in publick, which yet we think lawful: which of these must we obey? I answered the Case in the Pulpit, and drew it up in writing, and have inserted it among other papers with the end. No. 6.

§. 21. My Bookseller, Nevil Simon, broke, which occasioned a clamour against me, as if I had taken too much money of him for my books: When before, it was thought he had been one, of the richest by my means, and I suppos'd I had freely given him (- in meer charity) the gains of above 500 pounds, if not above 1000 pounds. Whereupon I wrote a Letter to a Friend in my own necessary Vindication, which see also at the end. No. 7.

§. 22. The controversey of Predetermination of the acts of sin, was unhappily shared this year among the Non-conformists; on the occasion of a sober modest book of Mr. Howe's to Mr. Boyle against an objection of Atheistical men: And two honest self-conceited Non-conformists, Mr. Daven and Mr. Gale, wrote against him unworthily. And just-now a second book of Mr. Gale's is come out wholly for Predetermination, superficially and imperfectly touching many things, but thoroughly handling nothing, falsely reporting the Senec of Augustin, or at least of Profer and Fulgentius, and notoriously of Fanonius, &c. and passing divers incensurable reflections on some words in my Cath. Theol. Especialy opposing Strangerus, and the excellent Thebes of Le Blank, with no strength or regardable Argument. Which inclineth me (because he writeth in English) to publish an old Disput in English against Predetermination to sin, written 20 years ago, and thought not fit to be published in English; but that an antidote against the poison.,
Part III.  Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Join of Mr. Gale’s Book, and the scandal that falls by it on the Nonconformists is made necessary. Mr. Gale fell sick, and I suppos'd my answer left it should grieve him. (And he then dy'd.)

§ 23. A paper from Mr. Pothill, an excellent learned Gentleman occasioned the answer which perhaps may be published.

§ 24. Continued backbitings about my Judgment concerning justification, occasioned me to write the fumm of it in two or three sheets; with the solution of above thirty controversies unhappily rais’d about it.

§ 25. One Mr. Wilson of Lancashire long importuned me by a friend, to write somewhat against needle’s Lawsuits, and for the way of voluntary reference and arbitration; which I did in a Sermon on 1 Cor. 6. Is there not a wife Man among you? (which is left by the Bookfeller).

§ 26. I wrote an Answer to Mr. Johnson Alias Tertius, his Rejoynder against my book of the Church’s visibility; But Mr. Jane the Bishop of London’s Chaplain refused to Licence it. But at last when the Papists grew odious he Licence’d it and my Methodus Theologiae: And the former is Printed, but by the Bookfeller’s means in a Character scarce legible.

§ 27. About Oct. 1678. Fell out the murder of Sir Edmond Berry Godfrey, which made a very great change in England. One Dr. Titus Oates had discover’d a Plot of the Papists, of which he wrote out the particulars very largely; telling how they fired the City, and contriving to bring the Kingdom to Popery, and in order thereto to kill the King: He named the Lords, Jesuits, Priests, and others, that were the chief contrivers; and said that he himself had delivered to several of the Lord’s their Commissions: that the Lord Bellarminus was to be General, the Lord Peters Lieutenant General, and the Lord Stafford Major General, the Lord Powis Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Arundel of Warder (the chief) to be Lord Treasurer. He told who were to be Arch Bishops, Bishops, &c. And at what Meetings, and by whom, and when all was contrived, and who were design’d to kill the King: He first open’d all this to Dr. Tongue, and both of them to the King and Council: He mention’d a multitude of Letters which he himself had carried, and seen, or heard read, that contained all these contrivances: But became his father and he had once been Anabaptists, and when the Bishops prevailed turn’d to be Conformable Ministers, and afterward he (the Son) turn’d Papist, and confess’d, that he long had gone on with them, under many Oaths of Secrecy, many thought that a man of so little Conscience was not to be believed: But his Confessions were received by some Justices of the Peace; and none more forward in the Search than Sir Edmond Berry Godfrey, an Able, Honest, and diligent Justice. While he was following this Work, he was suddenly missing, and could not be heard of: Three or Four Days after he was found kill’d near Marylebone-Park: It was plainly found that he was murther’d: The Parliament took the Alarm upon it, and Oates was now believed: And indeed all his large Confessions, in every part, agreed to admiration. Hereupon the King Proclaimed Pardon and Reward to any that would confess, or discover the Murder. One Mr. Bedlow, that had fled to Bristol, began, and confess’d that he knew of it, and who did it, and named some of the Men, the Place and Time: It was at the Queen’s House, called Someret-House, by Fitz-Gerald and Kelly, Two Papist Priests, and Four others, Berry the Porter, Green, Prance and Hill. The Priests fled: Prance, Berry, Green and Hill were taken: Prance first confess’d all, and discover’d the rest abroch’d, more than Bedlow knew of, and all the Circumstances; and how he was carried away, and by whom: and also how the Plot was laid to Kill the King. Thus Oates’s Testimony, seconded by Sir Edmon’d Berry Godfrey’s Murder; and Bedlow and Prance’s Testimonies, became to be generally believed. Ireland, a Jesuit, and Two more, were Condemn’d, as designing to Kill the King: Hill, Berry and Green were Condemn’d for the murder of Godfrey, and Executed: But Prance was, by a Papist, first terrify’d into a Denial again of the Plot to Kill the King, and took on him to be Diludr’d; But quickly Recant’d of this, and had no Quiet till he told how he was so Affrighted, and Renewed all his Testimony and Confession.

After this came in one Mr. Diggle, a Papist, and confess’d the same Plot; and especially the Lord Stafford’s interest in it: And after him more and more Evidence daily was added.

Coleman,
Coleman, the Dutchers of York's Secretary (and one of the Papists great Plotters and Diffuters) being surprized, though he made away all his later Papers, was hung by the Old Ones, that were remaining, and by Oates his Testimony. But the Parliament kept off all Aspersions from the Duke: The Hopes of some, and the Fears of others of his Succession, prevailed with many.

§ 28. At last the Lord Treasurer (Sir Thomas Osborne made Earl of Danby) came upon the stage having been before the object of the Parliament and People's jealousy and hard thoughts. He being afraid that somewhat would be done against him, knowing that Mr. Montague (his Kinsman) late Ambassadors in France had some Letters of his in his keeping, which he thought might endanger him, got an order from the King to seize on all Mr. Montague's Letters, who, suspecting some such usage, had conveyed away the chief Letters; and telling the Parliament where they were, they sent and fetched them, and upon the reading of them were so inflagitated against the Lord Treasurer they impeached him in the Lords House of High Treason.

But not long after the King dissolved the long Parliament (which he had kept up about 17 or 18 years). But a new Parliament is promised.

§ 29. Above 40 Scots men (of which 3 Preachers) were by their Council sentenced to be not only banished but sold, as servants (called slaves) to the American Plantations: They were brought by ship to London: Divers Citizens offered to pay their ransom: The King was petitioned for them: I went to the D. of Lauderdale; but none of us could prevail for one man: At last the Ship-Master was told that by a Statute it was a Capital crime to Transport any of the King's Subjects out of England (where now they were) without their consent, and so he set them on shore and they all escaped for nothing.

§ 30. A great number of Hungarian Ministers had before been sold for Gally slaves, by the Emperor's Agents, but were released by the Dutch Admiral's Request, and some of them largely relieved by Collections in London.

§ 31. The long and grievous Parliament (that silenced about 2000 Ministers and did many works of such a nature) being dissolved as aforesaid, on Jan. 25, 1678. A new one was chosen and met on March 6 following: And the King refusing their chosen Speaker (Mr. Seymore) raised in them a greater displeasure against the Lord Treasurer thinking him the cause; and after some days they chose Serjeant Gregory.

§ 32. The Duke of York a little before, removed out of England by the King's Command, who yet stands to maintain his Succession.

§ 33. The Parliament first impeached the foresaid Papist Lords for the Plot, or Conspiracy (the Lord Bellasis, Lord Arundel, Lord of Fowis, Lord Seafford, and Lord Peter): and after them the Lord Treasurer.

34. New fires breaking out enrage the People against the Papists: A great part of Southwark was before burnt, and the Papists strongly suspected the cause. Near half the buildings of the Temple were burnt: And it was greatly suspected to be done by the Papists. One Mr. Bifeld's house in Holburn and Divers others so fired (but quenched) as made it very probable to be by their Conspiracy. And at last in Fetter-Lane it fell on the house of Mr. Robert Bird (a Man employed in Law, of great Judgment and Palty) who having more wit than many others to search it out, found that it was done by a new Servant Maid, who confessed it first to him, and then to a Justice, and after to the Lords, that one Nicholas Stubbs a Papist having first made her promise to be a Papist, next promised her $1. to set fire on her Master's house, telling her that many others were to do the like, and the Protestant Heretics to be killed by the middle of June, and that it was no more fit to do it than to kill a Dog. Stubbs was taken, and at first vehemently denied, but after confessed all, and told them that one Giffard a Priest and his Confessor engaged him in it, and Divers others, and told them all as aforesaid, how the Firing and Plot went on, and what hope they had of a French Invasion. The House of Commons desired the King to pardon the woman (Eliz. Osley) and Stubbes.

§ 35. If the Papists have not Confidence in the French Invasion, God leaveth them to utter madness to haunt their ruin: They were in full junctness through the Land, and the noise of rage was by their design turned against the Nonconformists; But their hopes did call them into such an impatience of delay, that they could no longer stay, but must presently Reign by rage of blood. Had they studi-
Part III

Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

ed to make themselves odious to the Land, they could have found out no more effectual way, than by Firing, Murder, and Plotting to kill the King: All London in this day is in such fear of them, that they are fain to keep up private Watches in all streets (besides the Common ones) to have their houses from firing: Yet, while they find that it increaseth a hatred of them, and while many of them are already hang'd, they still go on; which sheweth either their confidence in Foreign Aid, or their utter infatuation.

§ 36. Upon Easter Day the King dissolved his privy Council, and settled it a new, consisting of 30 men (most of the old ones) the Earl of Shaftesbury being President, to the great joy of the People then, tho' since all is changed.

§ 37. On the 27th of April, 1679. Tho it was the Lord's Day the Parliament Sate, excited by Stubb's his Confession that the Firing Plot went on, and the French were to invade us, and the Protestants to be murdered by June 28, and they voted that the Duke of York's declaring himself a Papist was the cause of all our dangers by these Plots, and sent to the Lords to concur in the same Vote.

§ 38. But the King that week by himself and the Chancellour acquainted them, that he should consent to any thing reasonable to secure the Protestant Religion, not alienating the Crown from the Line of Succession, and Particularly that he would consent that till the Successour should take the Tlife, he should exercise no Acts of Government, but the Parliament in being should continue, or if none then were that, which last was, should be in power, and exercise all the Government in the Name of the King.] This offer took much with many; but most said that it signified nothing. For Papists have easily Dispenfations to take any Tefts or Oaths, and Queen Mary's cafe shewed how Parliaments will serve the Prince's will.

§ 39. Divers Papists turned from them to the Protestant, upon the Detection of their wickednesses and bloody Principles and minds: And among others Mr. Hutchinson, that called himself Berry, against whom I lately wrote. He first wrote for the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and after fortook them seemingly for a time.

§ 40. When I had written my Book against Mr. Gale's Treatise for Predetermination, and was intending to Print it, the good man fell sick of a Consumption, and I thought it meet to suspend the publication; left I should grieve him and increase his sickness, of which he dyed. And that I might not obscure God's Providence about sin, I wrote and preached two Sermons to shew what great and excellent things God doth in the World by the occasion of Man's sin: And verily it is wonderful to observe that, in England, all Parties (Prelatical first, Independents, Anabaptists, especially Papists, have been brought down by themselves, and not by the wit and strength of their Enemies, and we can hardly discern any footsteps of any of our own Endeavours, wit or power in any of our Late Deliverances, but our Enemies wickednesses and bloody Dignifies have been the occasion of almost all. Yes, the Presbyterians themselves have suffered more by the dividing effects of their own Covenant, and their unskilfulness in healing the Divisions between them and the Independents and Anabaptists, and the Episcopal, than by any strength that brought them down; tho' since men's wrath hath troden them as in the dirt.

§ 41. In April I finished a Treatise of the only way of Union and Concord, among all Christian Churches: In three parts. 1. Of the Nature and Reasons of Union and Concord. 2. Of the true and only Terms. 3. Of the Nature of Schism, and the false Terms on which the Church will never unite.

§ 42. Two years ago by the Consent of many Ministers I Printed one Writing called the Judgment of Nonconformists, concerning the Parts or Office of Reason in Religion; which having good acceptance, by the same Men's consent, I yielded to the Printing of three more, one of the difference between Grace and Morality; Another called the Nonconformists Judgment about things indifferent commanded by Authority: And another What Nonconformity is not, disclaiming several false Imputations; To which I added a 4th of Scandal. But when they were Printed some of our Political friends in Parliament and else where, were against the publishing of them, saying, they would increase our sufferings by exasperating, or offend some Sectaries that dislike some words: And so I was put to pay (23 l.) for the printing of them, and suppress them.

§ 43. I wrote also Divers Treatises of Nonconformity: One opening their case by a multitude of Quere's: Another by way of History and Affertion specially

A a a a a

vidicus-
vindicating them from the Charge of Schism. Another to prove it their duty
to continue preaching the forbidden, &c.

§ 44. The Earl of Argyile told me that being in company with some very
great men, one of them said, that he went once to hear Mr. Baxter preach,
and he said nothing but what might becom the King's Chapell; and concluded
that it was his Judgment that I ought to be beaten with many stripes, because
it could not be through ignorance, but mere fadion that I conformed not:
And the Bishops and Clergy to this day, make unfudied Noble Men and Gent-
lemen believe, that we confefs all to be lawful, and more Inconveniences
which we deny Conformity to (O inhumane Impudence! A Plot of Satan to
tempt men never more to believe Clergy men's History!) Hereupon the
said Earl of Argyile (after many others) deliring me to write down the points
that we deny Conformity to, I wrote. 1. The cafe of the Nonconformists in
a brief History. 2. An Index of about 40 or 50 of the points that we can-
not conform to: but merely naming them without proof to avoid prolixity,
which may expale them to any Pretender's Confutation. And at the impor-
tunity of a friend, this week (May 2.) I permitted the flewing them to the
Bishop of Lincoln Dr. Barlow; who is a man firmly zealous against Popery, of
great Reading and Learning, long a publick Professor of Divinity in Oxford,
and esteemed of as equal at least with the best of the Bishops; And yet told
my friend that got my Papers for him, that he could hear of nothing that we
judged to be fit, but mere Inconveniences: When as above 17 years ago;
we publicly endeavoured to prove the sinfulness even of many of the old Impo-
Stions; and our petition for peace was printed, in which we solemnly professed
that nothing should hinder us from Conformity, did we not believe it to be
sin against God, and endangering our salvation. Yet thus talk the beast and
Learned of them, as if they had dwelt a thousand Miles from us, and had
never heard our Cafe. Some would persuade us that they are all meer har-
dened impudent Worldlings that know all to be Lies, which they thus speake:
But I am persuaded that this is too hard Censure, and that fame, yea many
of the Clergy think as they thus speake, because the Schism of the Age doth
make them meer strangers to us, knowing little more of our minds than what
they hear from one another by such Reports: And yet we never had leave to
speak or write our Cafe, to tell men what it is that we think sin in the New-
Conformity, much les to give our Reasons.

§ 45. The firing fury going on still (God leaving the Papists to self-destroy-
ing madness) on Friday night May 9. Some Papist prisoners bribing the Porter,
yet the prison on fire, and burnt much of it down; the Porter and they
escapeing together: which put the Parliament to appoint the drawing up of a
stricter Law to prevent more firing: But what can Laws do to it?

§ 46. On the Lord's day May 11th 1679. The Commons sat extraordina-
riy, and agreed in two Votes, first that the Duke of York was uncapable of suc-
ceeding in the Imperial Crown of England. 2. That they would stand by the
King and the Protestant Religion with their Lives and Fortunes, and if the
King came to a violent Death, which God forbid, would be revenged on
the Papists.

§ 47. The Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews in Scotland, James Sharp was Mur-
dered this Month. The Actors (a Servant hardly used by him (or a Ten-
nant) drew in some Confederates) since suffered.

§ 48. The Parliament shortly dissolved while they insisted on the trual of
the Lord Treasurer.

§ 49. The Scots being forbidden to preach and Meet in the open Fields,
being led by a few rash men, at a Meeting being allaiuted defended them-
selves, and so were many driven into refiuance of the Magistrate, and were
destroyed.

§ 50. There came from among the Papists more and more Converts that
detected the Plot against Religion and the King: After Oates, Bedlow, Eve-
ward, Dingdale, Transe, came Jonathan a Gentleman of Grays Inn, Smyth a Priest,
and others: But nothing roup them more than a Plot discovered to have
turned all the odium on the Presbyterians and Protestant Adverfaries of Po-
etry: They hired one Dangerfield to manage the matter; but by the indu-

Part III. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

S. 51. But my unfitness, and the Torrent of late Matter here, stops me from proceeding to instruct the History of this Age: It is done, and like to be done so copiously by others, that these threads will be of small signification: Every year of late hath afforded matter for a Volume of Lamentations. Only that Posterity may not be deluded by Credulity, I shall truly tell them, That Lying most invidiously in Print, against the most notorious Evidence of Truth, in the vending of cruel Malice against Men of Conscience, and the fear of God, is become so ordinary a Trade, as that its like, with Men of Experience, ere long to pass for a good Conclusion. [* Dililum ut scriptum est ( a Malignis ) Ergo falsum est.]

Many of the Malignant Clergy and Laity, especially Le Strange the Observator, and such others, do with so great Confidence publish the most Notorious Falshoods, that I must confess it hath greatly deftroyed my Esteem of most History, and of Humane Nature. If other Historians be like some of these Times, their Affirmations, when-ever they speak of such as they disdaine, are to be Read as Hebrew, backward; and are so far from signifying Truth, that many for one are downright Lies. It's no wonder Perjury is grown so common, when the most Impudent Lying hath so prepared the way.

S. 52. Having published a Conutation of Mr. Danvers about Infant-baptism, one Mr. Hut. binson an Anabaptist in a reproachful Letter called me to review what I had written on that Subject: And in a few sheets I published it, called, "A Review of my thoughts of Infant-Baptism " which, I think, for the brevity, and perspicuity fittest for the use of ordinary doubters of that point: And Mr. Barret hath contrived my other Books of it, in certain Quere's.

S. 53. The late restraining the Press being expired, I published a Book that lay by me to open the case of Nonconformity, called, A Plea for Peace: which greatly offended many Conformists, tho' I ventured no farther but to name the things that we durft not conform to: Even the same Men that had long called out to us, to tell them what we defired; and said, We had nothing to say, could not bear it. The Bishop of Ely, Dr. Gunnimg, told me, He would petition Authority to command us to give the reasons of our Nonconformity, and not thus keep up a Schism and give no reason for it. The Bishop of London, Dr. Compton, told me, That the King used us to be not sincere, for not giving the reasons of our dissent. I told them both, it was a strange Expectation, from Men, that had so fully given their reason against the old Conformity in our Reply, and could get no Answer: and when their own Laws would Excommunicate, Imprison, and Ruin us, for doing any such thing as they demanded: But I would beg it on my knees, and return them most hearty thanks if they would but procure us leave to do it. Yet when it was but half done, it greatly provoked them; And they wrote and said, That without the least provocation I had assaulted them: Whereas I only wanted what we fluck at, professing to accuse none of them: And they thought Seventeen years Silencing, Prosecuting, Imprisoning, Accusations of Parliament men, Prelates, Priests and People, and all their Calls [What would you have? Why do you not tell us what you flick at? ] to be no provocation. Yes, Bishops and Doctors had long told Great Men, That I my self had said, That it was only things inconvenient, and not things sinful, which I refused to Conform to, Whereas I had given them, in the Description of Eight Particular things in the old Conformity, which I undertook to prove sinful; and at the Savoy began with one of them; And in the Petition for Peace, offered our Oaths, that we would refuse Conformity to nothing but what we took to be sin. And now when I told them what the Sins were, O what a common Storm did it raise among them! When Heathens would have let Men speak for themselves before they are Condemned, its Criminal in us to do it Seventeen years after.

S. 54. Sir Stillingfleet being made Dean of Pais, was put on as the most plausible Writer to begin the assault against us, which he did in a printed Sermon proving me and such Others Schismatics and Separatifs. To which I gave an anfwer which I thought satisfactory ( Dr. Owen and Mr. Ailpen also answered him ) To all which he wrote some what like a Reply.

A 2 2 2 2 2

§. 55. Against
§. 55. Against this I Wrote a second Defence, which he never answered.
§. 56. One Mr. Cheney (an honest weak melancholy-Man) wrote against my
Treatise for Peace, to which I Published an Answer.
§. 57. One Mr. Hinkley wrote against me long ago, which occasioned some
Letters between us; and now he published his Part, and put me to publish mine,
which I did, with an Answer to a Book, called Reflections, &c. and another, called, The
Impeditor, and a Re-joynder to Mr. Cheney-Long of Exeter was one of
them.
§. 58. Because a Book, called, The Controvertist: In Strange, and many others,
endeavoured still, as their Chief Work, to persuade Reformers and all, that we should
Prevent Principles of Rebellion, and were preparing for Treason, Sedition, or a
War: I much desired openly to publish our Principles about Government and
Obedience, but our Wife Parliament-Gentlemen were against it, saying, You
can publish nothing so truly, or warily, but Men will draw Venom out of it, and
make use of it against you. But having been thus stop'd many years, it satisfied
not my Confidence, and I published all, in a Book, called, A second Plea for Peace.
And it hath had the Strange fate of Being Unanswer'd to this day; nor can I get
them to take notice of it: Though it was feared it would have been but Fewel
to their Malice, for some ill effect. I added to it, The Nonconformists' Judgment
about things indifferent, about Scandal; The difference between Grace and Morali-
ity, and what Nonconformity is not.
§. 59. Upon Mr. H. Dodwell's provocation I published a Treatise of Episcopa-
cy that had lain long by me; which fully openeth our Judgment about the dif-
ference between the old Episcopacy, and our new Diocesan, and Answereth almost
all the Chief Writers which have Written for such Prelacy, specially Bishop
Downe's, Dr. Hammond, Sanuris, Spalatinus, Settius, &c. I think I may freely
say, it is Elaborate, and had it not done somewhat carelessly in the undertaken
cafe, some one or other would have answer'd it ere now. It makes me admire that
my Cathol. Theology, our Reformed Episcopacy, my Second Plea for Peace, (that,
I say, not the first also) and this Treatise of Episcopacy never could procure an
Answer from any of those fierce Accusing Men; when as it is the Subject of these
Four, which are the Controversies of the Age (and Rage) by these Men so
much inflam'd on. But I have since found some Explication about the English Dio-
cesan's necessity, which the Separatists forced me to publish, by misunderstan-
ding me.
§. 60. Mr. Hinkley grew more moderate, and Wrote me a Reconciling Letter;
but Long of Exeter (if Fame misrepresent not the Anonymous Author) Wrote
so fierce a Book, to prove me, out of my own Writings, to be one of the worst
Men living on Earth (full of Falshoods, and old retracted Lines, and half Sen-
sentences) that I never saw any like it; And being overwhelmed with Work and
Weakness, and Pains, and having left zeal to defend a Perfon so bad as I know
my self to be; I yet never Answered him, it being none of the matter in Con-
troverse, whether I be good or bad. God be Merciful to me a Sinner.
§. 61. I published also an Apology for the Nonconformists Preaching, proving
it their duty to Preach, though forbidden, while they can; And Answering a
Multitude of Objectors against them, Fawkes, Morley, Gunning, Parker, Patrick,
Driscill, Saywell, Ablton, Good, Dowsell, &c. With Reasons to prove, that the hon-
est Conformists should be for our Preaching.
§. 62. I published a few Sheets, called, A Moral Prognostication, what will be
fall the Churches, as gathered only from Moral Causes.
§. 63. Because the ascension of Schism is it that maketh all the noise against
the Nonconformists, in the Mouths of their Persecutors, I Wrote a few Sheets,
called, A search for the English Schismatics, comparing the Principles and Pra-
ctices of both Parties, and leaving it to the Reader to Judge, who is the Schism-
atic; tending, that the Prelates have in the Canons ipsa fado, Excommunicated
all (Nobility, Gentry, Clergy and People) who do but assert, that there is any
thing, fulid in their Liturgy, Ceremonies, or Church-Government, even to the
lowest Officer; And their Laws cast us out of the Ministry into Goals, and
then they call us Schismatics for not coming to their Churches: Yea, though
we come to them constantly, as I have done; if we will not give over Preaching
our selves; when the parishes I lived in, had one Fifty thousand; the other
Twenty thousand Souls in it, more than can come within the Church-doors. This
Book
Part III. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Book also, and my Prognostication, and, (which I most valued) my True and only may of Universal Concord, were Railed at, but never Answered (that I know of,) no more than those fore-mentioned.

§ 62. One Mr. Morrice, Chaplain to Arch-bishop Sandys, Wrote a Learned and Virulent Book against my Abridgment of the History of Bishops and Councils; and against a small Book of Mr. David Clarkson, against the Antiquity of Dioceses. To this Mr. Clarkson and I conjointed our Answers; in mine, I Exemplified, for Lodulus History of Habastia in the Preface; and, I think, sufficiently Vindicated my History of Councils, and so think they that were greatly taken with Mr. Morrice’s book till they saw the Answer. And Mr. Clarkson hath shewn himself so much better acquainted with Church-History than they, that whether they will attempt to answer his Testimonials (and mine in my Treatise of Episcopacy) which disprove the Antiquity of Dioceses, or will confound daily to prejudice, power and wife, I know not.

§ 63. Mr. H. Dodwell, and Dr. Sherlock, by publifhing accufation, called me out to publish a Book, called, An Answer to Mr. Dodwell and Dr. Sherlock, confuting an Universal Humane Church-Sovereignty, Arifoeocratie and Monachatye, as Church-Tyranny and Popery, and defending Dr. Isaac Barron’s Excellent Treatise against it. (For Dr. Tilletson had newly Published this Excellent Posthumous-Treatife, and Sherlock quarrel’d with it.) In this I confuted Mr. Dodwell’s Treatife of Schism, and many of his Letters and Conferences with me, which I think he will pafs by, left his own Reply should make those know him who read not mine.

§ 64. In a short time I was called with a grieved heart to Preach and Publifh many Funeral Sermons, on the Death of many Excellent Saints.

Mr. Stubbes went firit, that Humble, Holy, Serious Preacher; long a belling to Gloucefhire and Somersetfhire, and other parts, and laftly to London, I had great reason to lament my particular Los, of fo holy a friend, who oft told me, That for very many years he never went to God by solemn Prayer, without a particular remembrance of me: but of him before.

Next died Mrs. Coxe, Wife to Dr. Thomas Coxe (now President of the College of Physicians) a Woman of such admirable compofure of Humble, Serious Godliness, meekness, patience, exactnes of Speech and all behaviour, and great Charity, that all that I have said in her Funeral Sermon is much short of her worth.

Next died my most intire Friend Alderman Henry Mfhorfs, commonly taken for the most exemplary Saint that was of publifh notice in this City; so found in Judgment, of such admirable Meeknes, Patience, Universal Charity, Stuidious of Good Works, and large therein, that we know not where to find his Equal. Yet though such a Holy Man, of a strong Body, God tryed his patience by the terrible Diffice of the Stone in the Bladder; And, in extremity of torment he endured to be Cut, and two broken Stones taken out by Thirty pieces and more, with admirable patience: And when the Wound was almoft healed, he was fain to be Cut again of a third Stone that was left behind; and after much suffering and patience, died, with great peace and quietnes of Mind; and hath left behind him the perfume of a most honoured Name, and the Memorials of a most exemplary Life, to be imitated by all his Defendants.

Next my dear Friend Mr. John Corbet, of just the like temper of Body and Soul, having endured at Chichefier many years Torment of the fame Diffice, coming up to be Cut, died before they could Cut him, and had just three fine Stones in his Bladder as Mr. Mifhorfs were; his worth is known in Gloucefier, Chichefier, Lon- don, and by his Writings to the Land, to be beyond what I have publifhed of him, in his Funeral Sermon. He having lived in my Houfe before, and greatly honoured by my Wife; She got not long after his excellent Exemplary Wife (Daughter to Dr. Tinfs) to be her Companion, but enjoyed that comfort but a little while, which I have longer enjoyed.

§ 67. Near the fame time died my Father’s second Wife, Mary, the Daughter of Sir Thomas Hanks; and Sifler to Sir Luke Hinks, the King’s Governor of Shrewsbury in the Wars: Her Mother, the old Lady Hinks, died at my Father’s Houfe, between Eighty and One hundred years old. And my Mother-in-Law died at Ninety six (of a Cancer) in perfect Understanding, having lived from her youth in the greatest Mortification, Austerity to her Body, and conftancy of Prayer and all Devotion, of any one that ever I knew: In the hatred of all fin, itridues
strictness of Universal obedience, and for Thirty years longing to be with Christ; In constant daily acquired infirmity of body (got by avoiding all Exercise, and long secret prayer in the coldest Seasons, and such like) but of a constitution naturally strong: afraid of recovering when ever she was ill: For some days before her death she was to taken with the Nimy first Psalm, that she would get those that came near her to read it to her over and over; which Psalm also was a great means of Comfort to Old Beca, even against his Death.

§. 68. Soon after dyed Jane Matthews aged Seventy six, My House-keeper fourteen years hence to be a means of Quality, very eminent in Kiderminster, and the parts about for Wisdom, Piety, and a holy, Sober, Righteous, Exemplary Life.

And many of my Old Hearers and Flock at Kiderminster dyed not long before. Among whom a mean Freetholder James Butcher of Wannerton, hath left few equal to him for all that feemeth to approach perfection in a plain Man: O how many holy Souls are gone to Christ out of that one Parish of Kiderminster in a few years; and yet the Number feemeth to increase.

§. 69. The Book which I published called The Poor Man's Family Book, was so well accepted, that I found it a useful work of Charity to give many of them (with the Call to the Unconverted) abroad in many Countries, where neither I, nor such others had to Preach (and many Hundreds since, with good Success.)

§. 70. The times were so bad for selling Books, that I was fain to be my self at the charge of Printing my Methodus Theologiae, some friends contributed about Eighty pounds, towards it: It cost me one way or other about Five hundred pounds: About Two hundred and fifty pounds I received from those Non-conformists that bought them. The Contrary party set themselves to hinder the sale of it, because it was mine, tho' else the Doctrine of it, being half Philosophical, and half Conciliatory would have pleased the learnèd part of them. But most lay it by as too hard for them, as over Scholastical and exact. I wrote it and my English Christian Dictionary to make up one Compleat Body of Theology, The Latin one the Theory, and the English one the Practical part. And the Latter is commonly accepted because leas difficult.

§. 71. My Short piece against Popery called The Certainty of Christianity without Popery, proved of use against Infidels as well as Pagists. But most deceived men will not be at the labour to study any thing that is distinct and exact, but take up with the first appearances of things.

§. 72. The Miserable State of Youngmen in London, was a great trouble to my mind; Especially Rich men's Sons and Servants, Merchants and Lawyers Apprentices and Clarkes, carried away by the flesh, to drinking, Gluttony, Plays, Gaming, Whoring, Robbing their Malters, &c. I wrote therefore a small Tractate for such, called Compassionate Counsel to Young men: Sir Robert Atkins contributed towards the charge of Printing it, and I gave of them in City and Country One thousand five hundred, besides what the Bookfeller sold: But few will read it that most need.

§. 73. About this time dyed my dear friend Mr. Thomas Gouge, of whose Life you may see a little in Mr. Clark's last book of Lives: A wonder of sincere industrious in works of Charity; It would make a Volume to recite at large, the Charity he used to his poor Parilihoners at Septhures, (before he was Ejected and Silenced for Non-conformity); His Conjunction with Aldermen Aflourd and some such others, in a weekly Meeting, to take account of the honest poor families in the City that were in great want, he being the Treasurer and Visitor, his voluntary Catechizing the Christ's Church boyes when he might not preach. The many thousand Bibles Printed in Welsh that he disperst in Wales; The Practice of Piety, The Whole Duty of Man, My Call, and many thousands of his own Writing, given freely all over Wales: his setting up about Three hundred or Four hundred Schools in Wales to teach Children only to read, and the Catechize, his industrious to beg money for all this, besides most of his own Estate laid out on it; His Travels over Wales once or twice a year to visit his Schools and see to the Execution: This was true Epicopacy of a silenced Minister (who yet went constantly to the Parish Churches, and was authorized by an old University License to...
to Preach occasionally, and yet for so doing was Excommunicate even in Wales while he was doing all this good. He served God thus to a healthful age (Seventy four or Seventy six,) I never saw him bad, but always cheerful. About a fortnight before he dyed he told me that sometime in the night some small trouble came to his heart, he knew not what; And without sickness, or pain, or dearth of death, they heard him in his sleep give a groan, and he was dead. O how holy and blest a Life, and how safe a Death?

§. 74. Finding the Success of my Family Dialogue I wrote a second part 1681. and 1682, called The Catechizing of Houholders teaching Houholders how to instruct their Families, Expounding, First, the Law of Nature: Secondly, The Evidence of the Gospel: Thirdly, the Creed: Fourthly, the Lord's Prayer: Fifthly, the Commandments: Sixthly, the Ministry: Seventhly, Baptistin: Eighthly, the Lord's Supper. It is suited to those that are past the common little Catechism; And I think these two Family-books to be of the greatest Common use of any that I have published: If Houholders good would but do their parts in reading good books to their Houholders, it might be a great Supply where the Ministry is defective: and no Ministry will serve sufficiently without Men's own Endeavours for themselves and families.

§. 75. Having been for retirement in the Country from July till August 14. 1682, returning in great weaknes, I was able only to Preach twice, of which the last was in my usual Lecture in New-street, and it fell out to be August 24. just that day twenty year, that I (and near Two thousand more) had been by Law forbidden to Preach any more. I was sensible of God's wonderful mercy that had kept so many of us Twenty years in so much Liberty and Peace, while so many severe Laws were in force against us, and so great a number were round about us, who wanted neither malice nor power to afflict us. And so I took that day my leave of the Pulpit and publick Work, in a thankful Congregation. And it is like indeed to be my last.

§. 76. But after this when I had ceased Preaching, I was (being newly risen from Extremity of pain) suddenly surprized in my house by a poor violent Informer, and many Constables and Officers, who rufht in and apprehended me, and served on me one Warrant to seize on my person for coming within five miles of a Corporation, and five more Warrants, to disfrain for an Hundred and ninety pounds, for five Sermons. They call my Servants into fears, and were about to take all my Books and Goods, and I contentedly went with them towards the Justice to be sent to Jail, and left my house to their will: But Dr. Thomas Cox, meeting me, forced me in again to my Couch and bed, and went to five Justices and took his Oath (without my knowledge) that I could not go to Prifon without danger of Death: Upon that the Justices delayed a day till they could speak with the King, and told him what the Doctor had sworn; and the King consented, that at the present imprisonment should be forbear, that I might die at home. But they Executed all their Warrants on my Books and Goods; even the bed that I lay in and fold them all: and some friends paid them as much money as they were prized at, which I repayed, and was fain to fend them away. The Warrant against my person was signed by Mr. Parry and Mr. Phillips: The five Warrants against my Goods by Sir James Smith and Sir James Butcher: And I had never the least notice of any accusation, or who were the Accusers or Witneffes, much les did I receive any Summons to appear, or anfwer for my self, or ever law the Justices or Accusers. But the Justice that sign'd the Warrants for Execution said that the two Hiltios solicited him for them, and one Buke led the Constables that delivered

But though I sent the Justice the written Deeds which proved that the Goods were none of mine (nor ever were,) and sent two Witneffes whose hands were to those Conveyances, I offered their Oaths of it, and also proved that the books I had many years ago alienated to my kinman, this signified nothing to them, but they feized and fold all nevertheless; And both patience and prudence forbade us to trie the Title at Law, when we knew what Chares had been lately made of Justices, and Juries, and how others had been used. If they had taken only my Cloack they should have had my Coat also, and if they had taken me on one Cheek I would have turned the other; for I knew the cafe was such that he that will not put up one blow, one wrong or flander, shall suffer two, yes many more.
But when they had taken and sold all, and I borrowed some Bedding and Ne-
cellaries of the Buyer, I was never the quicker: for they threatened to come
upon me again, and take all as mine, whatsoever it was, which they found in
my possession: So that I had no remedy, but utterly to forfake my House
and Goods all, and take secret Lodgings distant in a Stranger's Houfe,
But having a long Leave of my own Houfe, which binds me to pay a great-
er Rent than now it is worth, when-ever I go must pay that Rent.

The separation from my Books would have been a greater part of my small
Affliction, but that I found I was near the end both of that Work and Life
which needeth Books; and fo I easily let go all: Naked came I into the World,
and naked must I go out.

But I never wanted lefs (what Man can give) than when Men had taken all:
My old Friends (and Strangers to me) were fo Liberal, that I was fain to re-
frain their Bounty: Their kindnefs was a furer and larger Revenue to me
than my own.

But God was pleased quickly to put me past all fear of Man, and all defire
of avoiding fuffering from them by Concealment: by laying on me more him-
self than Man can do: Their Imprifonment, with tolerable Health, would have
leemed a Palace to me; And had they put me to death for fuch a Duty as they
Perfecute me, it would have been a joyful end of my Calamity. But day and
night I groan and languifh under God's juft afflicting hand; The pain which
before only tird my Reins, and tore my Bowels, now also fell upon my Blad-
der, and scarce any part or hour is free. As Waves follow Waves in the Tem-
pelluous Seas, fo one pain and danger followeth another, in this fainful miserable
Flefh: I die daily, and yet remain alive: God, in his great Mercy, knowing
my dulfnefs in health and cafe, doth make it much eafier to repent and hate my
fin, and loath my felf, and concern the World, and submit to the Sentence of
death with willingnefs, than otherwise it was ever like to have been. O how
little is it that wrathful Enemies can do againft us, in comparison of what our
fin, and the Juflice of God can do? And O how little is it that the best and
kindlef of Friends can do, for a painful Body, or a guilty fainful Soul, in compar-
ion of one gracious look or word from God. Woe be to him that hath no better
help than Man: And bleffed is he whose help and hope is in the Lord.

But I will here tell the Reader what I had to fay, if I had been allow'd a
hearing.

The CASE of R. B.

§ 79. Having been prosecuted as offending againft the Oxford Confufing-
Act, and finding that my silence may occasion the guilt of fuch as
underfand not my Cafe, and being by God's hand disabled perfonally to appear
and plead it, I am necelfitated to open it by Writing, to undeceive them that
mistake it.

1. As to the Sense of that Law, I conceive that it reacheth to none but Non-
conformifts; and that becaufe they are fufpected to teach Schifm and Rebellion.
For though the body of a Law fometeme extend further than the Title, yet when
the title conteneth both the end of the Law, and the Decription of the perfons
mean (as hear it doth) it is expofitory to the Law: Therefore the words ] all
fuch ] in the third Paragraph, muft mean [ all fuch as aforesaid, viz. Nonconfor-
mifts] and not [all fuch others, ] viz. Conformifts: For,

1. The Conformifts are fuppofed to be from under the Suspicion.

2. And eflate it may ruin many Churches: If the Curate omit the Liturgy, or
part, and the Incumbent Preach, it will be made an Unlawful Assembly, by the
Part III.

Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

Some reason that House-Meetings are so called, for want of the Liturgy; for the Law impeacheth the Liturgy on Churches, but not on Houses.

3. Many Conformists have still used to repeat their Sermons in their Houses, to more than Four Neighbours, without the Liturgy: And if any such thing be judged a Conventicle, to Fine the Incumbent Forty pounds, and Banish him Five Miles from his parish ever after, seems contrary to our Discipline.

II. My Case is this.

1. I am no Nonconformist in Law-Sence, (and my Conscience hath no Judge but God:) for I Conform to the Liturgy and Sacrament, as far as the Law requireth me: I was in no place of Ecclesiastical Promotion on May the 1st, 1662; nor ever since had any, nor the offer of any: And therefore the Law impeacheth not on me, the Declaration, or the Affent or Consent, no more than on Lawyers, or Judges.

2. I have the Bishop of London's License to Preach in his Diocese, which supposeth me no Nonconformist in Law-sence: And I have the Judgment of Lawyers, even of the present Lord Chief Justice, and Mr. Pollexfen, that by that License I may Preach occasional Sermons.

3. I have Episcopal Ordination, and judge it gross Sacrament to forfake my Calling.

4. I am justified against suspicion of Rebellious Doctrine by many ways: 1. By my publick Retractions of any old accused words or writings. 2. I was chosen alone to Preach the Publick Thanksgiving at St. Paul's for General Monk's successes. 3. The Commons in Parliament chose me to Preach to them at their Publick Fall for the King's Restoration, and call'd him home the next day. 4. I was Sworn Chaplain in Ordinary to the King. 5. I was offered a Bishoprick. 6. The Lord Chancellor who offered it, attested under his hand, His Majesty's Sense of my Defert, and His Acceptance. 7. I am justified in the King's Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs among the rest there mention'd. 8. When I Preached before the King, he commanded the Printing of my Sermon. 9. To which may be added the Act of Obligation. 10. And having published above an Hundred Books, I was never yet convict of any ill Doctrine, since any of the old Acts of King, Parliament and others for my Discharge and Justification.

5. I have oft Printed my judgment on Communion with the Parish Churches, and exhort others to it: And having built a Chappel, delivered it for Parish use.

6. I was never lawfully Convict of Preaching in an unlawful Assembly: for I was not once summoned by the Justices that granted out the Five Warrants against me, to answer for my self, nor ever told who was my Accuser, or who Witnessed against me. And I have it under the hand of the present Lord Chief Justice, that a Lawful Conviction supposeth Summons. And the Lord Chief Justice Vaughan, with Judge Tyrrel, Archer and Wild, did long ago discharge me, upon their declaring, that even the Warrant of my Commitment was illegal, because no Accuser or Witness was named, and so I was left remedies in case of false Accusation.

7. As far as I understand it, I never did Preach in any unlawful Assembly, which was on pretence of any Exercise of Religion contrary to Law. I Preached in Parish Churches where the Liturgy was Read as oft as I had leave and invitation: And when I could not have that leave, I never took any Pastoral Charge, nor Preached for any Stipend, but not during perniciously to defeat the Calling which I was Ordained and Vowed to, I Preach occasional Sermons in other Men's Houses.
The L.I.F.E. of the

Part III.

Here, where was nothing done, that I know of, contrary to Law; There was nothing done but Reading the Psalms, and Chapters, and the Creed, Commandments, and Lord's Prayer, and Singing Psalms, and Praying and Preaching; and none of this is forbidden by Law: The Omission of the rest of the Liturgy, is no Act, but a not-acting, and therefore is no pretended Worship according to Law. But were it otherwise, the Law doth not impose the Liturgy on Families, but only on Churches, and a Family is not forbidden to have more than four Neighbours at saying Grace, or Prayer, nor is bound to give over Family-worship, when ever more than four come in. The Act alloweth Four to be present at Unlawful Worship, but forbids not more to be present at Lawful Worship. And Homic-worship without the Liturgy is lawful worship. And yet if this were not so, as the Curate's Omission of the Prayers makes not the Preacher and Assembly guilty (suppose it were an Affize-Sermon that for had omitted the Liturgy;) to the owner of the House, by omitting the Liturgy, maketh not him guilty that was not bound to use it, nor the Meeting unlawful to any but himself. Charity and Loyalty bind us to believe, that our King and Parliament, who allow more than many Four's to meet at a Play-house, Tavern, or Feast, never meant to forbid more than Four to be together in a House to sing a Psalm, or Pray, or Read a Licensed Book, or edifce each other by Godly Conference, while no Crime is found by any M in the Matter of their Doctrine or Prayer; and no Law imposeth the Liturgy on any but Church-Meetings.

If after many years Reproach, once Imprisonment, and the late Diffrees and Sale of all my Books and Goods, and those that were none of mine, but another's; and this by five or six Warrants for present Execution, without any Summons or Notice of Accusers or Witnesses, I could yet have leave to die in peace, and had not been again perfued with new Indictments, I had not presumed thus to plead or open my own Cause. I Pray God that my Prosecutors and Judges may be so prepared for their near Account, that they may have no greater sin laid to their Charge, than keeping my Ordination-Vow is, and not Sacrilegiously forsking my Calling, who have had so good a Master, so good a Word, so good Success, and so much Attestation from King, Parliament, City, and Bishops, as I have had.

If they ask why I Conform not? I say, I do, as far as any Law bindeth me: If they ask why I take not this Oath, I say, Because I neither understand it, nor can prevail with Rulers to Explain it. And if have a good fentence, I have not only subscribed to it, but to much more, in a Book called, The second Plea for Peace, page 60, 61, 62. Where also I have professed my Loyalty much further than this Oath extendeth. But if it have a bad fentence, I will not take it. And I finde the Conformists utterly disa greed of the Sense, and most that I hear of renouncing that Sense which the Words signifie in their common use. And knowing that Perjury is a mortal Enemy to the Life and Safety of Kings, and the Peace of Kingdoms, and to Converfe, and to Man's Salvation, I will not daily with such a dangerous Crime. Nor will I receive my Rulers by Stretches and Equivocations; nor do I believe Lying lawful after all that Gratius de Jure Belli, and Bishop Taylor Diff. Dilt. Duh. have laid for it. I think Oaths imposed are to be taken in the ordinary fense of the words, if the Imposers put not another on them. And I dare not Swear that a Commission under the Broad-Seal is no Commission, till I that am no Lawyer know it to be Legal; Nor yet that the Lord Keeper may Depose the King without refitance, by Sealing Commissions to Tryours to seize on his Forts, Navy, Militia, or Treasures: Nor can I confent to make all the precent Church-Government as unalterable as the Monarchy; especially when the Seventh Canon extendeth it to & externa, to Arch-bishops, Bishops, Deans, Arch-deacons, and the rest that bear Office in the same: I not excepting Lay-Chancellor's Wife of the Keys; (& ipsa facta Excommunicate all, Nobility, Gentry, Clergy and Commons, that say, That it is repugnant to the Word of God.) And it's time to take heed what we swear, when the Act of Uniformity, the Oxford Act, the Corpora tion Act, the Vestry Act, the Militia Act, and the Oath of Supremacy, do bind all the Nation by Solemn Oath, not to endeavour any alteration of Government in Church or State; And yet most Reverend Fathers, who most fairly call us to Conformity, do Write for a Foreign Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, under the Name of an Universal Colledge of Bishops, or Council, having such power as other Courts, even
Part III. Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter. 195

even Commanding, Pretorian, Legislative, and Judicial to all the Church on Earth, and that obedience to this Foreign Jurisdiction, is the necessary way to escape Schism and Damnation. And if it be no alteration of Government to bring King and Kingdom to be subject to a Foreign Jurisdiction, this Oath, and the Oath of Supremacy, and the 39 Articles and Canons, and several Statutes, which renounced it, are all unintelligible to us. We renounced all submission to any Foreign Church or Power, but not Communion. We have Communion with the Church of Rome, and all others in Christianity, but not in their fia; and we are not yet so dull as to know no difference between Foreigners Government of us, and their Communion; nor to think that Separation from a Unipered Government is Separation from Christian Communion: Nor can we possibly believe the Capacity of Pope, or Council, or Colledge of Bishops, as a Monarchy, or Aristocracy, to Govern all the World in one Sovereignty Ecclesiastical, till we see one Civil Monarchy, or Aristocracy, rule all the Earth. And we dread the Doctrine and Example of such Men as would introduce any Foreign Jurisdiction, while they are for Swearing all the Land against any alteration of Church-Government; And we must deliberate before we thus Conform, while so Great Men do render the Oath so doubtful to us. I appeal to the fore-cited Profession of my Loyalty, published many years ago, as being far more full and satisfactory to any that questioneth it, than the taking of this doubtful controverted Oath would be.

A true Copy of the Judgment of Mr. Saunders now Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, given me March the 22d, 1675.

1. If he hath the Bishop's License, and be not a Curate, Lecturer, or other Promoted Ecclesiastical Person, mentioned in the Act, I conceive he may Preach Occasional Sermons without Conforming, and not incur any Penalty within this Act.

The due Order of Law requires, that the Delinquent, if he be forth-coming, ought to be summoned to appear to Answer for himself, if he pleases, before he be Convicted: But, in case of his withdrawing himself, or not appearing, he may be regularly Convicted.

Convictions may be accumulated before the Appeal be determined: but not unduely: nor is it to be supposed that any undue Convictions will be made, 

As I Conceive, 
Edm. Saunders.

Mr. Polixfen's Judgment for my Preaching Occasionally.

A B. before the Thirteenth of this King being Episcopally Ordained, and at the time of the Act of Uniformity made Car. 2. not being Incumbent in any Living, or having any Ecclesiastical Preferment, before the Act of Uniformity, viz. 25 Feb. 13 Car. 2. obtains a License of the then Bishop of London, under his Seal, to Preach in any part of his Diocese, and at the same time subscribes the 39 Articles of the Church of England.

Ques. Whether Licenses Preceding the Act be within the meaning of the Act?
196

The L1 F E of the:

Part HI

I conceive they are: For if Licensed at the time of the AB made, what need any new Licence? That were but absurd aggr, and the Clause in the AB [unless be be Licensed, &c.] in the manner of pensing hews that Licenses, that then were, were sufficient and within the Provision: And the following Clause as to the Lecturers is Express [know is, or shall be Licensed] The former part of the AB as well as that extends to Licenses that then were. For the same Licence that enables a man to Preach a Lecture must enable a man to Preach.

Q. Whether he be restrained by the AB of Uniformity to Preach a Funeral Sermon or other occasional Sermon?

I Conceive that he is not restrained by this AB to Preach any Occasional Sermon so as it be within the Dioceses wherein he is Licensed.

Decemb. 19. 1682.

Hon. Pollexfen.

§ 77. While I continue night and day under constant pain, and often strong, and under the sentence of approaching death by an incurable distemper which age and great debility yields to, I found great need of the constant exercise of patience by obedient submission to God; and writing a small Treatise of it for my own use, I saw reason to yield to them that desired it might be publick, there being (especially) so common need of obedient patience.

§ 78. Having long ago written a Treatise against Coalition with Papists, by introducing a Foreign Jurisdiction of Popes or Councils, I was urged by the Writings of Mr. Dodwell, and Dr. Saywell to publish it, but the Printers dare not Print it; Entitled England not to be purged by receiving a Foreign Jurisdiction. It is in two Parts: The first Historical flowing who have endeavoured to introduce a Foreign Jurisdiction, citing Papists, Groton, Arch-Bishop Bromhall, Arch-Bishop Laud, Thornside, Dr. Saywell, Dodwell, four Letters to Bishop Gunning, and others. The 2d part strictly Stating the Controversy, and Confuting a Foreign Jurisdiction, against which Change of Government all the Land is Sworn. I may not Print it.

§ 79. When I saw the storm of Persecution arising by the Agitators Hilton, Shid, Buck, and such other, and saw what the Judges were at least in present danger of, and especially how Le Strange and other weekly Pamphleters beat all their wit and power to make others odious, and prepared for destruction, and to draw as many as possibly they could to hate and ruining faithful men, and how Confidence and serions piety grew with many into such hatred and reproach, that no men were so much abhorred, that many gloried to be called Tories, tho' they knew it was the name of the Irish common murdering Thieves: I wrote a small Book called Cain and Abel, in two parts: The first against malignant Enmity to serious Godliness; with abundant Reasons to convince Malignants. The second against Persecution, by way of Quare's. I wrote a third part (as Impartial) to tell Differents why (while I was able) I went oft to the Parish Church and there Communicated, and why they should not suffer as Separatists, or Recusants, lest they suffer as evil doers: But wise men would not let me publish it: And the two first, the Bookfellers and Printers durst not print but twice refused them.

§ 80. But the third part the Reasons of my Communion with Parish Churches, that have honest able Ministers, I sent to one friend, who telling others of it, a Bookfeller after two years importuned me to let him Print it. 1. The sharp execution of the Law had then brought Multitudes into Prison and Poverty. 2. Nonconformists both Presbyterians and Independents, had taken the Corporation Oath and Declaration, and Communicated in the Parish Churches, for to make them capable of True and Office in the City; And because it seemed to tend to their protection and advantage, we heard of nonoise made against them by the Independents; but they admitted them as their Members to their Communion as before. I was against their taking the Declaration, but not against their Communicating, but I mediated not with them. At last when the Earl of Shaftsbury was broken and gone, and the City Power and Common Council subduced to the will of the King, the fore-
said Communion in publick was more freely blamed by the Independents and Anabaptists, and some few hot Scots Men. And the private Church Meetings were so much suppressed, and the prifons so full, that my Conscience began to tell me, that I should be guilty of, injuring the truth, the Church, and the Souls and Bodily welfare of my brethren, if I should by silence harden them against publick worship. Specialty the Church of the Countrey moved me, wherein a great part of the Kingdom, scarce two hundred men in a whole Countrey, can have the liberty of any true Church Worship, besides Parochial. I remembered the Church of the Old Nonconformists against the Brownists, and the Writings of Mr. J. Ball, Paget, Hilderstone, Bradshaw, Gifford, Brightman, Amer, etc. I could not but remember what work the Separating party had made in England and Scotland, in my days from 1644 till 1660 against Government, Religion and Concord: I saw what I long foreknew, each extreme party growing more extreme, and going further still from one another; And to great a Change is grown on London, that the Terms which we offered the Bishops for Concord 1660 are now abhorred as Antichristian: I saw multitudes like to be imprisoned and ruined for refoming their Duty, as if it were fin, and disgracing Religion by following these Errors on it. The Conformists, seeing the Error of the Separatists, divided them all, and were confirmed in the Jufification of all their Conformity in thinking, that it was but a just differing from a crazed Company of Fanatics: Those that imprisoned and ruined both them and the rest of the Nonconformists, thought they did God service by it, against an unruy Fort of Men: The Common people were made believe that this was the true Complextion of all the Dilleniers from whatever the Law Commanded. The distance growing wider, and great sufferers increasing hard thoughts of those by whom Men suffered, all real Love did seem to be almoft utterly deftroyed, and Neighbours dwelt together like unplaceable Enemies: And wort of all, Men were frighten to think that they must rather give over all Church Worship, than they must Communicate with the best Ministry in the Parish Churches; and so the main body of the Land would live like Atheists, who can have no other Church-Worship but the Parochial: For the Nonconformists Churches were in almost all Countries, so suppressed that no considerable Numbers could enjoy them.

And by this means the Papists were like to have their Wills: The Protestants must be told that Recusancy is all their Duties: And going to the Publick Churches a fin: And who can for shame drive Papists to fin? And if thus they could draw all Protestants to forfake the fyd Churches, they would, like a deferved City and Garrison'd Fort, be open and ready for their poftion. And while the Papists and Malignants are studying how to cafl out all the Godly Conforming Ministers, that the Duttie remainder might be prepared for Popery, the separating part of the Independents and Anabaptists, and fome few hot Scotch Presbyterian, go before them, and tell all the People that it is unlawfull to hear them; and to own them as Ministers or Churches, and to have Communion with them in the Liturgy or Sacraments. Even when the rigour of Prosecutors hath brought it to that pafs that they must have fuch or none, as to Church worship.

Seeing fomany in prison, for this Error, to the dishonour of God, and fo many more like to be ruin'd by it, and the separating party by the temptation of suffering, and fo far prevail'd with the moft thrist, and zealous Christians, that a great Num ber were of their mind, and the Non-conformable Ministers, whose judgment was against this separation, durft not publich their dislike of it, partly because of sharp and bitter Censures of the Separatists, and who took them for Apostates or Carnal Temporizers that communicat'd in publick, and partly for fear of Encouraging Perfection against the Separatists, and partly for fear of losing all opportunity of teaching them (and fome that had no hope of any other friends or maintenance, or Auditors thought they might be filent.) On all these accounts, I, that had no gathered Church, nor lived on the Contribution of any fuch, and was going out of the world in pain and Langor, did think that I was fittt to bear men's Censures, and to take that reproach on my felf, which my brethren were lefs fit to bear, who might live for further Service. And at the Importunity of the Book feller, I confeffed to publich the Reasons of my Communicating in the Parish Churches, and against Separation. When which it was coming out, a Manuscript of
of Dr. Owen's (who was lately dead) containing Twelve Arguments against such joyning with the Liturgie, and publick Churches, was sent me, as that which had satisfied Multitudes. I thought that if this were unanswered, my labour would be much lost, because that party would still say Dr. Owen's Twelve Arguments confuted all: Whereupon I hastily answered them, but found after that it had been more prudent to have omitted his Name: For on that account a swarm of revilers in the City poured out their keenest Censures, and three or four wrote against me, whom I answered. (I will not name the men that are known, and two of them are yet unknown) But they went on several Principles, some Charged all Communion with the Liturgie, with Idolatry, Antichristianity, and perjury and backfiding: One concealed his Judgment, and quarr'ld at by-words. And another—turned my Treatise of Epictacy against me, and said it fully proved the Duty of Separation, I was glad that hereby I was called to explain that Treatise, left it should do hurt to mistakers when I am dead; and that as in it I had said much against one extream, I might leave my Testimony against the other I called all their writings together, a Defence of Catholic Communion. And that I might be Impartial I adjoyned three pieces against Dr. Sherbeck that ran quite into the contrary Extremes, unchurching almost all Christians as Schismatics. I confes I wrote so sharply against him as must needs be liable to blame with those that know not the man, and his former and latter Virulent and ignorant Writings.

§ 81. About this time one Mr. Robert Mayor of Oxford, a very Goldly Man, that devoted all his Estate to charitable uses, a Conformist, whom I never saw, dyed, and by leave many greater Gifts to Allington, &c. gave by his last Will Six hundred pounds to be by me distributed to Sixty poor ejected Ministers, adding that he did it not, because they were Non-conformists; but because many such were poor and pious. But the King's Attorney Sir Robert Sayer Sued for it in the Chancery, and the Lord Keeper North gave it all to the King. Which made many resolve to leave nothing to charitable uses after their Death, but do what they did while they lived.

§ 82. Under my daily pains I was drawn to a work which I had never the least thoughts of (and is like to be the last of my Life,) to write a paraphrase on the New Testament, Mr. John Stamy having long importuned me, to write a paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans, when I had done that, the usefulness of it to my self drew me farther and farther till I had done all. But having confesed my ignorance of the Revelations, and yet loth wholly to omit it, I gave but General Notes, with the Reasons of my uncertainty in the greatest difficulties: which I know will fall under the sharp Censure of many. But Truth is more valuable than such men's praisés. I fitted the whole by plainness to the use of ordinary Families.

§ 83. After many times deliverance from the Sentence of death, on November Twenty, One thousand six hundred eighty four; in the very Enterance of the Seventy-year of my Age, God was pleased so greatly to increase my painful Diseasés, as to press on me the Sentence of a painful death: By constant pain by an incredible quantity of flatulency in Stomach and all the Intestines and Reins, from all that I eat or drink, my Stomach not able to digest any meat or drink, but turning all to teering pain; Besides, the pain of the Stone in Reins and off the bladder; and urine black like dirt and mortified blood. But God turneth it to my good, and giveth me a greater willingness to die, than I once thought I should ever have attained. The Lord teach me more fully to love his Will, and rest therein, as much better than my own, that oft striveth against it.

§ 84. A little before this while I lay in pain and languishing, the Justices of Seelions, sent Warrants to apprehend me (about a Thousand more being in Catalogue to be all bound to the good behaviour) I thought they would send me Six months to Prison for not taking the Oxford Oath, and dwelling in London, and I refused to open my Chamber door to them, their Warrant not being to break it open. But they let six Officers at my Study-door, who watcht all night, and kept me from my bed and food, so that the next day I yielded to them; who carried me (forcible to stand) to their Seelions, and bound me in Four hundred pound bond, to the good behaviour: I desired to know what my Crime was, and who
who my Accusers, but they told me it was for no fault, but to secure the Government in evil Times; and that they had a Lift of many suspected persons that might do the like as well as l. I desired to know for what I was numbered with the suspected, and by whose accusation, but they gave me good words and would not tell me. I told them I had rather they would fend me to jail than put me to wrong others by being bound with me, in bonds that I was like to break to morrow: for if there did but live persons come in when I was praying, they would take it for a breach of the good behaviour: They told me, not if they came on other business, unexpectedly, and not to a fet meeting; Nor yet if we did nothing contrary to Law, or the practife of the Church. I told them our innocence was not now any security to us: If two beggar women did but stand in the street, and swear that I spake contrary to the Law tho' they heard me not, my bonds and liberty were at their will: For I my self lying on my bed, heard Mr. J. B. Preach in a Chappell on the other side of my Chamber, and yet one Sihil Daff and Elizabeth Cappell swore to the Justifes that it was another that Preached (Two miserable poor women that made a Trade of it, and had thus sworn against very many worthy persons in Hackney and elsewhere, on which their Goods were seized on for great Multis or Fines). But to all this I had no Anfwer, but must give bond, when they knew that I was not like to break the Behaviour, unless by lying in bed in pain.

§ 85. But all this is so small a part of my Suffering in comparison of what I bear in my fefh, that I could scarce regard it: And it's fmall in comparison of what others suffer: Many excellent persons die in Common jails; Thousands ruined: That holy humble Man, Mr. Koffell is now under a verdict for death as a Traitor for Preaching fome Words, on the witnefs, and Oath of Hilton's Wife (and one or two more Women) whof whom fhe profeffedly on the Trade, for which he claimeth many Hundred or Thoufand pounds, And not only the man profeffeth, but many of his hearers witnefs that no fuch words were fpooken, nor any that befemed not a loyal prudent man. But we have been too long unthankful, for all our Lives, Eftates, and Liberties, are in the power of any Whores Beggars, Enemies or malicious Papifts, that will but fwear that we are guilty, that God hath marvellously fo long restrained them: and that forcing us into fecret Meetings out of our publifh, hath fecured the Lives of many.

§ 86. December Eleventh, I was forced in all my pain and weaknefs to be carried to the Session-house, or elfe my bonds of Four hundred pounds would have been judget forfift: And the more moderate Justifes that promifed my di{charge would none of them be there, but left the Work to Sir William Smith and the ref, who openly declared that they had nothing againft me, and took me for Innocent, but yet I muft continue bound, left others should expect to be di{charged alfo, which I openly refuted: But my Sureties would be bound, left I fhould die in Gaol, againft my declared Will, and fo I muft continue. Yet they di{charged others as foon as I was gone. I was told that they did all by inftructions from, &c. and that the main end was to restrain me from writing: Which now fhould I do with greatest Caution, they will pick out fome thing which a Jury may take for a breach of my bonds. I have written againft Popery fo much already that my Confcienc will now allow me silence: But whereas one Separatift hath interpreted my Treatife of Epifcopacy as justififying Separation, and Mr. Faldoth hath by grosf miftake fally accused me as a Lyer for faying that his Congregation a Church worshipped many years without finging Psalms (and Sacraments) (forfooth because he took them not then for a Church) I muft fuppend my Anfwer to them and all fuch: tho' I know the Papifts will take it for a Confutation of all my writings againft them, to fay [his own brethren, Profeffants and Di{fenters have proved him a Lyer.] This I muft bear from Seprating Non-conformifts, while the Justifes that bind and trouble me, openly declare me innocent. And I am told that the Papifts will not endure me to write againft the Separatifts, no more than againft themfelves, because they need their help to pull down the Godly Parish Minifters.

§ 87. Many French Minifters sentenced to Death and Banifhment, fly hither for refuge: And the Church men relieve them not becaufe they are not for English Dioccefat and Conformity; And others have many of their own diftrefled
trelfed Minifters, and acquaintance to relieve, that few are able. But the Chief that now I can do is to help such, and the Silences Minifters here and the poor, as the Almoner of a few Liberal friends who trust me with their Charity.

§. 88. As to the present State of England, the Plots, the Execution of Men High and Low, the Publick Counsels and Deligns, the Quality and Practice of Judges and Bishops, the Sessions and Juitices, the quality of the Clergy, and the Universities and Patrons, the Church-Government by the Keys by Lay-Civilians, the ufe of Minifters, and private Meetings for Preaching or Prayer, the Expections of what is next to be done, &c. The Reader must expect none of this sort of History from me; No doubt but there will be many Volumes of it, by others relinquished to politerity; who may do it more fully than I can now do.

§. 89. January Seventeenth, I was forced again to be carried to the Sessions, and after divers daies good words which put me in expectation of freedom, when I was gone, one Justice, Sir —— Deerham, said that it's like that these perfons solicited foor my liberty that they might come to hear me in Conventicles; and on that they bound me again in Four hundred pound bond, for above a Quarter of a year; and it's like it will be till I die, or worse; Tho' no one ever accused me for any Conventicle or Preaching since they took all my Books and Goods above two years ago, and I for the most part keep my bed.

§. 90. Mr. Jenkins dyed in Newgate this week (January Nineteenth, 1682.) as Mr. Bampfield, Mr. Raphael, and others died lately before him. The Prifon where are fo many fuficcate the Spirits of aged Minifters. But bleffed be God that gave them fo long time to Preach before, at cheape rates.

§. 91. One Richard Baxter a Sabbatharian Anabaptist was sent to Gaol for refusing the Oath of Allegiance, and it went for currant that it was I.

§. 92. Mr. Rofevelt did fo fully plead his own Cafe, and prove his innocence, and prove the Confederacy, incompetency, and fallhood of the Witnesses, that tho' (alas) the Jury found him guilty of Treafon, even the Chief Justice and Judges were convinced of his innocence, and at last procured his Pardon and deliverance: Innocency with humility and great ability were his advantages improved, and withall that he had few Enemies.

APPEN.
APPENDIX.

A Reply to some Exceptions against our Worcestershire Agreement, and my Christian Concord. Written by a nameless Author, and sent by Dr. Warmstyre.

Honoured and Worthy Sir,

SALUTEM & OBSESS IN CHRISTO JESU AUTORE SALUTIS.

Except. FOR Christian Concord, Mr. Baxter cannot write more willingly, nor Sect. 1. you be more strongly inclined to meet any such motion, then you well know the Hearts of very many of your Brethren, to be already agreed in that. And I believe I have given you evidence in all my former Difficulties with you (uncontradicted by any action of mine) that I the meanest of the servants of your Order, do make it the best and aim of all my weak Studies and Labours in order to the glory and service of God, and Christ our Lord who hath so highly enjoyned it. 2. But this bars us not, but obliges us well to consider, whether this Worcester Agreement be a true Union in Ecclesiastical Peace, or the carrying on a Schismatical Combination, reaching to enclose in the Episcopal Divines also. 3. That they may now at length by this approve of the Presbyters Declaration to the World, of the necessity of continuing their Canonical Obedience to their Bishops in Christ, (which was the first wheel that set a work this sad Revolution, the ejecting out of the Church) the Bishops and Pastors, the Successors of the Apostles in the Church) whether this be so or no; I say, I must refer you to judge by considering.

Reply to Sect. 1.

I shall not unwillingly believe and acknowledge that your love to Concord is greater than mine, when I see you more zealously hating it, and hear of your Motions and moderate Rational Attempts to that end. And I shall begin to hope well of you, when you are but willing to accept such motions from any others; or at least not to hinder the Concord of your Brethren. 2. Schismatical Combinations are against the United Churches, or the United Members of one particular Church. We write or combine against no such Churches or Members, nor against any thing, but prophane and wicked, and against the division, discord, and alienation of Brethren, and the utter neglect of the Ordinances of Christ. Our utmost care and endeavour is to beat a Schism; and if they that do their best to beat it, lamenting it daily as the great sin and calamity of the Churches, and making it the chiefest part of their Studies, with unfailing longings to see it accomplished, looking for no worldly advantage by the work, having no Lordly Honours, nor Dignities of their own to engage for, which might by those; may most predicated casting away their Reputation with all the contenders of every Party, accounting nothing in this world dear to them for the healing of our Divisions, and waiting on God in earnest Prayer daily for success, (concerning which, the Righteous God is better acquainted with my heart and ways than this Contender) I say, if we are not only Schismaticks, but Schismatical in those very attempts, I know not yet how we shall escape that fin. I hope God will not impute that to me which this Writer doth; and that be will not impute my Prayers and Endeavours against Drunkennes, Covetousnes and Contentions of Neighbours, to be indeed Drunkennes, Covetousnes, or Contention, fo neither will he impute my earnest Prayers and Endeavours against Schism and Discord to be Schismatical. But Schism is not the same thing in the Mans mouth as in others. It is the unhappiness of each Party of Schismatical Faction, to make to themselves a new Center of union which God never made; and then all must be Schismaticks with them, that unite not in their Center, or at least be not tied to union by their ligaments. So he is a Schismatick to a Papist, that Centers not in the

A

Pope.
Pope as the Primaculum unitatis, and visible Head of the Church; and in the Roman Church as the Heart of the Church Catholic, denominating the whole. He is a Schismatick with some others that owns not every Order or Ceremony which they maintain. For my part I should think, that he that centrith in Christ, and hol- deth the found and wholesome Doctrine contained in the Creeds of the Church, and mainainth love and unity with all Christians, to the utmost extent of his natural capacity, even with all that he is capable of holding Communion with, is no Schismatick, nor his attempts for that end Schismatistical Combinations. If there were a Bilhop in this Diocese, and he should go one way (suppose he command all Church Assemblies be at such a time, and all worship in such a form) and all the Pres- byters and People go another way (whether they do well or ill, to the thing itself be tolerable) and will not meet at the time, nor worship God in the form which he prefereth, I should think I were guilty of Schism if I separated from all these Churches, and guilty of ungodlines if I wholly forsake and forsake all publick worship of God, because I could have none according to the Bishops' commandings. Much more if there were no Bishop in the Diocese at all. This seems to be our case, in respect of both Worship and Discipline (at least for the most part). Is that man guilty of no Schisme, nor Inpiety, who will rather have no Discipline exerc- ised at all on the profane and scandalous, but all Vice go without controul, and the rage of Mens fins provoke Heaven yet more against us, who will rather have no Ministerial Worship of God, in Prayer or Praise, no Sacraments, no Solemn Assemblies to this end, no Ministerial Teaching of the people, but have all Mens Souls given over to perdition, the bread of life taken from their mouths, and God depri- ved of all his Worship, then any of this should be done without Bishops? That had rather the Church doors were shut up, and we lived like Heathens, than we should Worship God without a Bishops Commands? and that when we have none to com- mand us.

3. We distinguish of the necessity of Bishops; either it is a necessity ad bene effe for the right ordering of the Church when it may be had; or it is a necessity ad effe to the very being of a Church, or of God's Worship, without which we may not offer God any publick Service, or have any Communion with any Congregation that doth. The former we leave as not fit for our determination; and therefore we do not contradict you in it, nor seek to draw you to own any Declaration against it. The latter we do deny; there is no such necessity of Bishops, as that God can have no Church without them; and that we must rather separate from all our Assemblies, and never offer God any publick Worship, then do it without them, (remembering still, that we speak of those Bishops whom we are charged with rejecting, and not the Pallors of particular Congregations). And in this distinction of necessity, and in this conclusion, I have the consent of the generality of the Protestant Bishops, so far as I know to a Man, as far as their Writings declare to us their Minds; and therefore Episcopal Divines may consent.

Except. to Sel. 2.

1. Whether in this Worceffhire Association, whoever will enter into it doth not therein oblige himself to acknowledge those for Presbyters and Pallors of Churches, who professeth themselves to have been made such (in a Church where there are, and were Bishops that never denied them Orders) without the Hands, Consent, or Knowledge of the Bishop, yea in a time when Bishops were (without any acculation, before any Ecclesiastical Superiority Synod, or other, (unheard) ejected, laid by, by their own sheep and Presbyters that owed them obedience?

Reply to Sel. 2.

To your first Question I answer, 1. You must distinguish of punishing and ejecting Bishops that deserve it, and calling out their Order. 2. Between calling out the appurtenances and corruptions which made up the English fort of Pretacie, as differing from the Primitive, and calling out the Order and Office of Bishops simply in itself. 3. Between those Men that do call them out, and those that do not. 4. Between a Church that hath Bishops, and one that hath none. 5. Between them that can have Ordination by them, and those that cannot. 6. Between those Minifters of this Association who were Ordeigned by Bishops, and those that were not. 7. Between the Irregularity and finfulnes of Ordination, and the nullity thereof; and so between a Minister regularly Ordeigned, and a Minister Irregularly Ordeigned, who is a Minister still. Hereupon I answer further in these conclusions. 1. That too many of the Bishops lately ejected, did deserve it, is beyond dispute. 2. Whether the Parliament in the State that they were in, had not power to punish them by Im- prizonment, or Ejection, as Solomon did Abishar, without an Ecclesiastical Superior,
or whether the Clergy be exempted from such punishment by the Secular power, till they are delivered up to them by the Ecclesiastical Head, hath been volumi-
nously disputed in the world already. Sutcliffe, Biflon, Jewed, and a multitude more
have proved, that Kings have power in all Gauhes, and over all Persons, as well
Ecclesiastical as Civil; and that the Pope hath no power of Jurisdiction in Eng-
land, let the Oath of Supremacy judge; and if the Metropolitan of Canterbury, or
the highest Ecclesiastical Power military, who shall restrain or eject them but
the Civil Power, unless we go to the Pope? For more acceptable Witenesses I com-
mend to you Spaldenfto, Grothus, and Saravis, yea Dr. de Victoria, and several Parfifans.
The two former, one de Republ. Ecclef. the other de imperio fummarum potestatum, will
never be well answered. If it be said the King did it not. I answer, I think the
Authority by whom that much was done, that we now speak of, will be acknow-
ledged sufficient by most that were against the fact, and that fought against the
Parliament that underfood the Laws. It was long before the King withdrew. 3.
Many of thofe that approved of the Ejeclion of thofe unworthy men, yet approved
not of the difolution of the Office; and fuch may be many (and for ought
you know most or all) of the Minifters here Associated. (Though I fuppofe rather it is otherwise) yet while Mend to peace silence their opinions, who knows what
they are? And fure I am, many among us had no hand in the downfall of the Bif-
fhops; and whether any at all be lyable in this to your Charge besides my felf
(whereof more anon) I know not; moft of our Association were in the Univer-
ties, in the Wars; and the reft were (fome I am fure, if not all) quiet in their Hab-
itations, even in the Kings Quarters, not fo much as taking the Covenant; fo that
I know not how you can except against them as calling out the Bifhops. What
tell you them of other Mafi Aftions? could they help it? what if it be in a time
when Bifhops were f0 Ejected, when you cannot prove them guilty of it? 4. The
Covenant it felf doth not reject all Bifhops, but only fuch as flood in England, and
fo conccratoried to Chancellors, Deans, &c. and with fuch an Explication Mr. Cale-
man gave it to the Houfe of Lords. If therefore you could prove, that the Associa-
ted Minifters have taken the Covenant, (which you have not done) yet that
proves not that they were the Ejectors of the Bifhops. 6. There is no Bifhop (that
we know of) over this Diocefe. 7. You cannot prove that thofe that were Ordain-
ed by mere Presbyters, might have had Epifcopal Ordination (of which more a-
on). 8. It is not the Regularity of the Ordination that we defire you to acknow-
ledge, but only its being; fo that it is not a nullity. So that you may fee how un-
faitifly you flared the cafe; which is rather this, Whether when the Bifhop of this
Diocefs is dead, and the reft taken down by the Reigning Power, and we know not where to
have Epifcopal Ordination, or at all, without the great suffering of the Bifhops on whom
the present Powers will inflict fo great a penalty, if they Ordain, if in this cafe any be Or-
dained by mere Presbyters, are we bound to judge them no Minifters, yea and to refuse As-
sociating with others for their fakes? Whether our Church doors may not be shut up, and Gods pub-
lick Worship thrown away, till the Rules will permit, and the Presbyters and People admit
Bifhops again; and Minifters and Churches all be null? yea I do no find you prove that
our Agreement requires any fuch acknowledgment, as your felf intimate, of
which next.

Except. Self. 3.

Mr. Baxter himfelf I name for one, a Principal of this Affociation, and proce-
ding it one end of this Affociation, that they may be acknowledged for true Presby-
ters and Pastors of their Churches, by all who enter into this Agreement, vid.p. 14.
and the two last lines, and p. 15. for eight lines; also p. 14. Ref. 11. and Ref. 12.
p. 43. in. and p. 43. fto.

Reply to Self. 3.

For my felf I think you have more againft me than any other Man in your Af-
ociation. But yet, you have not proved, that I had not Epifcopal Ordination,
which indeed I had. 2. Nor that I conflented to the removal of their Calling, If
I did fo, yet till you can know it, you have no juft ground for your alienation.
3. If I did confent,yet that nullith not my former Call. 4. You know not if I did,
whether I repeat or not. 5. No man must be rejected for a fault supposed,without
a juft Tryal, in all Equity you fhould hear me fpeak for my felf. I have publicly
offeredfatisfaction to any that are offended with me. 6. What if 01 only were faulty?
would that warrant you to separate from all the reft for my fakes? 7. But what do
you allledge againft me? That I would have an acknowledgment that we are true
Presbyters and Pastors? A heinous Crime? that I will not yield to have Gods
Church among us unchurched by the Papifts, and his Worship cafe aside for want

A 7
of true Ministers? 8. But what are all these Words of mine to the Agreement? Those are but mine own Thoughts, which none are desirous to content to. You should have produced somewhat from our Articles of Concord, and not from my Words.

Except. to Sect. 4.

Do they take in your acknowledged Grounds of all parts, (Episcopal and all) who would have us acknowledge them Presbyters ordained in this Church without Bishops, nor by necessity as in the Churches wherein no Protestant Bishop could be had? unless their Christian Charity can take Countenance to lay that none of our Bishops were Protantists, and that then they must have had no Ordination at all, or Ordination by Papists (requiring of them the Acknowledging the Popes Ecclesiastical Supremacy) which was the confessed Case of those Protantists beyond Seas, from whence they would fain borrow a Cloak for their Face: but the Covering is too short, though they argue while the World endures, there is a vast difference betwixt necessity and voluntary Engaging by Covenant, and relinquishing, calling off, and laying by true Catholic, Protant Bishops.

Reply to Sect. 4.

Yes, Sir; I am confident I take in the Grounds of the Episcopal Protantists: (But I dare not lay yours, for I do not know you) nor are you able to manifest the contrary: 1. Necessity may justify some things, that were unjustifiable, and the absence of such Necessity may prove them sinful: But if Presbyters may justify or ordain in case of necessity, then you will hardly prove our Ordination valid, for want of that Necessity, though you should prove it irregular. It seems you think that Lay Men may baptize in case of necessity; if so, you may prove it sinful, but hardly valid, where Necessity is not. 2. It is an incredible Assertion against the Sun, that all those Protantists beyond Sea, had such a Necessity, and could not have Protant Bishops. Put out Mens Eyes, and then tell them this. Were the Low Countries so far from England that they could not possibly have borrowed a Bishop to Ordain? Was not Bishop Carleton at the Synod of Dort with them? why did not that Synod desire this Curtsey? It is said, he protested for Bishops in the open Synod, and that he took their Silence for Consent, and also, that some after told him, that they would have them if they could; as if Silence were any Sign of Consent against their own established Discipline.

Who knows not that their loathness to displease King James, of whom they had then so much need, might well cause them to keep Silence, about that which was not the Business of the Assembly, as long as they held their present Government? and if some said they would have Bishops if they could, it is plain it was but few, for if most had been willing, what hindered them? If you say the Civil Powers, I answer, 1. The Ecclesiastics so taught them and desired the Presbyterian Government of them. 2. They might have run the hazard of a Persecution as well as we and the civil Rulers of this Nation are as much at least against it as theirs: So some gather from Moulins's Word to Bishop Andrews, and some few other Men, that the French Churches would fain have Bishops; as also they are fain to have offered Obedience to the Papist Bishops, if they would turn Protantists: when as it is known they are against Bishops, and if any particular Person is for it, it is against the Establishment of their Churches. Perhaps they might think their Form of Government not of such moment as to reject Episcopacy, if it might come in with such an Advantage as the turning of the Papist Bishops would have brought: But what is that to prove that they would have Bishops and could not? Gratian knew France as well as you, whoever you are; and he tells us another Story of them, Deific. Apolog. Rerum. That they willfully cast out the Order of Bishops as far as their Authority could reach; what impossibility hath their been these hundred Years for France, Belgia, Helvetia, Geneva, with the rest of the Protant Churches to have had Bishops if they had been willing? They had Hermannus of Colen, Vergerius of Juttingen, came among them, Spalatinus would have ordained some in his Passyage; if no English Bishop could have been gotten, how easy had it been to have sent one to receive Episcopal Confirmation here, and then to have gone home and ordained more? It may be you would make us believe the like of the Church of Scotland too, that they would fain have Bishops and could not: If you allege any Inconvenience that necessitates all these Protant Churches to continue without Bishops, even to this Day; I say, 3. Our Necessity is as great as any of theirs for ought you can manifest to the contrary; for 1. Our Rulers are as much against them. 2. We cannot exercise publicly our Minisorial Office, unless we be ordained according to the Laws of the present Rulers. 3. There is a heavy Penalty ordained to all Ordainers that
that do otherwise. 4. We have no Bishop in our Diocess. 5. We read Canons that null Bishops Ordination out of their Diocessies. 6. We know not of above two Bishops in England, nor where to find the reft that are latent, and we hear those two will not ordain. 7. Divers of them were juftly ejected for destroying the Church, and we cannot take them for Bishops. 8. We are but Subjects and a small part of the Miniffry, and cannot set up Bishops among our felves, if we were of that Judgment as much as others: But Nations, Commonweathes, and Free-cities might if they would. The Cloak which you fay is too fhort, is indeed much larger than our Cafe requires: If our Nation, or any part of it, did voluntarily call off Bishops, fo did the Protestant Churches, and continue to keep them out to this Day. But you cannot prove that the Minifters of this Affociation did ftaft them off. And for your fumne of the Countenance of our Chriftian Charity: I an-}

Except. to Sect. 5.

An Argument a Fortiori, all Logick admits of, but I never heard a Suspicion of any Firmnes, in concluding ab Imbecillius, thus: Perhaps, perhaps I fay, and as many Moderns would charitably think, they may be true Presbyters, who were ordained by Presbyters, (where, morally to speak, and as to confecutional possibility) there was an impoffibility of procuring Orders from any Bishops, but fuch as would ob-}

Reply to Sect. 5.

1. Our Argument is not only a part, but a fortiori, as is manifefted. 2. You give us reason here to fearch that your felf are one of fome Perfons whom we except against, and that it is your own Caufe that you flour for, and that your Guilt is not that makes you angry, for you fearch to me to intimate to us, that you own not their Opinion that make the Protestant Minifters to be Minifters indeed (and con-}

forequently their Churches true organized Churches) for all the neceffity which you pretend they had for you make it but a [perhaps] and your double that [perhaps] that we may fee you own it not, and you fay it is [as many would think] as if it were but their Thought, and as if you were none of fome many: And it is but [the Moderns] that lo think as if you intimat that Antiquity judged otherwife, which doubtles you prefer before the Moderns; and you fay, [they would think it] intimating that Will prevails againat Judgment, or Judgment follows not that Will; [yes, it is charitably] that they would think it, as if Affection mingled them: and other Paflages afterward do yet furvey reveal your Mind in this, though you are loath, I perceive, to fpeak out, becaufe of the hardnefs of it to Protestants Ears; I therefore again fay. 1. Thofe churches were not, nor are to this Day un-}

der any impoffibility of having Bishops, if they judged them neceffary. 2. That you prove not what you fay, that they in this Country might have had Ordination by a Bishop, who were ordained by Presbyters only: We leave therefore our Confe-}

quence, and our Chriftian Presbyterian Charity to a more equal Judge, whether that Man be like to be a Sottificat, that take the Church of Rome for a true Church, and all the reformed Churches (except the Epifcopal, for no true Church-}
es, and that take their Priests for Lawfull Minifters, and all the Protestant Mini-

sters for none, except thofe that were ordained by Bishops: may, that argue, as here you do, to have us (and confequently all fo ordained) diclaimned by Paflors and People, and confequently all our Churches nullified, and publi fick Worship for-}

aken. Are we fo blind as not to fee, that you thus not only prefer the Papils be-}

fore us (as much as a true Minifttry before no Minifttry, and a true Church before no Church) but hereby would deliver us up into their Hands? If we difpute with them in the hearing of the People, and confede that their Church is true, and ours is not; may not the People easily fee that it's better join with them than with us? and would not you your felf rather submit to a Man's Prieff, than to thofe whom you take for no Minifters at all? If you fay (you would have us submit to
neither, but to the Episcopal) yet: 1. It follows notwithstanding that the Papists of the two are to be preferred as true Ministers, before them that are none. 2. And if we dispute with the Papists, which is the true Church, and set against them only Eleven or Twelve (for so many you reckon on) English Bishops (and if there be any Irish or Scotch) with those of the Clergy that adhere to them (as a matter of Number considered) whom the People know not where to find, nor can enjoy, what Success is such a Dispute like to have, either with the People, or with the Adversary? will they not tell us, our Church is invisible, especially when these few Bishops are dead?

Except to Sect. 6.

2. Whether in this Worceftshire Allocution, whatsoever will enter into it doth not therein oblige himself to acknowledge that Presbyters (while there remain alive fourteen, or thirteen, or twelve Catholic Protestant Bishops) may proceed to publick Excommunications, and Abolutions in foro Ecclesiasticò, without asking the Bishops Conjoint, allowance, or taking any notice of them. See Resolution 12, 13, 14, 15. and the Scope of the whole Book.

Reply to Sect. 6.

To your second Question I answer, The Term [Excommunication] we use not. This Term is used to signify, sometimes a delivering up to Satan, and calling out of the Catholic Church, sometimes only a Ministerial Declaration that such a Person should be avoided by the People, acquainting them with their Duty, and requiring them to perform it: sometimes it signifies the Peoples actual Avoidance. In the former Sense we have let it alone; and that which you call your Excommunication May we meddle not with, much less do we usurp a compelling Power for the Execution. The other we know to be consistent with the Principles of Episcopal Protestants (if not also with Papists) yea, even when there is a Bishop resident in the Diocese, it being but part of our teaching and guiding Office as Presbyters of that Congregation; but I have said enough of this in my Expositions already.

2. But what if there be twelve latent Bishops in England (when for my part I hear not of above two or three) have they Power not only to ordain, but also to govern other Dioceses which have no Bishops? Yea, must they needs govern them? 1. Woe then to the Churches of England, that must live under such Guilt devoid of all Government. 2. Woe to the Sinners themselves, that must be left without Christ's Remedy. 3. Woe to particular Christians that must live in the continual Breach of God's known Law, that faith [with such go not to eat, &c.] for want of a Bishop to Execute it. 4. Woe to the few Bishops that he; for if all the Authority be in them, then the Duty and Charge of executing it is only on them; and then they are bound to Impossibilities, one Bishop must Excommunicate all the Offenders in a great part of the Land, when he is not sufficient to the hundredth part of the Work. Then when all the Bishops in England are dead, live one or two, they are the sole Pastors of England, and all Discipline must be cast away for want of their Sufficiency. Then it seems the Death of one Bishop, or two or three, doth actually devolve their Charge to another, and who knoweth which other? This is new Canon. Not only Protestant Bishops, but some Papists confess, that when a Bishop is dead, the Government remains in the Presbyters till another be chosen: sure they that govern (the People at least) with him whilst he is living (as is confessed) need not look on it as an alien, supremerent, transcendent Work, when he is dead. Bishop Burnell against Mr. p. 127, gives People a Judgment of Discretion, and Pastors a Judgment of Direction, and to the chief Pastors a Judgment of Jurisdiction. You may go well, allow us by a Judgment of Direction to tell the People that they should avoid Communions with an open wicked Man, even whilst a Bishop is over us; Selten de Syn. c. 8, 9, 10. and will tell you another Tale of the way of Antiquity in Excommunication and Abolution than you do hear: But of this enough in the Books.

Except to Sect. 7.

3. Doth not he oblige himself also to acknowledge that not only Presbyters (incorrupta governing) but one single one of them, may proceed to Excommunication and Abolution in foro Ecclesiasticò?

Reply to Sect. 7.

Your third Question I answer by a Denial. There is no such Obligation. The Declaration of the Peoples Duty to avoid such an one, is by one; so is every Sermon, so is your Episcopal Excommunication. Doth not one, and that a Presbyter declare or publish it? But for advising and determining of it, we have sayd
tyed our selves not to do it alone, though for mine own private Opinion I doubt, not easily to prove that one single Bishopp or Pastor hath the Power of the Keys, and may do all that we agree to do.

Except to Sect. 8.

4. That not only one single Presbyter; but one whose Ordination was never by any Bishopp to be Presbyter, (where also Bishops were that might have been sought unto) hath that Power also of Excommunication, &c.

Reply to Sect. 8.

Your fourth is answer'd in the rest, if his Ordination have only in the Judgment of Episcopal Protestants (yea, of some Papists) an Irregularity, but not a Nullity, then he hath Power to do so much as we agree on: Your Exception is as much against his other Ministrations.

Except. to Sect. 9.

I speak only of the Essence of their Association; not insisting on what Mr. Baxter declares to the World, that in some Cases the People (not satisfied with the Bishops or Presbyters Ordination) may accept or take a Man of themselves without any Ordination (by Bishops or Presbyters) to be their Pastor and Presbyter with Power of Excommunication and Abolition in himself alone (without the People) see p. 83.

Reply to Sect. 9.

That this may be done in some Cases, I have lately disputed it with a learned Man of your Party, and convinced him. And methinks Nature should teach you, if you were (unordained, but qualified by Gifts) cast among the Indians, that you should not let them perish for want of that publick, constant teaching which is Ministrional, or of Sacraments and Discipline only for want of Ordination; that the Substance of Duty should not be thrown by for want of that Order which was instituted for its Preservation, and not for its Destruction. You dare scarce openly and plainly deny that Necessity warrants the Presbyters of the Reformed Churches to ordain: And I doubt you allow it them then on no other grounds, then what would warrant this that I am now pleading for.

Except. to Sect. 10.

And for any Votum or define of Bishops, Protestants if they might have them, or access unto them (which was so oft the publick avowed Define of the chiefest Reformers and Protestants beyond Sea, much unlike the Spirit of our Presbytery;) see what Mr. Baxter gives us to know, p. 85, where (comparing our present Bishops with a Leader in an Army) he faith, Nay, it is hard trifling that Man again, that hath betrayed us and the Church, ibid. 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, and then he proves it by Canon (he thinks) that the Presbyters now should not submit to the present Bishops by Canon Conclusi Regiæ. ut per urbe ordinationem nulla denuo ordinatioibus intersit, and least you may reply, that he speaks not this of all our present Bishops, he immediately subjoins these Words [Where then shall we have a Bishop to ordain of the old accustomed Tribe?] Is not this Christian Filial Duty of Presbyters toward the Bishops their Fathers?

Reply to Sect. 10.

1. For that Define you again mention of Bishops in the Reformed Churches, it is an unproved, vain Assertion against full Evidence. It is only of a few particular Persons in those Churches that you can prove it: If so many Writings against Bishops and Constitutions, and actual Practice will not prove them willing to be without them; or at least, not necessary; there is no Proof of any Man's Will or Necessity. 2. What I said, I must needs maintain till you say somewhat to change my Judgment. I am past doubt it is ill trifling the Betrayers and Destroyers of the Church, with the Government of it: And thus I did prove, and can with great Ease and Evidence prove it more fully. 3. I pray you do not pericide Men that by the old accustomed Tribe I meant all the late English Bishops, they were not all acced of destroying or betraying the Church, that I ever heard of. Where be the Articles that were put in against Other, Hall, Dowman, Potter, Wifield, P Resistance, &c. All those that I call the accustomed Tribe you may find Articles against in Parliament, for their Devastations or Abuses. Should the Arrians, or other Heretics Bishops, say to thee that for look them, as you do of me [is not this Christian, Filial Duty of Presbyters towards the Bishops their Fathers] There is no Duty to any Episcopal Father that will hold against God and his Church. Take heed of making their Sins your own.

Except.
Except. S6J. 11.

And elsewhere by Irony, he adds, O what a rash thing it was to imprison (though when he was imprisoned, I believe it was by the Name of Dr. Wren, or Bishop Wren) for excommunicating, depriving, &c. p. s. 1. and p. 68. (To begin at home it is most certain, according to many ancient Canons (which are their Laws) our English Bishops were incapable of ordaining; for they lost their Authority by involving themselves in secular and publick Administrations, Canon 80. Apollon.] N. B. That Canon is 30. beyond the Canons Apolitohal, for even the Papists themselves admit but of fifty genuine, and he would eject all our Bishops by the 80th Canon Apollitohal: [Left their Authority alls for neglect of instructing their Flocks, most or many of them, and many more for non Reference, &c.]

Reply to SelJ. 11.

And why not [Wren] without any further Title; as well as Calvin, Luther, Beza, Zanchy, Gratius, &c. 2. Let the indifferent Reader peruse all my words, and blame me if he can. What? seems it so small a matter in your eyes to expel so many thousand Christian Families, and silence and suspend and deprive so many able Ministers, in so small a room, and so short a time; as that it is disobedience to our Fathers not to consent to their punishment? It seems then these silly Lambs must be desecrated, not only without resistance, but without complaint; or accusing the Wolves; because they say, they were our Fathers? God never for such Saturnine Fathers over his Church, so as to authorize them in this, or to prohibite a just remedy. He never gave them power for Destruction but for Edification. 3. What I said of our Bishops incapacity upon that reason was expressly ad hominem, against mine own Judgment, viz. upon supposition that these Canons are of such force as those imagine against whom I dispute. 4. The Canon 80. Apoll. was also brought ad hominem; for though it be confessed not of equal Antiquity with the rest, yet for that Antiquity they have, it is known how much use those men make of their supposed Authority. But are there not enough others that may evince the point in hand besides that? you may easily know it, and in many Canons that null their Office who come in by the Magistracy.

Exception to S6J. 12.

And whereas we are ready to make good against all the Papists in the world, that our English Protestant Bishops had due Ordination in Queen Eliza. and King Edwards time, by such who had been Ordained in King Henry the Eighth's time; Mr. Baxter tells us, the Popish Bishops who Ordained in the days of Hen. 8. and many Ages before, had no power of Ordination, (and this he speaks as his own judgment) not only from the consequences of his Adversaries; for he adds, this I prove, in that they received their Ordination from no other Bishops of the Province nor Metropolis, but only from the Pope singly; yet this is all the Argument he hath to overthrow (consequentially upon our objections) the Ordination of these Protestant Bishops, which himself acknowledges Learned, Pious, Reverend Men; and all that Ordained, or were Ordained, in Hen. 8. & 7. and many Ages before, as he Lath. And indeed if his Dibuzunce were of any force, not only in our English Church, but also in all the Churches of the West, France, Spain, Poland, Swedland, Denmark, and throughout the Empire of Germany, for those and those many Ages before which he speaks of; and all this that our new Presbyterian of England, (Volunteers in Ordaining, and being Ordained without Bishops, without pretence of necessity, yet or difficulty, or colour of difficulty, except what themselves had created: wherein they have as little Communion with the Protestant beyond seas, as they have with the Episcopal Protuntans of the true Reformed Church of England) may be acknowledged good and lawful Presbyters and Pastors, with power conjunctim & divinim, any one of them alone (as Mr. Baxter thinks) to Excommunicate and Abolish in foro Ecclesiastic. 

Reply to SelJ. 12.

The word [Due] may signify either such as is not null, or else such as is fully regular, or else such as they had Authority to perform, who did ordain, though they might have some Faults or Irregularities: If you take it in the first Sense, many will yield it, who yet deny it in the last; supposing in some Cases Ordination Passive may be valid; and so due in the Receiver; when yet Ordination Active, is without all just Authority in the Ordainer: Though this may seem strange, I am ready to give some Reasons for it. It must be in the last Sense, conjunct with the first, that you must take the Word [Due] if you will speak to the point in Hand. 2. I do expressly say there that it is according to the Doctrine of the Objectors consequentially] that I affirm this (not affirming or denying it to be mine own Judgment) and to that end bring the Proof which
which is mentioned: And yet you are pleased to affirm that I [speak it as my own Judgment, and not only from the Consequences of Adversaries.] Supposing your Grounds, (which I confidently deny) that an uninterrupted Succession of the Authoritative Ordination is necessary absolutely to the Being of the Ministerial Calling; I doubt not but all the unhappy Consequences will be unavoidable which you mention concerning the Churches of all the World: But whether it be you or I that is to be blamed for those Consequences, it is not your Word only that must determine, and I am willing to try by weight of Reasons.

Except. to Sel. 13.

And now for the Proof of all this, the whole weight is laid by this Book. 1. Upon an Argument a comparati: If they, the Protestant; beyond Seas are lawful Pastors and Presbyters (whole Necesity and Plea of Necesity publicly to have been made by those, there our new Presbyters cannot deny) then our new ordained ones by Presbyters, are Presbyters also (though they want all such Pretence, all colour of Necesity, for themselves were the first Authors of it, to those that ejected them, which yet did not bring a Necesity neither, which we all know) It Necesity be pleaded to be above Ecclesiastical Laws, (as sometimes it hath dispensed with divine positive Laws themselves) then they pro imperio will be above them by their own Magisterial evidenc and by Consequence if they will take this to themselves, that whatsoever is lawful to others upon necessity, is, and shall be lawful to themselves without Necesity, they may in the next place, Pope-like, take to themselves to dispense with divine positive Laws, also because necessity has sometimes dispensed with them.

Reply to Sel. 14.

1. You may as well lay, we dare not lay the Sun Shineth, as that we dare not deny the Protestant Churches to have been without Bishops to this day through necessity against their Wills; when in almost all of them the full Power Civil and Ecclesiastical is supposed to be among themselves; though I deny not but some particular Persons among them would fain have Bishops, yet I think very few, in comparison of those that were willing to be rid of them, when they were received here. 2. You boldly affirm without Proof that the Ministers of this Country, who were not ordained by Bishops, were Ejectors of them, or Authors of the Necessity. 3. I showed you before we have more Necesity than you mention, and besides a Necessity whereof we are not guilty, there may be a culpable Necessity which yet may free our calling from a nullity, though not our selves from Sin. What if God should permit all the Churches of Ethiopia, or the Greeks to deny the Jur Divinum of Episcopacy, (which is possible, as well as to permit the Reformed Churches to do it) and so to set up Ordination by mere Presbyters? (while I speak to you on your own Grounds) I suppose this to be their Error, and fo their Sin: yet would you presently unchurch them all, and rather have God’s Worship born, as to the Publick? There be many among us, who are against Diocesan Bishops, who give us good testimony of a sincere Heart, impartial studying of the Point, with as much self-denial and earnest Prayer for God’s Direction, as any Episcopal Man that ever I knew; and yet remain against Episcopacy. This kind of Necessity may free their Calling from the Charge of Nullity (which needs not this Plea); though it could not free them from the Charge of Error.

Except. to Sel. 14.

Instead of answering one Word to Ignatius (God’s Holy Saint and Martyr) his renowned Epistles (which he knew lately vindicated) or to all the ancient Fathers avowing in terminus the jur divinum of Bishops above Presbyters, and the Bishops sole Power of ordaining; or producing any to the contrary, he fills up his Books with Citations of modern Mens Writings, which they all wrote charitably for the Patronage of those poor afflicted Protestants, who had no Bishops because they could have none: So that as well his Authorities as his Reasons are all drawn a loco comparationem, arguing weakly from the Privilege of necessity, to their licentiousness, with, or without Necessity, which is one continued Sophism.

Reply to Sel. 14.

1. Though Ignatius were both a Saint and Holy, yet I know not what call I had in those Papers to meddle with him: Unless I must needs disperse the point of Episcopacy, which I did dislike. 2. As I would not undervalue the late Vindication of Ignatius, so I would not have you so far overvalue it, as to think it should so easily and potently prevail (I.) With all those that see not any Cogency in the Arguments, or sufficiency in the Answers to the contrary Objections. (2.) Or with those that would take Scripture only for the Text of this Cause. (3.) Or with those
that are confident that you can never prove that Ignatius speaks of Diocesan Bishops, but only of the Bishops of particular Churches. 3. Your talk of all the ancient Fathers adverting in terminis the Bishops' sole Power of ordaining, is not but discredit the rest of your Words: You suppose us utter Strangers both to these Fathers, and the English Bishops, who maintain that Presbyters must be their Coadjutors in Ordination. 4. What if I should grant that all the Fathers would have Bishops to have the sole Power of Ordaining ordinarily, and for Order sake? And that it is a Sin of Disorder where unnecessarily it is done otherwise? that's nothing to the Question that I had in hand; which is, whether such Ordination by Presbyters be not only irregular but null, and whether an uninterrupted Succession be necessary to our Office? 5. I plainly perceive here again, that you are too hard to speak out your Mind; but you seem to differ from these charitable Maintainers of the Protestants: Why else do you set Ignatius and the ancient Fathers as the Party that I should have respected instead of these, if you did not think that the Fathers and these Men were contrary? 6. My Business was to prove that according to the Principles of the Protestant Bishops in England, our Ordination was not null, of Nomine, because without a Bishop now I am blamed for proving this by Modern Writers, and not Fathers. If you will disclaim the Modern Protestant Bishops do not pretend to be of their Party, but speak plainly: If I (fill up my Book with such Citations) then I hope I was not deficient in bringing the Testimonies of the Protestant Episcopal Divines, and yet many more I could cite to that end. 7. To that of the Protestants Necessity enough is said, till your Words are canonical, or your Proof stronger. I do not think but there are some Protestant Bishops (so called at least) in France and Holland now, that went out of Britain and Ireland, why cannot they ordain them Bishops in their extrem Necessity? Why did the angry Bishops so revile poor Calvin, Reza, the Churches of Guinea, Scotland, and many others, for calling our Bishops, and setting up Presbytery, if all were done on a justifiable Necessity? But enough of this.

Except. to Sel. 15.

But that these Authors cited by him may be authentical; all the Protestant Divines of England, are branded as Popish, that since the Reformations have defended against the Pope that Bishops are jure Divino (for so I say it was direct Popery that first denied Bishops to be jure Divino, witnessed the Pope's and Papalins canvassing in the Council of Trent, to oppress by Force and Tyranny, the far major and more learned part of the Council that contended for so many Months with Sufferages, Arguments, and Protestations, Protestant like, to have it defined, that Bishops were jure Divino, and only the Pope and his Titulars, and Courtiers suffered it not to be reponded, least it should be, as certainly it would have been, defined; for then Popes and Presbyters could not have lorded it so): Thus the chiefest, and most pious, and learned Bishops of our English Church must be branded for Popish; Bishop Andrews, Mountague, White, &c.

Reply to Sel. 15.

1. If you deny the Authors cited by me to be authentick, pretend not to adhere to the Episcopal Protestants; for sure these are such. 2. You do not well to say that (all the Protestant Bishops are branded as Popish, that since the Reformations have defended against the Pope, that Bishops are jure Divino) either shew the Words where I do brand them, or else do not tell us that your Words are true (though in a matter of Fact before your Eyes): we may well question your Argument, when we find you so untrue in reporting a plain Writing. Indeed our late Bishops (and those most that were most suspected to be Popish) did stand most upon the jure Divino, which many of the first did either disclaim or not maintain: But it never came into my Thoughts to brand all for Popists that did own it. Do I not cite Downame, and others, as Protestant Bishops, who yet maintain it? yea, Bishop Andrews, whom you name? this is not fair. 3. As for the Trent Quaerel about Bishops, I say but this it the Spanish Bishops, and the rest that fled for the jure Divino of Episcopacy there, were no Papists, then those that I spoke of in England were none (much less): And I must cry you mercy for so efteming them.

Except. to Sel. 16.

The 3d Argument is from the uncertainty of Succession, which might have done the Hereticks good Service in the old times, when St. Irenaeus and Tertullian mutter up against them Successions of Catholick Bishops that ever taught as the Church then taught against the Hereticks.
Reply to Setl. 16.

1. It seems you are confident of an uninterrupted Succession of Authoritative Ordination, though you seem to think none authoritative but Episcopal. But if we were not the Protestant Bishops, who took the Reformed Churches to have true Ministers, and to be true Churches, when yet Episcopal Ordination is interrupted with them. Such are all those with whose Words, you say, I fill my Book, to whom I may add Men (which is strange) that were thought nearer your own way. As Bishop Bromhall in his late Answer to Miller, yet would have the Pope to be the Principium Uniatas to the Church, and the Answer to Fontamn's Letter, said to be Dr. Stewards, besides Dr. Fearn; yea, if you were one of those that would yield that Presbyters may ordain, yet I am still unperauded that you are able to prove an uninterrupted Succession of Authoritative Ordination, and if you are able I should heartily thank you if you would perform it; and seeing it is so Necessary, it is not well that no Episcopal Divine will perform it; if you are not able, methinks you should not judge it so necessary; at least except you know those that are able: If you call it on us to disproove that Succession, I refer you to our Answer to Bellarmine and others in those Papers, as to that point. 2. As for Tertullian and Irenaeus, and others of the primitive Ages, pleading such Succession, I answer, 1. It is one thing to maintain an uninterrupted Succession, then when and where it was certain, and another to maintain it now, when it is not. 2. It is one thing then to maintain that such a Succession was de facto, and another to affirm that it must be, or would be to the end of the World, which those Fathers did not. It was the Scope of Irenaeus and Tertullian not to make an uninterrupted Succession of handing absolute necessity ad eie Office, nor to prophecy that so it should still be, and the Church should never want it; but from the present certainty of such a Succession de facto, to prove that the Orthodox Churches had better Evidence of the Soundness of their Faith, than the Heretics had. If this be not their meaning, I cannot understand them; it was easy then to prove the Succession, and therefore it might be made a Medium against Heretics, to prove that the Churches had better Evidence than they. But now the Cafe is altered, both through time and Sin. It might have been proved by Tradition without Scripture, what was found Doctrine and what not, before the Scripture was written: An Heretic might have been confuted in the Days of the Apostles without their Writings, and perhaps in a great measure some time after: but it follows not that they may be so to the End of the World. Thofe that heard it from the Mouth of the Apostles, could tell the Church what Doctrine they taugh; but how uncertain a way Tradition would have been to acquaint the World with God's Mind by that time it had passed through the puddle of depraved Ages, even to 1653. God well knew, and therefore provided us a more certain way. So is it also in this Cafe of Succession, as the Fathers pleaded it against the Heretics, to prove the Soundness of the Tradition of thefe Churches.

Except to Setl. 17.

Against all which, a Quirk it seems lay, that if secretly any of them had had but a secret Canonical Irregularity, all the following Successions were null: But the evident Truth is much otherwife that the Church never annulled the Acts or Ordinations made by Bishops, which the Catholic Church then had accepted and repeated Catholic Bishops; though afterwards they came to know of any Secret Irregularities, or canonical Disfailings had they then been urged or prosecuted by any, against thofe Bishops, and then they should have been accepted for Bishops by the Church no longer.

Reply to Setl. 17.

1. I have proved, and more can do, open and not only secret Irregularities in the Church of Rome's Ordinations, known a Priors, and not only after the Ordinations. The Multitude of Protestant Writers, even English Bishops have made that evident enough against the Pope, which you call a Quirk; general Councils have condemned Popes as Heretics and Infidels, and yet they have ordained more. 2. If it were otherwise, yet all your Answer would only prove, that we must sometimes take them for Bishops who were none (when the Nullity is secret) but not that they are Bishops indeed, or have Authority. It is one thing to say that God will make their Acts as useful to the honest Receiver, as if the Ordainer had done it by just Authority: and another to say, that such an Ordainer had Authority, because his Incapacity was not known or judged; that is because it was not then known that he had none. 2. Moreover, if the Catholic Churches Acceptation and Reputation (which you mention would serve turn, then 1. It were well worth
the knowing what you mean by the Catholick Church, do you mean the whole, or only a Part? If the whole, then few Ministers or Bishops must be so accepted, for who is known to all Christians in the World? If a Part, then what Part must it be? what if one Part repute him a true Minister or Bishop, and the other a false or none, which is very common? If you say it is the People over whom he is Pastor, then nothing more common then for them to be divided in their Judgments: If you say it is the greater part, then we shall be at utter Uncertainties for our Succession, as little knowing what the greater part of the People thought of our Predecessors; if you mean the Superior Bishops, then a Metropolitan it seems is the Catholick Church when a Bishop is to be judged of, and it is like a Patriarch for a Metropolitan, and the Pope for him. But as 1. We know not how these judged of our Predecessors. 2. So we little believe that these Mens Judgments can make a Man to be a Bishop that is none, or make him have a Power which else he had not; this is worse than the Doctrine which hangs the Efficacy of the Sacraments on the Priests Intention: It's like the Faith of some that think to make a Fallbackhood become true by believing it true. 3. And you know it is the Pope whole Succession we are questioning; and which is the Catholick Church that must accept and repute him a true Pope? If the Council of Basil were the Catholick Church, then you know how Eugenius was reputed; and then where is our Succession? I doubt not but true Christians that are not guilty of the Nullity of the Ordination, nor knew it, may have the Benefit and Blessing of such a Man's Administrations, and they may be valid to the Receiver: But that is on another ground (which I have lately manifested to another in debating this Caufe) and not that the Administrator had any true Ministerial Authority from God. Again, I refer you to my Answer to Bellarmine and others in those Papers.

Except. to StÉ. 1s.

V.G. Put cafe one not baptized thought to have been baptized, had (per ignorantiam fætæ) been promoted to be Bishop, Archbishop or Patriarch, yet so long as the Church knew it not, nor himfelf perhaps, but did accept him bona Fide, though ipso Fato had it been known, such had been uncapable of Ecclesiàcal Order, yet being so accepted by the Catholick Church, Ordinations done by him were not null, nor did he interrupt the Succession, but (latent e amnì defètis baptismis) he was a true Bishop, though after his Death by any Writing they had come to discover it, for the Church as all Judicatures rightly proceeds fundam allegata & probata, the fame I lay of secret Synony. V. S. But on the other side to speak now to the Presbyterian Cafe.

Reply to StÉ. 1s.

Nay then put Cafe the Man were not Ordained, and the Church took him to be Ordained: you say the Church must proceed fundam allegata & probata, doth not this give up your Caufe, and yield all that I plead for? which is, that an authoritative Ordination, and an uninterrupted Succession is not finfully and absolutely necessary to the being of the Miniftry: For you confes your Churches Reputation may serve without it. By the way take head leaft you either make the People to be none of the Catholick Church, or at leaft, you give a Power to the People to make Ministers Bishops and Popes by their bare Thoughts without Ordination, or so much as Election. But then you will remember, that if Reputation without just Ordination may serve, I know not but those among us may be Ministers whom you disclaim: For the Popes and People of all the Protestant Churches in Europe (except your selves here) do take such for Ministers (so far as it is possible by Writings, Professions, and Praclices to know their Minds) and I hope they are as good a part of the Catholick Church as the Pope and his Conftillary are. If Reputation then will make Popes without Ordination, we may have as good a Plea as those you plead for. For the cafe of Synony you mention, see what I cited out of Dr. Hammond, and you know sure that many Canons make Ordinations null, and the Office null, ipso Fato, whether ever the Party be questioned in Judgment or not: such Canons and Laws are equal to Sentences. A Cafe also may be known that is never questioned and Judged, who could question the Sodomi- cal unclean murderous Popes, though it was commonly known? I take it for granted therefore that the Knowledge degraded them without a Judgment according to your own Words here (unless one part of them contradile the other.)

Except. to StÉ. 1s.

The same ancient Church which did make void and annul constantly all Ordina- tions made by mere Presbyters, whether they Schismatically arrogated to themselves to be Bishops (and were not, nor fo reputed by the Church) or otherwise upon any
any Pretention whatsoever (for at that time no necessity could be with any Coloar, nor was pretended).

Reply to Selg. 19.

1. But is it the Judgment of the Ancient Church that will serve to degrade or null a Minifter of this Age? if fo, then all your former Arguing is in the Diuff: For though your Popes had none to Judge them Wicked and Uncapable then, yet the ancient Church before them did make void and null the Office and Ordinations of such as they. If it must be a present Power that must do it, we have not yet been called to any Judicature about it. 2. Your Parenthesis seems to intimate that if the Presbyters be but Reputed Bifhops by the Church, then their Ordinations are not null: All's well on our side then, except you only or the Romanfift be the whole Western Church: For not only Pastors and People here do take Presbyters to be Bifhops, having Power of Ordination, but to do the rest of the Reformed Churches, or at least most of them. They think that the primitive Bifhop was the Bifhop of one particular Church, and not of a Dioces, or many Churches. 3. You talk of necessity again, but you would not say, that necessity would have excufed them then, if there had been fuch; though it seems you would be thought to judge of the Reformed Churches as the Preftant Bifhops do, or elle hide your Judgment in part.

Except. to Selg. 20.

These Three Fallacies are the Summ of all his Arguments, rather popular Cufromes, for want of Argument to cry out, those Men are not Proteltants, at leaff in this, fee pag. 49. fin. these are Popifh who contend for Succession of Ordinations.

Reply to Selg. 20.

I fee nothing to forbid me to lay that these few frivolous Exceptions, and the Name of Fallacies, Sophifins, &c. is the Summ of your Opinion; and how far you manifested your felf to be free from Popery, I leave to others to judge; for I will not, till I know you.

Except. to Selg. 21.

And here give me leave, because there is a Mask of Christian Concord and Charity even to the embracing the Epifcopal Party also, pretended in this Union, let me a little give you a taffe of the Spirit of this Charity of theirs, whether it be like the true genuine Christian Spirit and Love: Besides the Charity he allows to Bifhops which I have writ out unto you in my Second Page, to which you may add, that of pag. 74. [The late Bifhops, even in the Judgment of all moderate Men that ever I spoke with, did very many of them deserve to be put down, and More reckon four, Wren, Laid, &c. but come we to the Charity he allows Epifcopal Divines (as he calls them).

Reply to Selg. 21.

If by (a Mask) you intimate a difsembling Pretence, he that better knows my Heart than you, will be Judge between you and me concerning this, but I dare not lay that my Charity is of as high a Degree as theirs that have more of that Christian Grace: But I bewail any Uncharitableness, and beg Pardon of God and Man. 2. But where found you any Mask of Concord in my Book, as with any Bifhops but the Preftant Bifhops and their Followers? I never extended it to others: Not that I have not Charity to them, or with not Concord with them, but that it is impossible till they change their Minds. And here I put it to your felf, and to all of your own way, to tell me, what you would have withfed me and all the Minifters of our Affociation to have done for Concord with you? and whether you will not confefs it impossible till one party change their Minds? for the preffent Rulers will not have Epifcopal Ordination, nor allow any in the Publick Exercife of the Miniftrey, but those that come in by meer Presbyters (in your Epifcopal) Many of the Minifters afterearnftudy and Prayer cannot be fatisfied that Epifcopacy is JurifDivinorum, or lawful: it is not in their power to change their own Judgments. Till they do change them and procure Epifcopal Ordination, you will not take them for any Minifters at all; no nor join in the Affociation least you be guilty of acknowledging them Minifters; what means then have we left tor Concord with fuch as you? Only this, Renounce your Miniftrey; all must forbear Preaching and Baptizing, and all Minifterial Duties; all forfake the Congregations of Christ here, and throughout England that are in the fame cafe, and then you will be at Concord with us; but what Concord? not as fellow Paftors; that cannot be, when we mutf fift renounce that Office; the meaning then of your defired Concord is this, give up all your Offices and Churches to us, and
let us alone to have our way, and do all, and then we will have Concord with you as our people whilst you obey us. Truly we have found your Predecessors step Fathers, and hard Task-masters; yet the Lord knows my heart, that I take it far more cæle incomparably, and in itself desirable to such as I, to be Ruled then to Rule, to Obey then to Command, so be it we be not commanded to sin against God, and run into Hell. But when we have all forsook our Churches and Offices for peace with you, is all the work done? 1. How shall we do for peace with God and Consciencé, for over-running his work, and starving Souls. 2. How shall we bear the cries of poor People for the Bread of Life? 3. What shall God's Worship and our Congregations do? Who shall supply our Places? are there able Faithful Men enough of your Way? O that we could see them! It is not two or three or ten in a Country that would serve turn. If there be enough, why did you permit so many drunken, forthih Readers, and so many hundred wicked Livers, which the Church is not well rid of yet? See the Centuries of those rejected in the Beginning, while Mr. White was Chairman, I never owned the calling out of any worthy or tolerable Man for Loyalty; yet what Reproaches did he and others undergo for calling out such a pack of Swearers, or Drunkards, or Adulterers, or the like? is there no Concord to be had with you but by giving up our poor People to such as these again? For my part I love Charity and Peace better than ever I did, but Charity hath Eyes, or is guided by Eyes. I am not a Stranger in England, I knew Multitudes of the old Episcopal Clergy that were ignorant or of wicked Lives, and the great Hindrances of the Salvation of their People, when they should seek to fave. I knew but here and there one of them that was learned and godly serious Preachers. Those Men I love and honour according to their Worth, as much as any Men of any party: These only did we desire Concord with as Ministers: and alas if he be not to be had without forfaking all our Charges, and giving up a whole Country to fo few of these, the Will of the Lord be done; for I will never believe that this is his Will till you bring other Reasons for it then yet any of you all have pubhckly done. And I warn all honest Episcopal Divines, that they take heed of drawing your Guilt upon them, and of concursing with Men of such dangerous Principles as you are; your way to Concord must be like the Romanists (the greatest Schismaticks on the Face of the Earth) who cry up Unity, Unity, but themselves must be the Centre, or it must be only in their Way and on their Terms. They will unite with no Chrifhians in all the World that are not of their Party, (for a Party they are, though they will be called the Catholic Church) and do not you go this way too far? You will have Concord with none as Ministers, but those of your own Party, all the reft must be no Ministers with you, nor their People take them for fuch. Durfy you (whoever you are, or I if you know not) be bound to anwer for us, and bear us out before God in Judgment, if we should all give up our Places or preach no more? durfy you be bound upon pain of Damnation to your selves to fave all our People from being condemned for it if they should all renounce and forfike us, and all the Ministerial Worship of God which we perform, and the Churches we guide? Alas it is not your telling us, that the Holy Saint Ignation is lately vindicated, that will satisfy our Conciences in a Cafe of this Moment, even to leave God unworshipped Publicky, and our People untaught, and let Satan reign, and Souls perish by Thousands for fear of living them without Episcopal Ordination. If you iflly fay that we should be of your Mind, and be ordained by Bishops, we again fay our judgments are not at our Command; we cannot believe what we lift, I know multitudes of Anti-Episcopal Men that study as faithfully and seek God's Direction as heartily as any of you all (and yet cannot fee the Juflefs of your Cafe, (though whether it be just or not, I purpofely forbear to pafs my Cenfure) if iflly you fay, it is our Wilfulness or Peevifhness; I leave you, as Ulirpers of God's Prerogative, and pretending to that Knowledge of our Hearts which is a step above the Papal Arrogation of Infallability. Nay, feeing I have gone so far, I will add this; do you not imitate the Papills in the main Point of Recusancy, by which we were wont to know them in England? Nay, we had many Church Papills that went not fo far? mutt not you, as they, have People defhaim our Miniftiy and Assemblies, and not join in them for fear of owning unordained Men. Be not too angry with us, I pray you, if we call not such Proteftants; or at leat if we take it for imposible to have Concord with them. 2. I must alio tell you that are offended at my Saying, that thole particular Bishops named, deferred to be call out, that if you be one that dare own them in their Ways, or would have the Church have such as they, yes, that do not deteft and lament their Milcarriages, feem to your felf as Pious as you will, you are no Man for our Company
pany and Concord. Do you complain of me for want of Christian Charity; and yet would you have the Church have such Bishops as would call out such Men as Ains, Parker, Baini, Bradfaw, Dod, Hildyfaw, with Multitudes of as pain-
ful, able, Godly Men as the World knew, and leave to so many drunken reading
Sots, Fome (thereabouts) Faggot-Makers or Rope-Makers; many that did (and
that lately whether we will or not, till the late Act) get their Living by unlawful
Marriages, and such Courts as is a Shame to Mention, yea, would you have Bish-
ops that would do as your Bishop Were, Pierce, and the others did, whole Accu-
fations are upon Record. By my part I think such Men destroying the Church
was the cause of all our wars and Mifery; and he that dare own them in it after all
this, is no Man for our Association: I have no Man the worse for being for Bishops
but for being for such Bishops and such Practices I do. They are yet alive, en-
quire what Men Mr. D'Ange and Mr. Turner are, who were the Teachers of this
Parish, and what the People were then, and what they are now? Grant but Pierce,
Love and Concord to be better than Ignorance and Debauchery, and then judge
of them.

Page 64. Speaking of Episcopal Divines he faith, and if Liberty of Seats and Sep-
arations be publicly granted and confirmed to all, you shall then find that the
Party that I am now dealing with, will soon by their Numbers obscure all other Par-
ties that now trouble our Peace, ibid. pag. 64. p. 13.

Reply to Setl. 22.

It was my necessary care to distinguish between Protestant Bishops and Popilh
(of Caffend's strain) and it is your Care with all liberty to obscure the Distinction,
that you may involve the honest Party in your Guilt and Snares. That which I
there spoke of only of Pupilh Bishops, and their Party (you would intimate that I
spake of the Episcopal Protestants; then which nothing less is true, as my Words ful-
ly shew. I tell you plainly, such Bishops as Uffer, Hall, Morton, J ewel, &c. are
twenty fold nearer me in Judgment than they are to you, if you be one of the
Caffandrian Papilhs that there I speak against; why then should they not sooner
join with us than with you? If ever God set up Episcopal Government where I
live (yea though I were unsatisfied of its right) I will obey them in all things not
against the Word of God, were it but for Peace and Unity.

Except to Setl. 23.

They would have all the People take us for no Ministers, &c. and so all God's
Worship be neglected in publick, where no Bishops and their Mifionaries are,
and so when all others are diseased or turned out, the Papilhs may freely enter;
there being none but these few faithful Friends of their own to keep them out; which
how well they will do, you may by these conjectures and n. 15. of the same
Page. But it is a higher Charge than Popery that these Episcopal Doctors that I
now speak of are liable to, &c.

Reply to Setl. 23.

Is not this true; How much of it do you plainly maintain in this Writing? I
had rather you had freed your selves of the Charge then called it Uncha-
ritable.

Except to Setl. 24.

Pag. 66. N. 5. Speaking to those same Men he faith, You must be certain that
those fame Men had Intentionen Ordination (if you be right Papilhs indeed) did
ever any one ever hear and read any one sing English Episcopal Doctor require
Intention as necessary to Ordination? If not call you that Speech of Mr. Baxter's
Christian Charity.

Reply to Setl. 24.

Remember this, that no Protestants, say Presbyters, have no more Power than
the Ordainer intended them. You may see by that that I speak to Papilhs, why then
would you intimate that it was to Protestant Bishops?

Except. to Setl. 25.

Pag. 67. Do not these Mens Grounds leave it certain that Christ hath no true
Church or Miniftry, or Ordinances or Baptized Christians in England, may in all
the Western Church, and perhaps not in the whole World? and then see whether
these Popilh Divinces must not prove Seekers.

Reply to Setl. 25.

O that you would vindicate them from that Charge (though heavy) by proving
the uninterrupted canonical Succession from the Apostilles.

Except.
APPENDIX. Num. I.

Except. to Sel. 26.

Pag. 47. Speaking of some under the Name of Episcopal Divines faith, that they withdraw the People from obeying their Pallors, by pretending a Necessity of Episcopacy, &c. and partly infill into them such Principles as may prepare them for flat Popery; and yet in the next Page 48. faith, that those same Men do themselves (viz. Mr. Chiseland against Vanes, Mr. Waterhouse for Learning, Zealous Men for Episcopacy) publish to the World what a pack of notorious, ignorant, silly Souls, or wicked unclearn Perfons those are that are turned Papists. How now can Mr. Baxter call those Men that so publish, &c. faithful Friends to Rome? pag. 64. See how Uncharitableness betrays and accuses it self in its busy Accusatons of others; and multi justify them per Force of Truth when it would condemn.

Reply to Sel. 26.

Why is the Scopes of this your Writing, but to prove that we are not Papists? and would you not then draw the People from acknowledging us such? This is like the Man that swears he never swore in his Life; you blame me with charging you with what you contend for. 2. But you do with as little Candor as verity fay that in the next Page it isthove fame Men that I speak of, when I purposely and plainly call these [Gentlemen of the Episcopal Protestant Party] as distinct from the Caffandrian Papists, and as helping us in the Discovery of the Danger. But I perceive it is your Desire to make Men believe that I took them for all. But a good Cause needs not such a way of Defence: Did you think that the learned Doctor to whom you wrote would believe you who had my Book at hand, and could see that your Words were false? And is it not strange that upon such a dishonest Foundation you can build such a triumphant Exclamation as follows, [See how Uncharitableness betrays and accuses it self.] &c.

Exception to Sel. 27.

Pag. 50. n. 4. [If these that I dispute with will fiew themselves openly to be Papists, and plead that Women or Lay-Men may baptize in cafe of Necessity, &c.] See, fee Magiferial canting crying out Popery upon whatever likes him not: Doth he know whom he here condemns for Papists? Yes he doth, for he tells us, pag. 87. that the 38th Canon Eliberini Concilii (and he tells us right) decrees, that in cafe of necessity a Lay Man may baptize; well an ancient Catherick Council held under the primitive pure Times, whilst Perfection yet exercised the Church; more ancient than the Council of Nice, and whereof Augius Opus Concilior was a part, is peacbt of Popery too, together with us. Enough of this, I might add much more. All this within the compass of twenty Leaves, from pag. 45. to 85.

Reply to Sel. 27.

All this but a mere Miiftake (whether willing or unwilling): I never took this Point alone enough to denominate a Man a Papist; but because it is a Point wherein the Papists generally hold one way, and the Protestant another, I take it to be a fuller Discovery which side the forementioned Perfons are of: I durft not fay that the Error of Purgatory, or praying for the Dead, or praying to Saints, no, nor Transubftantiation alone is sufficient to denominate a Man a Papist. But yet I think it a Man would degrade our Minifters, and unchurch our Churches, and all the Reformed Churches that have not Bifhops and maintain the Romish Ordination, and Church, and yet fay he is not a Papist; your Addition of one of these would further the Discovery; I am not ignorant that Tertullian and others speak of Lay Mens Baptizing in cafe of necessity (but not for Women, though Pamelius would pervert Tertullian's Words for that End).

Except. to Sel. 28.

To give you a Taffe when he quotes Fathers as he quoted above the 80th Canon Apoftolical to eject our Bifhops: So alfo when he would prove that the ancient Church held it lawful for Minifters to impose Hands for the confirming of Parties baptized, pag. 58. for Proof of what he faith he pretends to but Two Authors, viz. Ambrose in Epef. 4. and Auguffin quaft. ex vet. & novo Testam. mixt: both certainly Spurious Pieces, and the latter the Work of an Heretick.

Reply to Sel. 28.

You go farther the worfe: I quoted Bifhop Downname as one of the Episcopal Protestants, to shew that it is their Judgment, that Minifters ordained without Bifhops may be true Minifters: Now because the Bifhop brings thence two Testimonies on the by about Confirmation and Reconciliation of Penitents, you do (in my Judgment not well). 1. Feign me to be the Speaker of thofe Words, and the Allledger of thofe Authors when it was a Bifhop; and his Words go cited because
a Bishop. 2. You make mee to do it, in order to prove the Power of Ministers to impose Hands on the Confirmed and Reconciled, when even Bishop Downham brought in that and these Testimonies thereto, but as subj[ec]tive to the others. But perhaps you left some occasion of this mistake, to charge mee with the Words of the Bishop: No, none at all, I enclosed his Words with this Mark [—] and after I wrote [so far Bishop Downham] that there might be no place for such an Oversight. But where you talk of [but two Authors] for this I thought you had known how easy it is to bring more: For if it be the Ceremony of Imposing Hands that you would deny to the Presbyters, it was so far from being denied them, anciently, that even the English Bishops allowed it them in Ordination, which is the greater. If you mean the Power of Confirming and Reconciling, it's known the Bishops might delegate Presbyters to it, and the Corefpons used it; yea, Presbyters I think in some Cases. And for Reconciliation, Bishop Ufher tells you in the Words I cited, that even Deacons used it or had it: Yet is not the Testimony of those Authors contemptible; that ascribed to Ambrose, is taken by Echius to be Remigius or Anfilame; by Maldonate to be Remigius, by Buggeus and Bellarmine to be Hilarius Diaconus. And well might Downham allledge them against the Papists when Bellarmine, the Repinfts, Alan, and others so oftenth them and quote them, as Ambrose when it serves their turns. And for the Book of Ques: in Art, &c., Tert. The Papists citing it (Bellarmine, Harding, Turrian, Eckins, Cape, Repinfts, &c.), Downham might well cite it ad Hominem; yea, ad Rem, it being matter of Fact that he speaks to, and the Author so ancient, that Hierome seems to take notice of him.

Except. to Sel. 29.

In all this you see I have not disputed the Cafe with him (but only discovered to you his manner) for that he himself professed he is resolved in this Book to forbear the Dispute, p. 79, princip. & pag. 77, he would give us to understand that he hath much more behind that he can lay by way of Argument (for this is only crying out, Popery, Papift, &c.) for Presbyters Power of Governing, Excommunicating; ordaining without a Bishop. Let him be intreated to do it, and lay aside his poor kind of calumniating his Adversary, and deal Christianly by Arguments only, and he shall soon be answered, I believe. For the present he may know his Papers prevail not, but only provoke those he writes against.

Reply to Sel. 29.

It's strange that to call a Papift a Papift should be accounted Calumnation! I profess to speak of none but Caffandrian Papifts. I name none. They that are not such, have no reason to say that I calumniate them, when I professedly accept, and honour, and seek Reconciliation with them. They that are such, methinks, should not be ashamed of it. It's an ill Religion which a Man must be ashamed of; and an ill Profession that is ashamed of a true Religion. 2. That my Papers prevail not but provoke, is no wonder; 1. The Papifts I expected to provoke by discovering their Designs, and attempted not to prevail with them. 2. The Protestants whom I spoke to may be prevailed with for ought you know: All be not of one Spirit. If they be not, I have Comfort in following Peace as far as I could, which they will never find in flying from it. While every Man must be a Pope, and reduce all the World to his infallible Judgment as the only means to Peace, and will agree with none but Men of his own Principles, no wonder if Pacificatory Attempts are frustrate. Dureus, Aecentius, Doenent, Hall, Melanthon, &c. found that better Labours than mine have been frustrate, for Unity, I blest God, my Success is far more than I did expect; but it is with the Sons of Peace.

Except. to Sel. 30.

These things shall be defended against him (through God's Grace): 1. That if there be no Bishop in any Dioces, yet in a National Church, where many Bishops had united themselves to govern parts of one National Church, they ought to have recourse to some neigbour Bishop.

2. That if Presbyters (in defect of Bishops) might Ordain, Excommunicate; yet not one single Presbyter.

3. That such as were never Ordained by Bishops where they might, are none of these Presbyters; none at all.

Reply to Sel. 30.

I am of as quarrellsom a Nature as others; but yet I will not be provoked to turn a conciliatory Delign into a Contention, and if I would, your Questions are ill fitted to our use. 1. The First will necessarily carry us to dispute the fust Divifions of Bishops, which I purposely avoid, and it should be after the laft. 2. The Second.
if I yield it you, is nothing against our Agreement. 2. The Third I cannot dispute well till I know what you will yield in the excepted Case. I would desire you, as a more orderly and effectual way to our Ends, to do these three Things: 1. Tell me plainly whether you take the Reformed Churches of Holland, France, Scotland, Helvetia, Geneva, &c. for true organized Churches, and their Pastors for true Pastors and Presbyters? and Ordination by Presbyters to be valid in their Case. 2. seeing you plainly seems to take an uninterrupted Succession of authoritative Ordination to be of flat Necessity to the being of the Ministry, will you give us a clear Proof of such a Succession de facto, either to your self, or any Man now living. I earnestly intreat you deny me not this, nor say it is needless; I have told you the need of it in those Papers. Again I pray you put it not off. 3. Seeing you profess to be for Concord, and yet reject our Terms, as a Schismatical Combination, will you propound your own Terms, the lowest condescending Terms which you can possibly yield to, which may tend to our Cloister? If you only contend against our Way and will not find a better, nor use any Endeavours of your own in its stead, what Man of Reason will believe your Profession of [the strong Inclination of the Heart to Concord and Peace]? I again intreat you instead of contending, to perform these Three things, which will exceedingly further the much desired Work. And for my part, though you and Millions of Men oppose it, I am resolved, by the Grace of God, to desire, pray, and labour for Peace and the Unity of the Church, upon Honest and Possible, not Romish or Sinful Terms, while I am

Dec. 23. 1653.


N. II. Mr. Johnson's First Letter to Mr. Baxter, about the Point of Ordination.

S I R,

BEING very much unsatisfied in the reading of your late Discourse concerning the Interrupted Succession of the Ministry, I thought good to take Advantage from your own Offer, friendly and freely to debate the Question with you: And I shall lay out my Thoughts to you in this Method; 1. I will give you the Reasons which makes me (if it be Papistical) to abet the Papists in pleading for an uninterrupted Succession. 2. I will reply to your Arguments, whereby you dispute the Succession of the Ministry of England to be interrupted. 3. I will offer you some Reasons why an infallible Proof of the Point is not necessary in the Case. 4. I will produce such Arguments as shall put it beyond doubting, and so shall leave, indubitable, though not infallible Proof of the Question in your Hands.

1. First, I shall give you the Reasons why I plead so seriously for the uninterrupted Succession, and I shall do this in the first place, because all the rest will be Supervacuous, if it be a Matter of no great Consequence, whether there be a Succession or not. If therefore you can satisfy my Arguments whereby I plead for the Necessity, and give me Reason enough to underhand, that an Uninterrupted Succession of the Ministry is not much material, I will give my self the Trouble of Contriving what you have said against it, and you some Trouble of making a needless Reply.

Now the first Reason which induceth me to believe that it is a matter of much more Consequence than you talk of, is the Serosities of our Divines in their Endeavours to prove that the Bishops in Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth's Days were Ordained by Bishops, against the Calumnies of Sanders, Kelinon, Chalmes, and other Pelletiers, who in their Writings would have bore the World in Hand, that the Succession of the Ministry of England had been interrupted at the Reformation, because there were none but Papish Bishops to Ordain them, and they would not, and so none did. But as you know, had devised a Story of the Nag's Head Ordination. Now you also know there hath been much Endeavour made
by searching the *Archives at Lambeth* to clear up the Ordination of our first Reformers, that thereby they might invalidate the Papists Calumny of our Succession; being interrupted. But if Succession in Office (for Succession in Doctrine I neither speak of, neither did they plead for) be a matter of so small a Consequence; our learned Country-Men might have said themselves much Labour and Trouble, and in a few Words have told the Jesuits, that an Uninterrupted Succession was a thing not worth pleading for: But on the other side, we fee them acknowledge Succession in Office to be necessary, and contend that there hath been no such Interruption in our Ministry.

II. The Second Argument which persuades me to believe that the pleading for a Succession is of great Moment, is this, *viz.* That without this I do not understand how we that are now Ministers can be said to have our Authority from Christ: For we must have it from him either mediate, or immediately. But we cannot have it mediate from him, if the Succession be interrupted; for if we have it mediate from him, we must have it by the Mediation of some Person, who at length had it immediately from him: But if the Succession be interrupted, we cannot have it from any Person that had it immediately from him, or his Apostles. This is a kind of Contradiction *in adjecto*, and therefore we cannot have it mediate from Christ: If you deny the Consequence, and say, that we may have our Authority from Christ mediate, though we have it not from some Person who had it immediately from him. I demand how; if you say by the Mediation of his written Word. I answer, that the written Word is no fit medium to convey the Authority of the Ministry now a days upon any Men: And that upon this Account; The giving of Authority which we talk of, is an Action terminated upon *sum individuum* in this Age. But the Scriptures meddle not with any of the *individuum* of these times, and therefore it cannot give any Authority unto any single Person now a days.

The *Major* I think is clear, the *Minor* I prove thus: If the Scripture meddle with any of the *individuum* of this Age, it doth either quoad Nomen, or quoad *Adjunctum aliquid incommunicabile*, or by some general Description which may be personally and particularly applied to some *individuum*. But I am confident you will not say it doth either of the two former ways, neither doth it (say I) by the third way, and therefore not at all. That it doth not give any Authority to any single person by way of general Description I prove thus: If it doth, it must be in some such Form of Words, or Words of equivalent to thefe. They that are thus and thus qualified may be Ministers of the Word: but there is no such Form of Words in Scripture. There is I confess such a Form of Words in the Scripture as this, They that preach the Word shall be thus and thus qualified. But if any *individuum* shall venture upon the Application of this Proposition; to take the Authority of the Ministry upon himself; The Application I conceive must proceed in this Form. But I am thus, and thus, and thus qualified: therefore I may preach the Word. But this is to proceed *ex omnibus affirmatis* in the second Figure, which you know makes a wild Conclusion. If you say that there is such a Form of Words, which being the *Major*, may be accommodated to any single Person in the *Minor*, as he may thereby infer this Conclusion; Therefore I, *M.j.* or I, *R.B.* have Authority to preach the Gospel, and this without respect to any Action to be performed by some Person, *quasi mediator*; then I will yield that I have been beating the Air all this while. I have said nothing to the first Branch of the first Proposition, concerning our having our Authority immediately from Jesus Christ, neither do I mean to tell I know that it will be denied.

Authority I conceive to be far different from either Abilities to undergo an Employment, or a willing Mind to undertake it, or Conveniency of Habitation for the Discharge of it, or the Desire of any kind of Men inviting a Man to it: I say, I conceive Authority for the Discharge of any Office to be very far wide from any one of these, or altogether: For a Man may have all these, and yet want Authority. For Example, in civil Matters: A Gentleman may be abundantly qualified to be a Judge of the Peace, he may have a willing Mind to do his Country Service in that way, his Habitation for such an Employment may be more than Convenient, he may be put upon it, and invited to it by his Country Neighbours; and yet for all this, no Man will take him for an Officer in the Common-wealth, till his Name be in the Commission from the Supreme Magistrate, and he taken his Oath as a Stipulation to the supreme Magistrate on his Part, for his

Faithful
APPENDIX. Numb. II.

Faithful Discharge in it. Neither would any understanding Man think himself obliged to obey his Warrants, if he should have the Confidence to issue out any before the compleating Acts be done, notwithstanding all the former Preparations towards it.

In like manner to the thing in Hand about Ecclesiastical Officers: A Man, I doubt not, may have competent Qualifications for the Work of the Ministry, he may have a willing Mind to the Employment, he may have an Habitation fit for the Oversight of such a Congregation, he may be invited by them to undertake the Care and Oversight of them; and yet, for all this, till Jesus Christ, the Supreme Governor of his Church, shall by his Vicarios Episcopus, put his Name into the Commision and take reciprocal Security from him for his faithful Discharge in it, he neither can, nor ever was esteemed a Miniffer duly authorized. And therefore, though God as in the Case of a Civil Magistrate, may very fitly and properly be fai to do all as you urge, I think out of Spolatons. So he may be fai in the Cafe of Ecclesiastical Officers to be fai properly and fitly to do all; yet he doth not all the Work without the Mediation of his Vice-gerents, and I cannot see but that part of the Work which he hath left for them to do, is as necessary for the compleating and perfecting of the Work, as that which he doth without their Mediation; and by conformance, if that part of the Work be left undone, the whole Work is as imperfect and incomplete, as if this had been done, but the other Parts left undone. Here is in this, I confefs, some thing taken pro confeso, that Jesus Christ hath some Vice-gerents here on Earth, and that he hath left some part of this Work in their Hands for them to do: Which being a Matter of Fact, shall be proved when I know it is denied.

III. But Thirdly, My Third Argument is this: I do therefore plead for an uninterrupted Succession, because it appears to me that most of the Invaders and Intruders upon the Miniflerial Office, are very much strengthened and justified in their Schism and Usurpation, if Succession be not material. For I will not deny but many of them are Men comperently qualified, and all of them willing to undertake the Work, live conveniently, or will live conveniently to discharge the Work, are chosen by a Number of Chriftians who call them out to it: Now if all this make them Miniflers authorized, why do we clamour against them? Why do we not give them the Right Hand of Fellowship and Brotherthhood in the Work of the Lord? If you fay, they take this Course for their Call, when there is no necessity; if you fay, this is a Course only to be used in extreme Necessity; when either the Parties think that there are no Church Officers in being, or those that are in being be do corrupt and wicked, as either they will not give them Orders, or they dare not take Orders from them. I anfwer, That this extreme necessity is their Cafe: They think there be no fuch things as Chrifls Church Officers now in being; or if they be, they are fuch as either will not give them Orders, or fuch as they dare take no Orders from: And therefore they are now excufable upon fuch an Hypothefis as you propound. Whereas, do but grant a Succession uninterrupted neceffity, it will uncontrouably follow, that they are therefore no Miniflers of Chrifl, because they have not been for a part by fuch who at length took their Authority from Chrifls own Hands.

If you fay that there is a neceffity of a Difpenfation in cafe of a general Aposfacy, although the difpenfing with Ordination in fuch Extremity doth furnifh Sectaries with a Foundation to buil their Schisms upon. I anfwer, I. That we fuppofe what which yet never fell out, nor ever is likely to fail out. There was never yet fuch a general Aposfacy but Chrifl kept some Church Officers in being, who might from Age to Age continue the Propagation of the Miniflerial Office to his Church. Nay, it is admirably worth our Consideration, that when God firled up the drouzy World to depart from Rome's Superftitions and Idolatries, he then bowed the Heats of some of the Church-Officers to go along with them, who might be inftumental for the converting of the Miniflerial Office to the next Generation; and took away the Subject of this over anxious Enquiry, what muft we do if all apoffariz? what God did then, we may probably hope he will always do in the like Exigency. But if you should be inportunate, and demand what must be done in fuch a general Aposfacy. I anfwer, I cannot tell either what Impiety or Aburdity would follow, if I should affirm, that in fuch an extraordinary Difpenfation of Providence, the faithful might safely wait for some extraordinary Revelation of God's Mind what they should do in fuch an unknown, unprecedented Cafe. And if this be to turn Seeker, I confefs I something incline to.
Numb. II. APPENDIX.

Mr. Baxter's Reply to Mr. Johnson, against the absolute Necessity of Ordination, and of an uninterrupted Succession therefrom, from the Apostles, to the Being of the Ministerial Office.

Brother,

I return you this Answer to yours; but on this Condition, that before you make any Reply to it, you perform the other Parts of your undertaken Task, or at least, the two last; for I think it is a farther way in such Cases as this, to argue a non sibi ad nova instaurationem (the Church hath not had such an uninterrupted Succession: Ergo, God hath not made it absolutely necessary) than from a supposed Institution to an answerable Event (God hath made it absolutely necessary: Ergo, the Church hath enjoined it); because it is incomparably more easy to discern the Matter of such publick Fact, than to discern the meaning of those Texts which will be alleged by each Party in these controverted circumsitential Points; And you know, we must argue a notio ad minorem rem, and not contrariwise. I could with the Question had been exactly traced by joint Consent, to avoid tedious Explications and Excursions. We must first distinguish the Succession of Office, and Succession of Ordination to that Office: One Question is not directly of the former, for

IV. My Fourth Argument is this; We ought therefore to contend for an uninterrupted Succession, because if the Succession be interrupted; then that Person who immediately comes into the Ministry after the Interruption, must come into it without Impostion of Hands; and if he without Impostion of Hands be still a lawful Minister, then it will follow, that Impostion of Hands is a matter rather of Convenience than of Necessity. But Impostion of Hands is essential to Ordination. I know there are some Schoolmen that contend against this; but this is a Question not subject to any Man's way of reasoning a Naturali Ratio. For if Christ hath declared, that it is his Mind any Ordinance shall be performed after such or such a Manner, it is too much Confidence for any Man to say, or go about to prove, such an Ordinance may be performed as well another Way, or after another Manner: when as the Fittness of the Manner of doing the thing done, is not founded in Naturali Ratio, but in bene placito infitutum; Hardly therefore as Christ hath revealed to his Church that it is his Mind, or Will that his Churches Officers should be set a part by Impostion of Hands, or doth therefore follow that Impostion of Hands is necessary and essential to their Separation: If you ask me how I know that it was Christ's Will and Mind, that Impostion of Hands should be used in the Ordination of Ministers, I answer, first: That if you expect I should shew an express Command for it, I acknowledge there is none: Or any implicit Command, I acknowledge I know none: But rejoin with all, that the Mind and Will of Christ may be otherwise made known. Those Scriptures where Impostion of Hands is spoken of, commented upon by the Universal Practice of the Church of Christ from the first Age, until this wild, expectant, last Century, seem to me a most clear Evidence what the Will of Christ is in that Particular, and will still appear so, till you shew me a better way, how to discover the Mind of Christ in such Cases as these at this Distance. If you expect that I should prove that it hath been the constant, universal Practice of the Church of God: I shall likewise do that when I know that it is required, and all the rest in the Argument granted.

And now, Sir, if this Interruption of Succession, being yielded; doth necessarily call out some of the Essentials in Ordination, if it strengthens the Hands of Intruders, if it hinders us from having our Authority from Christ, if our learned Country-men have taken so much Pains to clear up an Uninterrupted, then I think it follows, that it is a Matter worth the pleading for: Which is the only Empl. 8. 15. 12 of this Paper.

M. Johnson.
for even the Usurper succeedeth in the Office as a Usurper, and it is part of our Controversy, whether the later (Succession of Ordination) be of flat Necessity to the former (Succession in Office). It being then the Necessity of an uninterrupted Succession of Ordination that we enquire after, it must be known what we mean by Ordination. 

It's one thing to ask whether Ordination be necessary; and another, whether Impostion of Hands, or present Fathing and Prayer be necessary; yea, or the Presence of the Person Ordaining; seeing a Man may be Ordained, Constituted or authorized, per literas absentis, and not only per manus vel verba presentis, whether this Mode be as meet as any, we now question not. Allo its one thing to ask whether God's Ordination be necessary, and another, whether Man's be necessary. Allo it is one thing to enquire of the Necessity of the Fact of Ordaining; and another, of the Necessity of a just Authority in the Ordainer to do it; where it will be needful to consider what is of Necessity to the Constitution of such Authority, and what destroys it: Before all which it would be necessary to know what the Ordainer's Work is, and to what and how far his Power extends: But this I am not now to meddle in. That a Divine Ordination is of Necessity, to the Litigation of our Calling in foro Dei, I grant; as also, in foro Conscientiae Miniftriis. That authoritative Ordination of Men, is necessary Ordinis Gratia, when it may be obtained, and where God's Providence doth not make it naturally, or morally impossible, I also grant. That Impostion of Hands with solemn Prayer, is the most convenient manner, and necessary for the Ordainer to use, Necesitate Preccepti & Medii ad bene effer Ordinationis, I also grant. That the Power of Ordaining is ordinarily only in the Hands of Christ's Ecclesiastical Ministers, I acknowledge (whether Bishops or Presbyters we now question not) and that it is not involved to any others, but in Case of Necessity. The Things then that I deny are, that Impostion of Hands, or present Prayer, or the Presence of the Ordainer are of Necessity to our Office. That the true, just Authority of an Ecclesiastical Ordainer is of Necessity to the being of our Office: And consequently, that an uninterrupted Succession of Just, Authoritative, Ecclesiastical Ordination from the Apollos, is of absolute necessity to the being of our Calling. Nay, that any Authoritative Human Ordination at all, besides the Peoples mere Content is of such absolute, indispensible Necessity ad effer Office; all this I deny. And my Opinion is, that in Case of a falling of all Ecclesiastical Authoritative Ordination, the Magistrates Ordination may suffice ad effer Office: And in case both fall, the Peoples mere Acceptance, Consent, or Election may suffice, supposing the Person meetly qualified. And whether you will call this act of the People a Constitution, or Ordination, or not, I am indifferent. Certainly kasfiona oft signifies the Constituting, which is not an Act of Government, or superior Authority. But no Term hath so much need of Explication as the Word (Office) or (Ministry) which is the Terminus of Ordination. An Office is a fitted Power or Authority, or Faculty with Duty of doing certain Works to certain Ends. The Ministerial Office of a Presbyter, is to be distinguished ab objcto & a fine. The Authority and the Duty in a lawful Officer go together: Such a one only is in sensu primario & proprio an Officer: But he that is a Usurper, or hath no lawful Call, may yet both. Have all the Duty of that Office lying upon him, and by his own Intrusion oblige himself to the Performance, and yet want the true Authority for performing it, seeing he came in without God's Call, and there is no Power but of God. 2. And he may have the Name of an Officer, though given him but analogically, or in sensu secundario & ecclesiastic. 3. And the Church may owe him that Respect and Observance due to a lawful Officer (the Reason is, because it is one thing to know who is a truly lawful Officer; as in Matter of Membership, I am bound to use many as true Christians, even all that have the Profession of such) who yet are not such: So am I bound to take all those for lawful Officers that have the external Tokens of such, seeing we cannot know any farther; though they be not such indeed). 4. And all that Man's Ministerial Actions are valid to the Church that doth her Duty in obeying him, and yet they are all null or unlawful, and flat Sins to the Performer. The Reason of the later is, both because no Man can lawfully do that which he hath no Authority given him for, and because nemini ex proprio crimen debetur beneficium; and Ergo, his Usurpation cannot secure him. The Reason of the former is, because Duty and Benefit go together, and therefore the Church that performeth but her Duty in taking thole to be truly called Pastors that seem so to be.
having those Tokens which she is bound to judge by as probable, must needs have the Benefit of his Ministry in their way of Duty; for God requireth no Duty in vain: As also because nemini debetur post ex alinea culpa, qua talis est. Now whether we shall dispute de necessitate ordinantium ad efficiendum & legitimum proprius & primario, sic de diuini, & in foro Dei? Or only as ad Officium antiquum secundario & minus proprius in foro tantum ecclesiæ sic de diuini? is to be considered. How far your Sense will concur I know not, but in respect of both these do I hold my former Negations. Yet further, before I either answer your Arguments, or determine of the Sense of our Question, it is very necessary that the end of our Enquiry be understood, which in order must go before the means. I take it for granted, that you do not dispute this question as necessary to be determined in order to old Association; before you can join with the present Ministry: Or yet as necessary to the Determination of that further Question, whether those are true Ministers that are not Ordained by Bishops? and those true Organized Churches that have only such Ministers? for if I thought this were your end, I would dispute many other Questions, if, before we came to this; and try first whether you could prove that the Presbyterian Churches cannot produce a Succession of true Ordination, of the same Grounds as the Episcopal for the main. But I suppose your Ends are other, and in especial those mentioned in your Paper: I conjecture that I shall next offer your Sense, if I state the Question thus: Whether an Ordination by Ecclesiastical Men, having just Authority thereto, be in all Times and Places that the Apostles of absolute Necessity to the very being of the Ministerial Office, both coram Deo, & coram Ecclesiis? and consequently an uninterrupted Succession of such Ordination be of the same Necessity? For if I should put the Question about Imposition of Hands, or de modo aliquo ordiniis, I know not but I might miss of your Sense on one Side; and on the other, if I should extend it to all Ordination, whether by Magistrates or others.

All 1°. Your First Argument I suppose should be formed thus: That which the English Bishops thought necessary to prove against the Papists, that is necessary to be proved against them: But the English Bishops thought it necessary against the Papists to prove the Non-Interuption of their Succession in just Ordination: Ego, &c. 1. Concedo toto: It was necessary to prove it against the Papists arguing ad Hominem, because it is the way of fuller Conviction and Satisfaction when a Man can contrive an Adversary on his own Grounds. It will much shorten the Dispute when we shew them, that though we should grant the Necessity of such Succession, yet we need not grant the Nullity of our Calling. 2. I deny that the English Bishops much left the Church of England did ever judge it necessary any farther than ad Hominem: 1. Because it is apparent that they do ordinarily in their Writings speak against the Papists supposing Necessity of Ordination, as I instanced out of some of them in my Book. It is known to be a Point wherein the Protestants have commonly oppossed the Papists. 2. It is known to be but the later declining Generation of Bishops, such as Montague, Land, and their Confederates, most in King Charles his Days, very few in King James's, and scarce any at all in Queen Elizabeth's, that do join with the Papists in pleading the Necessity of Succession: Every such Men as were as zealous against Queen Elizabeth's Episcopal Protestants, as against the Papists, at least many of them. 3. The rest do expressly mention Succession, and confute the Fable of the Mag-Hed Ordination in Christside, to prove the Papists Slanderers: So much to your Minor. 3°. If that will not serve, I deny your Major: All is not necessary that they thought necessary: Protestants pretend, not to Infallibility in Controversies. Many more, perhaps ten to one at least, of the English Clergy held it not necessary, unless as aforesaid.

All 2°. Your Second Argument hath all the Strength in it, or rather shew of Strength: first we must needs distinguish of your Terms (Mediately and Immediately). A Constitution may be said to be from Christ mediately, either in Respect to a mediating Person, or to some mediating Sign only. Also it may be said to be mediatum personæ: 1. when the Person is the cause totalis subordinatei contingens, as having himself received the Power from God, and being as from himself to convey it unto Man. 2. Or when the Person is but Causa per accidens. 3. Or when he is only Causa pro causis, vel quatenus impedimentum renovit, vel quatenus ejus Alliones sunt conditiones conditiones. And so Lantier, 1. Immediately in the first absolute Sense & excluding personas & rei, no Man ever had any Right communicated, or Duty imposed on him by God, unless perhaps the immediate Imperit, or supernatural Revelation of the Holy Ghost to some Prophet or Apostle might be said to do this. Moses himself had the Ten Commandments written in Stone, which were
were *signa medietia*. Tho' that heard God speak (if any immediately without Angelical Interposition) did receive God's Commands *mediante verborum *figo. So did the Apostles that which they had from the Mouth of Christ. 2. God is so ab-solutely the Fountain of all Power, that no Man can either have or give any Pow-er, but derivatively from him, and by his Commission: Man being no farther the Efficient of Power, than he is so constituted of God; the general way of his giving it, must be by the Signification of God's Will; and so far as that can be sufficiently discovered, there needs no more to the Conveyance of Power. Whether Men be properly efficient Causes of Church Power at all, is a very hard Question, espe-cially as to those over whom they have no superior governing Power. As *Spoliatio*-sa hath taken great pains to prove that Kings or other Sovereigns of the Common-wealth have their Commission and Power immediately from God, though the People sometimes may choose the Man (for the Power was not given to the People first, and then they give it the King; but God lays them name the Man, on whom he will immediately confer it) so possibly may it be in Ordination of Church-Officers. Three ways do Men mediate in the Nomination of the Person; 1. When they have Authority of Regiment over others, and *explentidurum potestas* do convey efficiently to inferior Officers the Power that these have. Thus doth the supream Rector of the Commonwealth to his Officers; and Ergo, they are cal-led the Kings Officers, and he hath the choice of the very Species, as well as of the individual Officers. Now this way of mediating is not always, if at all necessary or possible in the Church; for the Papists themselves confess, that the Pope is Or-dained or authorized without this way of Efficiency: for none have a Papal Pow-er to convey to him; His Ordination cannot be *Adsum Superioris*. And the Coun-cil of Trent could not agree whether it were not the Cafe of all Bishops to hold their Office immediately from Christ, though under the Pope, or whether they had their Power immediately from the Pope as the prime Seat on Earth, of all Church Power who is to convey their Parts to others. How the Spanish Bishops held up their Cause is known: And it was the old Doctrine of the Church, that all Bishops were equal, and had no Power one over another, but all held their Pow-er directly from Christ, as *Cyprian* told them in the Council of Carthage. Add to this, that the true old Apofohal Episcopacy was in each particular Church, and not over many Churches together (I speak of fixed Bishops) till the matter becom-ing too big to be capable of the old Form, *Corruptionem fuit generatio alteria*: and they that upon the increase of Christians, should have helped the Swarm into a new Hive, did, through natural Ambition of ruling over many, retaine divers Churches under their Charge, and then ceased to be of the Primitive sort of Bi-Shaps: *Non est rogat, non munus idem; eiamsi idem non vobis* retinetur. So that truly our Parish Ministers, who are sole or chief Pastors of that Church are the old sort of Bishops; for as *Ambrose*, and after him, *Gratian* argues, *qui ante se alter-un non habebat, Episcopus erat*: That is, *in eadem Ecclesia quis superiorem non habet*? So that not only all Diocesan Bishops, but also all Parochial Bishops are Ordained per partes, and so not by a governing Communication of Power; which is that sec-ond way of Ordination, when men that are of equal Authority have the Nomina-tion of the Person. Now whether or no he that ordaineth an Inferior as a Deacon, or any other, do convey Authority by a proper Efficiency, as having that first in himself which he doth Convey; yet in the Ordination of Equals, it seems not to be so, for they have no Government over the particular Persons whom they Or-dain, or Churches to whom they Ordain them; nor could they themselves exercize that governing Power over that other Congregation, which they appoint another to; so that they seem to be but *Causa Moralis*, or *sine quibus non*, as he that saith the Wood to the Fire is of its burning, or as he that openeth you the Door is of your bringing any thing into the House: So that if you will call the Ordainer of an Infe-rior *causam equivocon*, and the Ordainer of an Equal, *causam universam*, yet it is but as they morally and improperly caufe. The Third way of Mediating in the Nomina-tion of the Person, is by the meer Election of Inferiors, as the Apostles did bid the Church of Hierusalem choose out seuen Men whom they might constitute Deacons. I have been tedious, perhaps, without need on this; but the Summ is this, that a subordinate efficient Caufe is no necessary Medium for the conveyance of Power, if at all, yet not always (I mean a Person) but the *Mediatio Signi Voluntatis Divinae*, may oft serve without any more; or plainly in several Cases, *mediatio leges cum personae qualitats*: may suffice, *sine mediatis judicis*. But to come closer, where you say (the written Word is no fit Medium) I answer, r. The written Word in cafe of a falling of Ordainers is a sufficient mediate Instrument; but though
though in \( \text{sub genere} \) it be sufficient, yet other things must concur in their kind and
\( \text{viz.} \). For the Qualification of the Subject; whereof one is the effect of Nature,
Art, and Grace; that is Abilities; another of the Spirit, that is Willingness, which
may also be moved by other Causes; and the third of Providence, \( \text{viz.} \). Opportunity.
2. Magistrates Constitute in the said Case of Ministerial failing, is a fur-
ther Medium different from Scripture. So that if Ministers fail, Magistrates are the
Judges; if both fail, the People have fine regemini judicium discretionis: Their Judge-
ment of Discretion hath a sufficient Object and Discovery of God's sufficient Constitu-
tion. 1. In the Law, which is then the instrumental Efficient. 2. In the Per-
sons Abilities. 3. His Willingness. 4. The Peoples own Willingness. 5. Oppo-
tunity. You add (the giving of Authority which we talk of is an Action termina-
ted upon an Individual in this Age. But the Scripture meddles not with any of the
Individuals of these Times: Ergo I sumpso by (meddles not with) you mean (termina-
that it is not on). The Minor, which you knew I would deny, you prove this
(If it do, either quoad nominem, or quoad adjectives ab adjectibus, or per descrip-
tionem) I answer, per descriptionem ab adjectibus, but it is not always necessary that
be they incommunicable, at least most of them; for God may possibly pro-
pound to the People more than one or two that may seem fit, and leave them to
choose, and to their Choice shall be the thing that makes the difference, and God
thereupon convey the Power. You add (if the Word do it by description, it must
be by some such Form of Words; They that are thus and this qualified may be
Ministers of the Word: But there is no such Form: Ergo) I answer, I sumpso
that by (Form) you mean, quoad senem, and not quoad verbis. And then I say,
there is such a Sentence in the Law as this, If by (thus and thus Qualified) you in-
clude all the Signs that were before expressed. And because we are now at the
Quick, I will not put you off with the bare part of a Respondent, but give you the
Reasons of my denying your Minor. I first sumpso it granted, that God hath in
his Law determined 1. De generis, that there shall be Ministers. 2. De speeis, that
there shall be such sorts of Ministers in his Church, and that not only quoad nominem,
but quoad descriptionem, & differentiation constitutum, that is the Nature of their Work
and Power, the Object about which, and the end to which it is to be employed.
3. That the Persons are described from their necessary Qualifications, who shall be
Subjects of this Form, 1 Tim. 4. Tr. 1, and in other Places, 4. That all that is
now left to be done is but to judge and determine of the particular Person, who is
most capable of this Form, and so far to be the Medium of his receiving the Power
on. 5. That this Judging and Determination must be per signa, from the Persons
Qualifications, agreeing to the Rule. 6. That God hath made Ecclesiastics Offi-
cers the ordinary authoritative Judges of this Question, Who is the qualified Per-
son? This much I conjecture that we are agreed in; so that the Form in the Law
is not only, They that preach the Word, shall be this and thus qualified;} but
[Men thus and thus qualified] shall be appointed to preach the Word: Now that
which I am to prove is, that the first part of the Constitution remains in force
(that there shall be Ministers thus qualified) though the other Part, concerning the
way of their Ordination may caele: and that Magistrates, Designation, or Peo-
pies-Election upon the discerning of the Qualifications is a sufficient Nomination of
the Person: and so God doth by his Law convey the Power as truly to the Person
thus-Nominated, as he doth to the Person Nominated by a Bishop ordinarly:
The same Law being God's only Instrument of this Conveyance, whoever nomi-
nates. To this end I shall lay down divers Arguments, and though I conclude not
still the same thing, you shall fee that all doth, at emendari supposit collumare; and
that either the Obligation to regular Ministerial Ordination may caele, or that all
ways caele not when that caeleth, or that the other ways are sufficient for Nomina-
tion of the individual Person, and so of preferring the Existence of the Species,
for these are the things to be proved.
2. Cessante fine cessat Obligatio; sed hic cessat vel cessare potest finis: Ergo, The Minor only is to be proved. The End why I am obliged to seek Ordination rather from an Ecclesiastical Officer, than from a Magistrate, or to take the other forementioned Courses, it is because God hath appointed him, Ordinam gratis, as one that ought to be the fittest to do it, left by Mens voluntary Intrusion, or the Confinution of others less able to judge, the Church should be wronged. Now in case the regular Ordainers do prove insufficient or wicked, these Ends fail, as in the Church of Rome, where none fhall be admitted that will not swear to do wickedly, and to fall. Ways. And in the great Arrian Defection, when scarce Six or Seven Bishops were to be found that did not turn Arrianus, among whom, the Bishop of Rome was one that revolted; and they would ordain none but thole that would be of their Way, and fo would engage Men against Christ. God did not give them Power to destroy the Church, but to preferre Order and propagate it. They can do nothing (by any Power from God) against the Truth, but for the Truth: When Ergo, They will not ordain to the Preseruation, but to the apparent Detruclion of the Church, we are not obliged to receive their Ordination: And that the failing of regular Ministerial Ordination doth not destroy the Ordination or Law of God de Specie confeuandâ, and that it was never the Will of God, that there should be no Ministry at all longer than they might be fo regularly Ordained, appears thus; 1. The Office of the Ministry is of standing Necessity to the very Being of a Political Church, whereas the Ecclesiastical Authoritative Ordination is but necessary, to the well-being and ordering of it. Ergo, the failing of the later caufeth not a failing of the former. The Reason of the Confequençs may appear in that God hath oft suffered his Church in all Ages, to fall into Diorders and Diftempers, when yet he hath preferred the Being. 2. God hath not inefeparably tyed a necessâr certain End, to one only mutuable, uncertain means. But the Office of the Ministry is the necessary, certain End of Regular Ecclesiastical Ordination (viz. by one in Just Power) and this is a mutable, uncertain means: Ergo, God hath not tyed the Office of the Ministry to this alone. The Necessity of the Ministry and the certain Continuance of it to the Church, I fuppofe, will be granted; even to every Church, while it remains a Church Political. The Uncertainty and Mutability of that means is before proved. 3. God hath not put it into the Power of Bishops (or other Ordainers) to destroy his Church for ever; but if the Ministry were inefeparably annexed to their authoritative Ordination, it would be fo: Ergo, It is in the Power of their Wills, whether they will ordain any other Bishops to succeed them; which if they fhould not do, the Succedion is interrupted, and the Office muft for ever fail: If you fay, it is not to be fuppofed that all will deny to Ordain others. I anfwer 1. What Promise or Certainty of the contrary? 2. It is not poſsible their own Judgments may be turned againft Bishops, and fo renounce that Calling; or may they not turn mofl of them Hereatical, and fo will ordain none that will not be fo too. As it was actually when the whole World turned Arrian; except fix or feven Bishops, there were none left, and a tenth Part, no, the Hundredth part of the Church could not have recourse to fix or feven perfecuted Bishops, hidden in Wildernefles or Corners, or Fugitives that Men knew not where to find. And that it was then unlawfull to have committed to the Arrians Ordinations, on their Terms, I fuppofe will not be denied. And the few that do not turn Hereatches, may yet clogg their Ordinations with fuch unlawfull Impofitions and Engagements, as that no Man fearing God may juftly submit to them, which is, at leaft, the Cafe of all the Romish Church (as is faid). So that if all Men elles obey God, they must not be Ordained by their Men, and consequently thefe Men have Power to destroy the Church, which if it were affirmed but of the Churches in one Nation, is not true: No, nor of one Congregation; for the Senfe of the Precept for Ordination is this, [That the Churches may be edified and well guided, and my Worship rightly performed, do you ordain Elders, &c.] 4. God hath made it indifpenfibly neceffary to his People to the World's End, to assemble in fecond Congregations, and then to perform his publiec Worship, viz. In Prayer, Praifes, Sacraments, Preaching and Hearing, &c. But without the Miniftry this cannot be performed: Ergo, he hath made it indifpenfibly neceffary that they have a Miniftry: and consequently the failing of Authoritative, Ecclesiastical Ordination doth not destroy the Miniftry. Both by neceffity of Precept, and of Means, is Publick Worship.
Worship necessary to the World's End. Ordinary teaching publicly and being the Mouth of the People in Praising God, and Administering Sacraments, and blessing the People, are Ministerial Actions. Now suppose you come into a Nation or Country where such Ordination fails (as if you had lived in the Reign of the Arrians) durst you abrogate all the Churches from all God's Publick Worship? Durst you have said to whole Countries, Never Assamble to Worship God by Solemn Praiseth; Never baptize any; Never communicate in the Lord's Supper? This were to contradict a Precept in Force, that binds them to do what you forbid them, and it were to destroy their Souls, and bid them forfake God, and quench his Graces: For without God's Publick Ministerial Ordinances, Grace and Christianiety it fell could not be long continued, at least, ordinarily, and in many. Witness the Unchristianizing of the vast Kingdom of Nabia, for want of Ministers. If you would have such as to appoint Private Men to do these Things pro tempore, in this Case of Necessity, that is, to grant all; for then the People do make thehoe Private Men Ministers, pro tempore, whether they give them that name or not, for the Office is but Power to do these Works which belong thereto; and if they have Power to do the Work, they have the Office. The like may be said of those Reformed Christians that live under the Romish Power; if they must have no Ministers, they must have no Worship or Sacraments, which Ministers are to perform. If they must have Ministers either Romish or Reformed. Not Romish, for they cannot follow them, or join with them, but by known finning in wicked Engagements and wicked Actions. Not Reformed if there be a Necessity of Authoritative Ordination: For the Romish Bishops (if they have Authority) will not Ordain without forcing Men to open Sin nor may any Pious Man submit to their Ordinations on their Terms: and many People cannot have Reformed Bishops (no nor Presbyters) to ordain them. The Law of Nature, and the express, unchangeable, written Word agreeing therewith, do require Men to do the Offices of Ministers who have a fitness for it, and where there is an undeniable Necessity of their Help. But the failing of Authoritative, Ecclesiastical Ordination will not dispence with the Law of Nature, and the express moral written Law agreeing therewith: Ergo, It will not dispence with such Men for the neglect of such Ministerial Works. I think none will quaffon the Minor. For the Major, understand, that those whom I call fit, are they that have the Qualifications which I mentioned before. Here I take it as undeniable, that Duty and Power to perform it, so go together, that God never calleth Man to Duty but he gives him this fort of Power, that is Authority; for the very Command to do the Work doth give Authority to do it: Man may oblige himself without a Call, and so have no Authority; but whatsoever is required of God to do it, hath so Nomine, Authority to do it. And the Office of the Ministry is but the Duty and Authority of performing the Works of the Ministry. Moreover, the Power is for the Work's sake, and not the Work for the Powers sake as the End: So that if I prove once that the Duty is required of unordained Men, I do thereby prove that the Power is given them. Now that that Duty is required appears thus: The greatest Works of Mercy to Men's Souls, and of glorifying God, are such as Men are obliged to by the Law of Nature, if they have Ability and Opportunity, and there be a Necessity. But the Works of the Ministry are the greatest Works of Mercy to Men's Souls, and Glory to God: Ergo, The Minor is proved by the Parts. The Publick Preaching of the Lord Jesus to a Heathen People, as the Jefuits have long been doing in the Indies, and the Discipuling Men to Christ, and baptizing them, is the greatest Work of Mercy imaginable: Whereunto add, the teaching them to observe all things whatsoever Christ hath commanded; and it makes up the whole absolutely necessay in all its Parts: 1. The Greatness appears, in them that Men cannot be saved ordinarily without it: It is to have Men from Everlasting Torments, and help them to Everlasting Glory. 2. that which Christ himself did; yea, made his Office to seek and to save that which was lost. 3. It is that which he ordained the Ministry for; yea, gave us his Gifts for; yea, upholds all things for, and makes other Mercies subordinate to. And that it is as condictible to that Honour that he will have by the Gospel, and Mens Salvation is as clear. For the Major; Note, that I suppose Ability and Opportunity, for else they cannot be obliged. Also I suppose, Necessity, that is, that there be not Ordained Men (Authoritatively) enough, competently to do it. And then that it must be done without such Ordination, rather than not at all, is so plain in the Law of Nature, that it needs no Proof. To do good to our Power, especially in so great Necessities and weighty Cases, is a Principle in Nature, that he who is a Man doth find in himself. A fortiori, it's proved that in lesser Case.
To Christ for Every Burft Or would yeaja New-England But Or And I have would may lawful Nay, to would is am 10. answer, may perish a if Physician while is no Physician there that can. Every Man that is able is a lawful Physician in cafe of desperate Neceffity. If these Instances serve not, we may go higher: In cafe of an unexpected Outftraught of the Enemy when the Commanders are asleep, every Souther may do his Office: In cafe a General be slain in the Field, or a Colonne, or a Captain, the next Officer may take his Place; yea, a common Souther may do it in Neceffity: Or if the Commander turn Traitor, the next Officer may take his Place, and command the Southeris against him. Salvo populi suprema lex esto, is God's own Law. And Salvo Ecclefiae suprema Lex esto, is no less his, and unchangeable, as to all Church-Works (still looking at his Glory herein, as the highest absolutely). He that should lay, I would cure these Sick Men, but that I am not in Office a Physician; or I would do this or that Work to save the City, or the Army, but it is not my Office, or I have no Commission, were not excusable: Yet far more than he that would lay, I would Preach Chrift to these People, and Baptize them, and acquaint them with his Laws, to save them from Damnation, but that I am not Ornd: Durft you warrant that Man from being condemned for his Neglect? Nay, durft you encourage him to negleét it? Nay, durft you adventure to negleét it your self? What should the People in New-England do, if there were not Minifters among the Indians? If there were Protestants call'd into China, and had the Opportunity as the Jefuits have, what should they do? To forbear the Minifterial Work till they had a lawful Ordination, were no less than Soul-murder: It would in probability never be had; for if they travell'd for it to those parts of the World where it might be had, there were no great probability of their Return. If you say, they may teach and Baptize as private Men: I anfwer, If they do but what private Men here are allowed do, viz. to Teach but privately and occasionally, it would be still unnatural, bloody Soul-murder: To speak the Doctrine of Redemption to two or three in a Houfe, when they might speake to Multitudes, and to teach now and then occasionally, when they might do it ordinarily, is cruel defroying of the molt. And to Baptize is no private Man's Work. If you would have them Teach both publicly and ordinarily, and Baptize, then you would have them be Minifters under the Name of Private Men; yea, to do the Work of Apoftles or Evangelifts.

Certainly the Law of Nature is God's Law, and Evangelical Ceremonies, and points of meer Order do give Place to it, as well as either Mofaical or Secular. God hath as fitreight commanded Obedience to Secular Power as to Ecclefiall: If therefore Matter of Order in Secular Things must ftoop to Matters of Subftance and Neceffity, and the Law of Corporations to the Law of Nature, lo it muft do here. The Golpel Crofleth not, nor oblittereth Natural Principles: And to love our Neighbours as ourfelf, and do him good, especially to the Everlafting Saving of his Soul, are too deep in Nature to be questioned, or to ftoop to a Point of meer Order. If you fay, That the fame God that requires us to do it, doth require that we do it in his order and way. I anfwer, No doubt of it; where that Order may be observed: But where it cannot, God's way revealed to Nature is to do it without, as hath been hewen. And Scripture fccrds Nature in this; Chrift tells us, That this is the second great Commandment, Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thyfelf, and on this, with the Love of God, hang all the Law and the Prophets. To do good to our utmost Power, is a Charge laid on all, Pafs. 34. 14. and 37. 27. Gal. 6. 10. Ecle. 9. 10. As every Man hath received the Gift, lo muft he as a good Steward of God's manifold Grace administer it, 1 Pet. 4. 10. The Manifeflation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal, 1 Cor. 12. 7. All Members of the Body muft have the fame care one of another, verfe 25. And if one Member fuffer, the reft muft fuffer with it, verfe 26. and Ergo, do their beft to relieve them. Every good Man is a pub- lick Good; & bonus quo communis eo melius. God's Gifts are fo many Talents that muft be accounted for, Matt. 25. and he that hath beft improved them for his Lord, will have the moft comfortable Reckoning. The Generals tving Men to do all the Good they can, doth tye them that have Abilities and Opportunities for the Miniftry to use them where there is need, and that in Order, as being ordained thereto, where it may be had, and out of Order where it may not, and there is neceffity: even as Paul bids Timothy Preach out of Seafon; you will acknowledge that they have Abilities, where the Church is in neceffity, may, and muft seek
a right way to use them; and so seeks an Ordination into the Ministry, 1 Tim. 3, 1, 2. He that defireth the Office of a Bishop, defireth a good Work. But God, as he gives no Gifts in vain, so he fets Man upon no vain Endeavours. Thofe therefore that are bound to fect to be Mini£ters, are not bound to vain Endeavours: and therefore there is a poflibility of Succeeding: But there is very oft no poflibility of Authoritative Eccle£fial Ordination: Ergo, There must be a poflibility of succeeding fome other way; for, namo nemur ad imposibile: God's Gifts of Light are not to be put under a Bulhel. While I live where my Pains may be spared, and others enough may competently supply my Room, I will do nothing disorderly, nor without Authority from Man, fo far as belongs to them to convey it; and if they that have Power silence me, I will be silent. But if I live where there is a visible Neceflity of my Labours, I will, by God's Help, rather preach without Authority; yea, though I were silenced, than forbear: as knowing that Men have their Power to Edification, and not to Diftrufion; and I will rather venture to anfwcr before God to the Charge of doing Good, and saving Souls to Chrifl without Imposition of Hands, or Human Appointment, than the Charge of Hiding my Talent as a flotted, evil Servant, and of letting Men go to Hell, and rejeft Chrifl for want of a Confi&ion from Man to hinder them, for I know that He that converts a Sinner from the Error of his way, hath saved his Soul from death, and covered a multitude of Sins. In the pre£ent Cafe. 1. Even under the Law this is oft manifefted; to intimation but in one; Circumci£ion it i£f, which was fo far neceflary as to be called God's Convenant, and he that neglected it was to be cut off from the People, yet in the Writings for forty Years together is dispersed with, and gives place to greater natural Duties. 2. Much more under the Gospel, when God placeth Left in Externals, as choofing fuch Worfhippurers as will worship him in Spirit and in Truth. Chrifl often healeth on the Sabbath Day, and tells them it is lawful to do Good (viz. neceflary Good) on that Day. He tells them that David, when he was Hungry, and they that were with him, did eat the Show-bread which was not lawful (viz. without such Necessity) for them to eat, but only for the Priests: And that the Priests in the Temple do break the Sabbath, and are blamelefs, and therefore juftifies his Diffciples; for rubbing the Ears of Corn. If the Prophet Iaiah under the Law could tell them, that Then was the Day which the Lord hath choft to loafe the Bonds of Wickednes; to unde the heavy Burdens, and to let the Oppreffed go Free, and to break every Tace, Is. 58. 6, 7. And the Holy Ghost faith, I will not reprove thee for thy Sacrifices, or thy Burnt Offerings to have been continually before me, Mal. 1. 8. How much more, under the Gospel, with God have Externals and Modes fop to the Subfance? He that tells us there is Joy among the Angels in Heaven over one Sinner that repenteth, would not have that Office that calleth them to Repentance laid by, nor Men forbear the Works of it, for want of a Man rightly ordained him to fay, Goo. There is fome great Moment in that Leffon which Chrifl calls the Pharifces fo emphatically to learn, Mat. 9. 13. But go ye now, and learn what that meaneft, I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice: Nor is Chrifl very forward to latisfie their Demand, By what Authority doft thou these things? Mat. 21. 24, 27. Nay, he flatly refufed. 7. An Ordained Minifter may have fufficient caufe to give over his Calling, without the Will of the Ordainer, or any in his place; therefore he may have fufficient Caufe to affume it, without the Will of an Ordainer. The Antecedent is doubfeft; Nay, it may be his Duty to give over; as if the People do generally reject him, or if he be called to an Employment where he may be certain ly more ferviceable, or is fitter for; or when there are many able to supply his Place if he remove, &c. For the Consequence, perhaps you will fay, It follows not, because all muft concur to a Man's Call to the Work: But one thing wanting may call him from it. But I anfwer, The Strength of the Consequence is here; in that as clear a Call at all is nece{ary to take a Man off a Course of Duty in fo needful an Employment, as to put him on: And therefore let us fuppofe a Parity in other Respects, and look only at that one Reason, The Good of the Church: It is certain, that if I knew I were a great Wrong to the Church by my Continuance (as by keeping out one far better, or the like) I were bound to give over, though without the Ordainers Consent, or againft it, if it cannot be had: Therefore it follows, that if my exercising that Office be undoubtedly Consideratius consideranda to the great Good of the Church, I may do it without an Ordainer.
App. x. Numb. ii.

Ordainer, if Ordination cannot be had: It is the Omus and Labor, that is, the first and chief thing considerable in the Ministry, and the Honos and Power is but in order to that. 8. If Secular Power may be derived from God, at least, so far as to oblige the Subjects to Obedience, and to give them the Benefits of that Power, and this without any regular authoritative Conveyance from Man, then so may Ecclesiastical Power also. But the Antecedent is true: Ergo, The Antecedent is proved. 1. In that Scripture commands us to obey such as the Roman Emperors then were, Rom. 13. who had no such Conveyance. 2. Else it would be hard to know what Power to acknowledge: For what Nation is there where the Line of Succeed, as to a lawful Conveyance, hath not been interrupted? William the Conqueror's Title being bad, so must all that hold from him. King Stephen's was worse. The Houses of York and Lancaster had rather neither of them a good Title, than both. What Nation is there that must not acknowledge the Original from the Sword? I shall not need to answer the Arguments drawn from the Peoples Power to convey it, to any that approved of the Arguments lately used in England against the Parliaments Cause. And I think if it were proved that the People have the Power of making a King, it would soon be proved, that that way of Succession hath been of not enough interrupted. And for the Sword of unjust War, if Violence gives right in one case, why not in another? But this will not, I suppose, be owned. Moreover, if an Interruption of the Succeedion of Legitimate Conveyance of Power, do leave us incapable of any just Succession hereafter, or any true Power, then either all Commonwealths, or most are disproved for ever, or ours at least, till God immediately shall choose a new. But that is not true: It being a Conclusion destructive to all Civil Government, and all Obedience of Subjects to the World's End. The Consequence is proved in that there is the same Necessity of uninterrupted Succession in Legitimate Conveyance of Secular Power, as is of the forelaid Conveyance of Ecclesiastical Power; for there is no Power but of God. And therefore I would have you here answer all your own Questions, whether King Charles did receive his Power immediately from God, or mediately: if mediately, then whether by an uninterrupted Succession of Legitimate Conveyance, or by some Scripture Mediation? And how Scripture which meddles not with the individus should confer Power on him as a fit Medium? For my part, I shall answer this as I do the other, I think Providence doth S{}, inter. 9. If undeniable Usurpation did not null the Minorial Actions of the Priests before Christ's Death, then want of Authoritative Ecclesiastical Ordination in cafe of Necessity will not null the Actions of Church-Governors now. At varum primi: Ergo, and consequently if their Actions be not null, then their Ordinations are not null. That the Priests then came not in God's way (which was to succeed by Birth from Aaron) but that the Priesthood was usurped by others; yea, commonly bought with Money of the Romans, and became at last but annual, if not two at once, is known beyond doubt. That their Actions were not null, as to others, appears by Christ's teaching Men to submit to them, and make use of them, as he did the Lepers, and by many other Passages. The Reason of the Consequence lyeth in the equal necessity of uninterrupted Succession then and now: Yea, the necessity then was far more apparent, in that God had more clearly fixed it to the Tribe of Levi, and the Line of Aaron, than he hath done now to Ecclesiastical Legitimate Ordination, and because under that Law of Ceremonies (whereof the High-Priesthood was the Topas typifying Christ, &c.) God would not so easily dispense with them as now. 10. When God takes his People to Duty, there he is ready to give them the Blessing which is its end, if they obey: But God taketh his People to submit to the Minorial Actions of some Ulurpers: Ergo, he is ready to give them the Blessings which are the end of those Actions; and consequently they are not null to them; and consequently Ordination is not null to such; which is one Action. The Major is proved before, and indeed needs no Proof. For the Minor, God taketh us to submit to the Minorial Actions of him that is in fede (at least) if we know him not to be an Ulurper; but many may be Ulurpers in fede, whom yet we know not to be such (nor can well know:) Yea, many such have been already: Ergo, If the Major be denied, all peoples Ecclesiastical Obedience is unavoidably overthrown. The Minor is apparent; 1. In that it is not the Peoples Duty so much as narrowly to pry into his Call, whom they find in fede; so as to require Satisfaction as to his Jull Ordination, if they find him fit for, and faithful in the Minorial Work. 2. In that the People cannot know it: There is not one of Ten Thousand in England could know whether their Bishops were truly Consecrated at all, much less; whether justly, much less, whether from an uninterrupted Succession of just Ordination.
Ordination. No nor do they know whether their Ministers were ever ordained or not: And it hath been known that many have proved Usurpers (especially at Rome) which the Common People could not know; and therefore could not by which Knowledge be disbottled. 11. If the Administrations of all Usurpers were null, (and so the Ordination of such) then innocent Persons and Churches should suffer (yea, Ruine it self) meerly through other Mens Faults. But no Man is to suffer for other Mens Faults meerly: Ergo, The Minor is evident. The Major is as evident; 1. It is none of the Churches Fault, or at least, not of each Member, that a Usurper secretly intruded and deceiveth them, pretending right when he hath none. At least it is not always and in all Cases their Fault: And yet that the Church would suffer by it, yea, Ruine it self, is apparent; in that all the Ordination of such Men would be null, and so all their Churches would be no true Organized Political Churches but meer Communities, and all the Baptism and other Administrations of all such Ordained Men would be null. Moreover, it is evidently against common Equity. If the Deputy of Ireland, or the Pro-rex of Naples were dead, and one should so counterfeit the King's Hand and Seal, as that the Nobles and People could not discern it, and should annex this to a Grant for the Place, and shew it the People, and claim the Power by it: If this Man continueth the exercise of this Power for a Year before the King displace him, or the Deceit be discovered, all his Actions must be valid as to the Benefit of the Commonwealth; though they are Trefonable to himself: And he conveys Power from the King to inferior Officers, who yet never received any himself: So is it in this present Case. 12. If the Ordination of Magistrates differet from cafe of a falling in the regular way before Chrift's Incarnation, then it may do so now. But the former is true: Ergo, The Reason of the Consequence is, both that God was as strict in Positives than as now, and that there was great Necessity then of an uninterrupted Succession for derivation from God, as now there is. Solomon put out Abiahtar from being High-Priest, and put Zadok in his stead, 1 Kings. 2.27.35. David and the Captains of the Hosts separated to God's Service those of the Sons of Aphabet, and of Human, and of Judah, who should prophesy with Harp, &c. 1 Chron. 23. 1. 6. They were for the Service of the House of God, according to the King's Order, for 1 Chron. 16. 4. So did Solomon, 2 Chron. 8. 14. 15. The Magistrates Power in Church Matters was no Ceremony or Temporary Thing. 13. When any Officers of the Temple were discovered to have no just Title, and those upon were put out; yet none of their Actions while they were in Place were cenfured null. Ergo, if now any may be discovered to have no just Title, his former Actions are not to be judged null. The Reason of the Consequence lyeth in the Equality of the Cafe. The Antecedent is proved from Ezra 2. 62. Neh. 7. 64, 65. They sought their Register among those that were reckoned by Genealogy, but they were not found: therefore were they as polluted put from the Priesthood. So Neh. 23. 29, 30. And therefore the Ordination done before such Election, is not null.

And that the individual Person to receive this Power, may be determined of in case of necessity, without an Ecclesiastical Authoritative Determination, may further appear thus: 1. If the individual Person may be determined of ordinarily, or sometimes by the Peoples Election to be presented to the Ministers for their Ordination, or Confirmation, then may the individual Person be determined of by the People to be presented to God immediately, for his Ordination, in case there be no Ordinaries to be had: But the Antecedent is true: Ergo, the Antecedent is proved.

1. From the Apostles Instruccion to the Church of Jerusalem, Act. 6. 3. Choose you, or look you out seven Men of honest Report, full of the Holy Ghost and Wisdom, whom we may appoint over this Business. They describe the Men, and leave them to nominate them that were such. And if the Church can do this to present to the Apostles, then it seems they are competent Differencers of Such. If the Apostles had faid, (We do appoint and authorize the seven Men whom you shall choose, so that they be such and such Men) the Ordination had been as valid, on Supposition of such an Election, as it was when it followed the Election: And if the Apostles might have do so, no doubt, God may do by his Law: For he doth the same, viz. describe the Persons, and confer the Power, particularly, and on an Individuum aegnum, and sometimes quasi signatum; and if popular Election can make it an Individuum determination, then all is done. 2. And the Church hath continued this Custom so far, that Councils decreed Ordinations invalid without Elections of the People; yea, if they were but slighted and over-awed, and did it not freely. Infomuch that Cyprian faith, Plebi maximum habet, potestatem, vel dignos Sacerdotes elegendi, vel indignos reutive iudicii; Till the bloody bout in the choice of Damasus, it.
APPENDIX

is known that the Peoples Election was the principle Determiner of the individual Person, or at least did much in it. For the Consequence, the Reason of it lies here; in that Scripture may apparently suffice for all, except the Nomination of the Individual, as you seem to intimate in laying the stress of all your Argument upon this, that it meddles with no individuum of these times. The Law gives Authority to that individual Person that is justly nominated; or determined of. But a right qualified Man, chosen only by the People, in case there be no Ordainer, is justly determined of or nominated: Ergo, The Law gives Authority to such. Where note, that the Law needs no other Condition to the actuating of its Conveyance, but only the Determination of the recipient Person. Then note, that regularly Officers and People are to join in this Determination of the Person: The People sometime being in electing, and the Officers conclusively determine; and sometimes the Officers begin, and the People after consent; but both must concur, and all that both can do, is to determine of the Man, whom, God by his Law shall authorize; though the very determination it self, as by the Officers, is an Act of Authority. Now whenever two Parties are made Contrafe, or are to concur in such Determinations, when one Party faileth, the Power and Duty is solely in the other. At least, it is hence apparent, that there is a possible way left for the determining of individuum in this Age. 2. If the Law do so far describe the Persons to receive Power, as that a Bishop can nominate the Persons by the Light of that Description, then it doth so far describe the Persons as that others may nominate them by the Light of that Description. But the Antecedent is true: Ergo, The Antecedent you will own; or else farewell all Episcopal Ordination: The Consequence is plain, in that others may be able to see that which a Bishop can see; and in necessity, at least may do it. This therefore wholly answers your Argument against the Law being a sufficient Medium communis, because it meddles not with individuum; for it meddles with none of the Individuals, which Bishops determine of; and yet it is the Law that conveys the Power when the Bishop hath determined of the Person to receive it (as Sappataris hath largely proved of Kings). 3. Law is God's Instrumment of conveying Right, and imposing Duty; though Men may be the Media Applications. The Law is to be conceived as in this Form: [I do authorize the Persons that shall be justly determined of according to this Description]: And because Ministerial Determinations are the ordinary regular way, with the Peoples Consent, it is, g. d. [Ordinarily, I do authorize the Persons whom Ecclesiastical Power shall determine of, according to this Description]: So that it is God by his Law, that gives the Power: As when a Corporation is to choose their Bailiff or Mayor; it is the Law or Charter that is the immediate Instrument of effective Conveyance of the Power, though the Choosers are the Media Applications; and perhaps some capital Burgeffles may have the chief Power in choosing him orderly. 2. If the People may per Judicium Deferentiam, discern whether a Bishop have ordained them one agreeable to the Scripture Description, then may they also discern, whether a Man be agreeable to the Law, unordained. But the antecedent is true: Ergo, Were not the People to judge of this, then they must receive any Heretic or Infridel without Trial, if ordained their Bishop. But that is not true. Though the Officers contradict it, yet the People of themselves are bound to reject a Heretic Bishop. 3. It is a general Precept, A Man that is a Heretic avoid; and with such as not to eat. If a Bishop ordain over this Church, a common unchristian Drunkard, Rayler, &c. The Holy Ghost bids us not to eat, i.e. have Communion with him. 2. Cyprian determines it, that Plebs obsequens praesides Dominici & Deum metent a Peccatore praeestis separare se debet, non est faeculis faccutis Sacramentum infecerat. 4. If the Caffe may be so plain, who the Persons that God would have, as that there is no room for a Controversy about it, then it may possibly be determined by the more Light of the Law, without a Judge. But the Caffe may be so plain: Ergo, The Antecedent is proved thus: When these things following visibly concur, then the Caffe is so plain: 1. When the Person is visibly qualified, with Abilities, and Piety, and a Righteous Conversation to Men. 2. When he hath a Will to it. 3. When he hath Opportunity; as having Liberty from Eccular Power, Proximity, a known Language, Vacancy from other Engagements and Employment of more necessity, &c. 4. When the Peoples Hearts are moved towards him. 3. And when there is no Competitor, or none who equal-leth him, or so many but that all may be chosen; when thee concurs there is no controversy who should be the Man; if you try there may be many such, and who knows then which to choose: 1 Answer. 4. Congregations should have many Pfarr
flors ordinarily: 2. Providence answereth that Objection for me: It is exceeding hard to find half enough that are competent. God hath not given his Church more than they need; but contrarily, there is need of many more than he hath given. It is therefore all Mens Duties, that have Ability and Opportunity, to be Preachers, if they be not taken up with Employments of greater use to the Church, (as Secular Rulers often are) but they must seek an orderly admission, where it is possible, and not be their own Judges of their fitness, where there are other Judges of God's appointment: Christ bids us to pray the Lord of the Harvest, to send forth Labourers into the Harvest, because the Harvest is great, and the Labourers few. It is visibly true, in a great measure, to this day; what we must pray for, that we must endeavour, that the Labourers may in Number be proportioned to the Work; and we are like to have use for that Prayer still. 3. It is not always that there are too many so apparently fit: And therefore at least when it is not so, the determination of the Individual Person is facile. 4. As the Bishops Determination of one among many is valid, so is the Determination of others in cafe of Necessity. The Law of Nature, and well ordered Common-wealths doth require, that every Ignorant Man that thinks himself Skilful, should not play the Physician, least he kill Men; nor the School-master, lest he delude and corrupt them: And therefore, that there should be some able Men appointed to try and judge who are fit, before they are admitted. I think God's Law of Nature requir this as evidently, as the written Law requireth, that none be Ministers without Ecclesiastical Ordination, or Approbation; and in case there be many of equal fitness, all must be admitted, except they be too many (which is not seen there neither, for Nature multiplies not the most noble Parts, as it doth the the Fingers, or the Hairs, &c.) And if there be too many, the Judges must Determine who shall be the Man. Yet the same Law of God in nature doth as evidently teach, that if either the Tryers and Judges be all dead or gone, or enviously resolve to approve of none, but such as are Ignorant or Wicked, that would Poetry and Kill the People, it is Lawful and the indispensible Duty of such as are able, to offer themselves for Practice to the People without the Judges Consent, rather then the Peofibility should Sweeney them away for want of a Remedy. And there hath scarce yet been found such an Enemy to Mankind, that would forbid such Men to live Mens Lives, for want of Approbation: Or if there were many at once in an Infected City that were thus able, they would rather let all Practise that have opportunity, or let the People go to whom they please, then to forbid all, under pretence of the difficulty of discoordinating the fittest. As scarce any thing is more Inhumane against Nature, then to prefer a Commision or other Formality, or point of Order, before Mens Lives and Common Good; (which is finis Reipublicae) so it is yet more Inhumane, as well as Unchristian, and against the evident Law of Nature, and the main scope of Christ's Merciful Doctrine and Example, (who often neglected Formalities to live Mens Lives and Souls, though to the Displeasure of the Pharisees) for a Man to prefer a Formality or point of Order, before the Saving of Mens Souls, and the publick Good and Safety of the Church, but of this before. 5. If in case of the want of a lawful Magistrate, or of such as they may lawfully use for Judgments, the People may determine of an individual Person, whom God shall Authorize, though Scripture Name no Individual of this Age, then they may do so also in regard of the Ministry. But the former is true. Ergo, 1. Elle we should have no Magistrates in the World scarce, but by violent intruption, which is worse than popular Elecution. 2. 1 Cor. 6. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Paul would have the Corinthians to choose some of the Church of the Saints, to judge between man and man concerning the things of this Life, whereabout they were wont to go to Law before Heathen Judges. This is plainly to the Office of a Magistrate, at least, quod partem Judicalem, tho not quod violentam executionem. They were to choose a wife Man, that should be able to judge between his Brethren, vers e 5. The consequence is grounded on this, that the Scripture meddleth no more with the Individuals for Magistracy, then for Ministry; nor gives ordinarily the power of choosing Sovereigns to the People in the Common-wealth, then the Power of Ordaining Ministers to the People of a particular Church, and the People may determine of one as well (though not so easily) as of the other; but I spoke somewhat of this also before to another Point. I have tranfigured the limits of the part of a Respondent on this point, 1. Because I know it is Light, and not Formality of Proceeding that you expect (though it be formality before Light and Safety that you plead for.) 2. Because I know that the whole stress of your Cause lyeth on this Point; and I doubt not to say, that if I answer you well in this one Argument, which you make
your Second, I easily carry the whole Cause. To what you add concerning Authority, I conceive, that it is not the same thing with Fines, &c. but I say, it may be conveyed sine vicarii Episcopis. 2. I deny that any Church-Guides are in point of Government vicarii Christi. They are not less as Bishops, and so may beex, and Require in Christ's Name and Seal; but they are not mere his vicarii, then the Magistrate is of the Sovereign. They are not Pro-reges; nor do they represen his Person. They have not that Power which they convey to others, first in themselves to convey (at least in ordinando pars) but are only media applicandi legem ad perfornam.

Ad 3°. To your Third Argument I answer, Invaders of the Ministerial Office may unjustly take Encouragement hence; but no just Encouragement is given them. The best things are Occasions of encouraging Men in Sin, e. g.: God's Mercifulness, Christ's Satisfaction, the Preaching of Free-Grace, &c. To your Question, if this be sufficient, why do we not give them the Right Hand of Fellowship? I answer, They despise or neglect God's Order, and therefore deserve not the Hand of Fellowship. If God bid them (go and work in his Vineyard) but for Order's sake (go in at this Door) he that will not go in at this Door is a disobedient Servant, and not to be owned till he reform. But if God himself do nail up this Door, there needs no express Dispensation for our not going in at it; for enim tenetur ad impossibile (nisi ipse sit Caufa culpabilis impossibilitatis) Nor is it necessary that it be expressed that (we go in at another Door) for the Command of going to labour in the Vineyard is not abrogated by the locking up of that Door; seeing as it was opened non ut fiat opus directe, sed ut fie fiat; so it is nailed up non ut fiat, sed ne fie fiat; and therefore the Command requires us to go in at another. If by Law every Physician that Practiceth in London, must be approved by the College, he deserves to be punished, and not taken for a Physician, that will profest and practice it without the Approbation of the College; and every Wife Patient will fear least he be Conscious of such Unworthiness, as that he dares not venture a Trial, or at the best, he is a disobedient Subject. But if the College of Physicians be dead or dissolved, any worthy Man may profess and practice without their Approbation, and as the Law of Nature binds him to do Good, so the Obligation that limited him is in pro facto dissolved, cecinent materia; where you lay that (this extreme necessity is their Caele). I answer, Nothing more untrue: They flight and despise Ordination; they may be ordained if they would submit themselves to tryal, if they be found fit: But they will not. Their false Imagination create no necessity; but a necessity of laying them by, and receiving the Truth, which is imposed on them by God; or if they will call it a Necessity that is imposed on them by their Error, it is but a Necessity of not being ordained while they judge it sinful (which yet is none, because they are little bound to lay by that Conceit) but nor a Necessity of being Ministers in the mean time without it: Besides that, as it is a Necessity of Submission and Pobernance, and not of Acting, so it is themselves that are the culpable Cause of it: and excusus proprius nonimi debetur commodum. If Vane think he must blow up the Parliament, and Rokotadice that he must flab a King, doth this necessitate them? Such a Necessity as every wicked Man brings on himself of sinning by a Cushion in Sin, which aggravates, and not excuseth his Fault, which is evident when the Caele is made plain by God, and only their Negligence, or sinful Prejudice hindereth them from Recovery out of their Error: For the (Grant) that you define, I say I am both to yield that Christ hath no known Ministeriy on Earth, that I may keep out Invaders. To your Caele about Apoflacy, I answer, There are many other Caeles that may necessitate an Entrance into the Ministry without Ordination; besides univcrual Apoflacy. 1. So great an Apoflacy as was in the Arrian Prevalency. 2. Such unlawfull Ingredients are as in the Romish Ordination. 3. The Death, or the violent Procription of the Ordainers in one Kingdom. For if all that are found to work in the Vineyard, to exercise the Ministry, must but go to another Land for it, Poverity, Weakness, Magistrates Prohibition may so restrain them, that not one of a Hundred could enter when God doth the Churches Necessity call to it. Much 1:6 could all the World travail for Ordination to some Corner of the Earth. As for the Churches Officers which you mention, that went along in Reformation, it's true of Presbyters; they were the Leaders; but few Bishops out of England, that the Reformed Churches were forced to go on, without their Ordination. But to this Day, there is a necessity of Preaching without Ordination, by legitimate Church Guides, in many Parts of the World; and I doubt not, but it is the great Sin of many that it is neglected. I fuppose did you consider well but the Sense of the Law Natural, and Supernaturally revealed, you would no:
not be so inclinable to turn Seeker, nor to expect new Miracles, Apo\,lites, or Re\,velations upon the Supposition you make; and for all your Words, if it came to the Practice, I do not believe that you have so hard a Heart, so unmerciful a Na\,ture, as to leave this one Nation, much less all the World, to that apparent danger of Over\,lasting Damnation, and God's pub\,lick Worship to be utterly cast out, if I can but prove that the Suce\,cession of Legitimate Church Ordination is interrupted.

Ad 4th. To your Fourth Argument, I answer, I am as far from believing Impo\,sition of Hands effential to Ordination, as any of the rest. The Bishop that was last fave one in this Dioce\,fe was so lame of the Gout, that he could not move his Hand to ones Head, and though his Chaplain did his best to help him, yet I could not well tell whether I might call it Impo\,sition of Hands when I law it: Yet I never heard any on that Ground, sus\,pect a nullity in his Ordination: Nor do I think that a Bishop lo\,feth all his Power of Ordination if he lose his Hands, or the Motion of them. 1. Impo\,sition of Hands was an old Custom in a Superior\,s Act of Benediction, or fetting a part to Office and conveying Power, and not newly instituted by Chrift, but continued as a well known Sign, and therefore not of such Necessity as you imagin. 2. The End will shew much the degree of Necessity. If it be evident that the End was but the Solemnizing of the Work by a convenient Ceremony, then it is not effential to Ordination or Authorizing: But, \\&c. Ergo, 3. God did not lay such a stre\,f on Ceremonies, no not under the Ceremonial Law, no not on the great initiating Sign and Seal of Circumcision, without which, Men were entered, and continued in his Church for Forty Years in the Wilderne\,f. Your Argument is, (Chrift hath revealed to his Church that it is his Mind or Will that his Church's Officers be set apart by Impo\,sition of Hands: Ergo, It follow\,eth that Impo\,sition of Hands is necess\,ary and effential to their Separation). An\,v. Negatur fe\,qua\,la: It follows a pre\,cept, only that it's ne\,cessary Necessitate pre\,cepti, and if you will, Necessitate medii, if you spe\,ak not of absolute Necessity ad e\,ffe Or\,dinations, but a lower Necessity, as of a mutable means, and ad bene e\,ffe. Do you think this is good arguing? (The Holy Ghost hath revealed it to be the Will of Chrift, that a Bishop must be blame\,les, and having faithful Children, and be not soon angry, Tit. 1. 6, 7. One that rule\,th well his own House, having his Children in sub\,je\,ction with all Gravi\,ty, 1 Tim. 3. 4, 5, 6. Ergo, It is effential to a Bishop, to have faithful Children to be blame\,les not to be soon angry, &c.) O, what an Interrupti\,on then is made in the Suce\,cession! or is this good arguing? (It is the Will of Chrift that a Christian should not spe\,ak an Idle Word: Ergo, He that speaks an Idle Word is not a Chriftian). Next you suppo\,se your self qu\,en\,tioned (How you know that it was Chrift's Mind and Will,th\,at Impo\,sition of Hands should be use\,d in the Ordination of Minifters?) and you confes\, 1. That you (have neither expr\,ess, nor imp\,licit Command for it). 2. But conclu\,se\, that Chrift's Mind may be otherwise known; I confes\, I like this Pa\, suffice worse than all the rest of your Writing. 1. I can find both imp\,licit, and in a large fene: explicit Commands for it in the Word of God, 1 Tim. 5. 22. Heb. 6. 2. 1 Tim. 4. 14. at le\,ast an imp\,licit, that is unquestionably plain. 2. If you had confes\,ed as readily only this, that there was no Word of God implicit, or explicit to prove the Effe\,ciency of Impo\,sition of Hands to Ordination, then I should have believed you: But you will needs do more, and do much to de\,stroy the very Duty of Impo\,sition, while you are pleading it to effential (so unhappy are extreme Courses, and so sure a way is overdoing to undoing): Yet with me you give up the Caufe of the suppo\,sed Effentiality in disclaiming Scripture Pre\,cept, imp\,licit. 3. I perceive it is your Judgment that there are Duties effential to Ordination, and consequently without which, in your Judgment, there is no Miniftrey, and no Church, which have no Command in Scripture, no not fo much as imp\,licit: And consequently, that Scripture is not God's only Word for revealing supernaturally, or his fufficient Law for obliging to Duties of universal standing ne\,cessity; but he hath another Word called Tradition, which rece\,ale\,th one part of his Mind as the Scripture doth the other, and ano\,ther Law obliging as afo\,re\,aid. This is the great Maffier Difference between the Re\,formed Churches and the Ron\,an\,ill\,s; of which fo much is faid by Whi\,ttaker, Chamier, Baronine, and Multitudes more; that it's meerly vain for me to meddle with it: For I take it for granted, that you would not venture to disclaim the Re\,formed Churches in this Point, till you had well read the chief of their Writers: That were to venture your Peace and Safety, to fave you a Labour: At le\,ast, I hope you have read Chillingworth. Yet I must tell you, that some moderate Papists confes\, that the written Word containeth all things of absolute necess\,ity to Salva\,tion; but I doubt you do not fo; for I think you will fay that ordinarily there is

E. 2 no
no Salvation without the Church and Ministry, and no Ministry without Ordination; and no Ordination without Imposition of Hands, and no Imposition of Hands by any Scripture Command, so much as implicitly. Yea, it seems you take not up this Course on any strongly-apparent Necessity, when such Cales as this will put you on it; and you are so willing to make the Scripture silent, where it speaks plainly, that you may prove a necessity of another Word. I do confess the necessity of Tradition to deliver us safe the Scripture it self, the Cabinet with the Treasurie, and the certainty of Tradition in Establishing Scripture by handing down to us the Articles of our Creed, and Substance of Christianitie, in and against which, the Church cannot err in sensu compoite, because so erring unchurcheth it: But this will not prove the necessity of another Law besides the written Law, for it is opus subordinatum: It is not the part of a Law, nor belongs to it's sufficiency to publish, promulgate, or confirme it fell. But it belongs to it's Sufficiency to contain all the standing matter of Duty, in Specie, where the Species is permanently due, and in genera only with Directions for determining of the Species, when the said Species is of uncertain, unconstant, mutable Duene: He that faith a Duty of so great and standing necessity, is not so much as implicitly commanded in Scripture, doth plainly lay, that besides the Scripture, which is insufficient, God hath either another more perfect Law for Supernaturals, or else, another part to add to the Scripture to make it perfect. Your Addition mollifieth the Matter in Terms, but I doubt scarce in Sense, for when you lay that (the Text where Impostition of Hands is spoken of commented upon by the universal Practice of the Church from the first Age, till this wild exorbitant last Century, seems a clear Evidence what the Will of Christ is, &c.) I very much like the Words and Sense which they in propriety express, etc. That in a Matter of Fact, where Scripture is obscure, the Practice of the first, second, or third Centuries may be an excellent Commentary; that is, a help to understand them; much more the Practice of the universal Church in all Ages. But I must tell you, that it is not the Work of a Commentary on the Laws expressly to add such Precepts, about matters of such very great Concernment, as is the very being of the Republik, which are neither expressly, or implicitly in the Law it fell, I must judge therefore, that you make the Churches Practice a real Law, though you thought meet to give it but the Title of a Comment. And I scarce approve of your comparative Terms of the Centuries as bad as this is? What hast this Century, which hath been the only reforming Age, been worse than that before it, whose Corruptions it reformed? and worse than that of which Bellarmine faith, Hoc secundo nullum existis indebitem vel inficiens quo qui Mathematica aut Philosophia operam dabat. Magna vulgo putabatur: and that of which Episcopus faith, quod Graecae notit, quod Omne rationis. What worse than the four or five foregoing Centuries, wherein Murderers, Traytors, common Whoremongers, Sodomites, Hereticks were the pretended Heads of the Church, and grossly ignorant, superflitious and wicked ones were the confpicuous part of the Body. Will you appeal from this Century to thoes? Did you not even now confess, that (it is admirably worth our Consideration that when God flirred up the dowzy World to depart from Rome's Superflitions and Idolatries, he bowed the Hearts of some of the Church Officers to go along with them) Rome then was idolatrous. We departed from it, God flirred Men up, and bowed their Hearts thereto: I confess you may say as much for the proving of the Univerfal Churches Practice, in this Point, as in Moff, it being of constant and solemn use, and none that I know of, that ever opposed it. But if you hold this universal Practice to be the other part of God's Law, and do lay any thing much on it in other Points, especially in Doctrinals, I would advise you to get better Proof of the Universality than others use to bring, who go that way. As the Romish Church is not the the Univerfal, nor the Romish and Greek together, fo the Opinion of four or five, or more Fathers is no Evidence, of the Judgement of the universal Church: Till they are better agreed with themselves and one another; it is hard taking a view of the Judgement of the Church universal in them, in controverted Points. Till Origin, Tertullian, &c. cease to be accounted Hereticks; till Firmilianus, Cyprian, and the Council of Carthage be better agreed with Stephen Bishof of Rome, till Ruffinus cease to be a Heretic to Hierom, and many the like Dilecor; it is hard seeing the Face of the Church universal in this Glafs. I was but even now reading in Hierom, where he tells Augin, that there were quaedam Heretica his Writings against him: when yet to the impartial Reader, the angry Man, that mororit Senex, had the unflounder Captle. As long as the Writings of Clem. Alexandr. Origin, Tati- auus, pretended Dyonifus, Laetaminis, with so many more, do tot erronibus seareur, so long as many Councils have fo ordered, and Council is a great Council, and some
things are imposed by them, under the terrible Pennyalty of Anathematizing, which Rome itself doth take unlawful to be observed, there are not perfect Indices of the Mind of Christ or the universal Church. Read Beuxum himself, Tom. 3; what abundance of Errors in History he charge upon Epifhows and others. I suppofe you to have read Dailie, and the Lord Digby on this; yet think not that I would detract from the due Eflimation of the Fathers, or Councils, or from the necfility of Tradition to the use which I have expreffed in the Preface to the Second part of my Book of Ref. But I know not well in the matter of Not-kneeling and Not-falling on the Lord's Day, Not reading the Books of Heathens, &c. how a Man should obey both the former Councils, and the prefent Church of Rome it felt; yea, or how in matter of giving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to Infants, and other things the prefent Church and the former do agree. And I would know, whether it was not the Practice of that which you call the universal Church then, which the following Ages did alter and contradif. But all this part of the Anfver is but occasional as to your Amplifications, and not to the matter under debate. I further anfwer you therefore, that the universal Practice of the Church doth prove no more but that it was done, and therefore by them judged a Duty to be done, and fo not to be omitted while they could ufe it; all which I grant you. I am not one that would have Ordination ufed without Impoffion, but in cafe of necfility: But it follows not from all this, that it is effential to Ordination; fuppofe a Church inftrute a new Ceremony, that every Bifhop ordained fhall have a Helmet on, to fignify that he muft fight valiantly as a Captain under Christ, and the Ordainer muft lay his Hands on this: If I can prove that it hath been the universal Practice of the Church in nulam apertum caput manu impone, doth it follow that this is effential, and the contrary null? If you ask, what necfility there can be of Ordination sine manum Impoffione? I anfwer, very great and ordinary: or. in abfentia ordinatur; for want of which the Church hath uffered, and may uffer very much. When a Man is in remote Parts of the World, and perhaps too fcrupulous of playing the Bifhop without Ordination, if he muft travel over Land and Sea for Ordination, his Life may be gone, or molt of it spent, while he is seeking Authority to ufe it for his Matter. If a few only of the Ordainers were left in a Country, or in many Nations, and thofe imprisoned or forced to hide themselves, they might by an Infruement under their Hands Ordain, when they could not at all, or to one of a hundred by Impoffion of Hands. But yet all this is but the leaff necfity part of my Anfwer to your Argument. To your Confequence therefore, I anfwer by denying it: If the Succeffion be interrupted, what necfility is there that the next muft come in without Impoffion of Hands, what fiew of fuch a Confequence? May not the illegitimate Ordainer impone manus? Or may he not himfelf enter by Impoffion of Hands, and yet be illegitimate, and his Calling null? If you think not only Impoffion to be effential, but alfo that nothing else is effential, or that all are true Ministres that are ordained by a lawful Bifhop par manum impoffitionem, then do you grievously tibi refi impone. Sufpofe a lawful Bifhop fhould ordain a Man into an unlawful Office, as to be the universal Bifhop; or fhould ordain a known Heaffen to be a Bifhop by Impoffion of Hands; were not this null? Yea, and many a lower cafe (as in cafe of Symony, &c.) if Councils be of any Authority. Here then the Succeffion is interrupted, and yet this Man may Ordain others by Impoffion of Hands: Sufpofe in the cafe of Pope Jone, the Succeffion interrupted for want of a capable Sex, and yet the might Ordain by Impoffion of Hands. Laffly, I anfwer, This Argument can pretend to prove no more than the former, That Ordination is effential to the Call of the Miniftry: Ergo, So far as that is diapprovd, fo far is this. And indeed, it had been stronger arguing a Neceffitate Ordinationis ad necceffitatem impoffitionis manuum, than contra; becaufe all Arguing fhould be a Noture: But fure the Necfity of Impoffion of Hands is minus no- tum, then the necfity of Ordination: Many a Thoufand will yield that Ordination is effential (I believe) that will not yield it of that Impoffion.

Having done with all that I find in this Paper, I add this crofs Argument for the enerfating of all (or if you will of your Second, which is all). If your Arguments do tend as well to prove the absolute Necfity of an uninterrupted Succeffion quoad modum, as to every Mode and Circumstance in Ordination, which the Apolites have required as due, without exprf. Difpenfation for Omifion, as of legiflate Ecclefsialical Ordination it fell; then they are ufonnd. At verum primum: Ergo, The Antecedent is proved thus: The full Strength of all your Arguments is here, Chrift or his Apolites (or the Church fince) have mentioned no other way of Conveying Miniftrial Power; but by Ordination and Impoffion of Hands:

Ergo,
Ergo, There is no other way; and this is necessary ad efti Officiis: As strongly may we argue for any Mode or convenient Circumstance to required or used. As Christ or his Apoftles mention no way of Ordination or of conveying the Miniflerial Power, but with Prayer conjunct, or but with Imposition of Hands on the bare Head, or but in the Syriack, Hebrew, Greek, or Latin Tongues, or but on a Man that is vigilant, sober, and of good Behaviour, &c. Ergo, There is no other way: Ergo, This is of absolute Necessity, ad efti Officiis. But this is no good arguing: Ergo, No more is yours. It is as bad as if one had thus argued with the Jesusites in the Wildernefs. (God hath mentioned no other way of Covenant Engagement, or Church Entrance, but by Circumcision: Ergo, there is no other. Ergo, this is necessary ad efti fideribus in Ecclesiae.) They are no good Textus Confulti Christiani, i.e. Theology that know not that some Cakes must be judged, and some Laws interpreted, as I mentioned, which yet is but according to the true Sense of that Law; as Christ taught the Pharifis in the Cafe of David, the Priests, and his Disciples rubbing the Ears of Corn.

I conclude all as I begun, defiring that if this satisfy you not, you would perform the other Parts of your Undertaking, before, or with your Reply to this, and blame not me, who am past all doubt of an Interruption of Succession in a great part of the Churches, especially of the Romifh, and uncertain of a Non-interruption in any Church on Earth, and defpair of ever being certain, to be as loath to yield that Christ hath no Church Miniftry or Miniflerial Ordinances, or at leaft none in fo large a part of the profefed Church, or that we are uncertain whether he hath any at all; as you are loath to yield to the immediate Authorizing Efficacy of the Law, or to the Sufficienty of the Magiftrates, or Peoples Mediation in cafe of necessity, or to an Occafion of encouraging Usurpers of the Miniftry.

Tertullian de Baptifmo, Cap. 17.

Superfl [ad concluendam materialam de observatione quaque donandi & accipendi Baptifmum commenfacer. Donandi quidem jux habet summus Sacerdos, qui eft Epifcopus: Dehinc Prelbyteri & Diaconi; non tamen five Epifcopi authenticate prophet Ecclesiae homines: quo falvo, fabre pac eft. Aliquot etiam laici jux eft. Quod enim ex efto accipitur, ex efto datur potest, nisi Epifcopi jam aut Prelbyteri aut Diaconi vocaverant, dicentis, Domini jfero non debet abfcondi ad idio. Pradite & baptizatus ego Dei confus, ab omnibus excruci potest: sed quanto majis Laici disciplina verconundet & modestia incumbat, quam ea majestatis competat, ne fubi adjunctum dicamus Epifcopi officium Epifcopatus. Aemulatio fublimationum movet: Omnia libere dixit falfifimus Apofolus, fed non omnia expedere. Sufciptae felicis in necessitatis, ut utar, fcebi, aut loci, aut temporis, aut perfone confiditio compellit. Tunc enim contingentia succurrentis accipitur, quam noget circumftantia perifitufit. Quamuis reus perditis hominis fit superior fedet fuffridere quid libere portis. Petulantia autem mulierum quae ufurparit docere, uti ino etiam turgidis jux pari perit, &c. Had there been here no mention of the Epifcopal Office or of teaching, the Arguments would hold for it a forte: Chrift hath put Baptizing in the Apoftolical commifion, appropriating that to them, as much as the rest. Yet whether all this of Tertullian be approvable I now difpute not. But here you fee the way of Antiquity, vide Pameli annotat. in loc. ubi fimiha citatun ex Ambros, Clem. Conftitut. Histororum, Hylar. ibidem. And it is not only the Papifts that are still for Womens baptizing in cafe of Necessity (Pamelius would force Tertullian to their Sense, contrary to the whole Scope of his Words) but many other, and that very long ago, and Lay-men were wont to preach in the Church then, how much more (as Eudoxus and Furmentus) among Infidels, Canili. Carthag. 4. alios 5. Can. 98. Laicos preceptibus clericis non ipsi regantibus Docere non audiat. Origiu did usually expound the Scriptures publicly, before he was ordained, and was encouraged in it by the Bishops themselves, of which Baroni is himfelf speaks in thefe Words (ad omnum Chris- bi 250. pag. 377.) Leo nemum Prelbyteri gradu patuis, ab Epifcopis qui ibi erant, non ad definitum fomni, fed ad Scripturam etiam aprioribus, magispopere in communi Ecclefia confimia regant eft. Quod quidem poterit eft perficuum ex isto quae Alexander Hierofy- lymen Epifcopus & Theolofus Epifcopus Caftiiae ad demumiriam in Origenis defenfione fìc fere verdantibus. Quod autem in litibus adjudicati, neqim quam antea auditum, neque jum nufurtam ut Laici preceptibus Epifcopi difpulfent, Scripturarif exprens: in eo mihi etiam quoniam videris perficuum falia diffitio. Nam ibi ibi donac & habites repentinunt, quic Tertullian in verbo Dei adjuvamento fini, a fani Epifcopus regantur, ut Populam in verbo expulerunt: Stett Lavandi Ecclefia a Noen, Iconii Pauli ne Celfo, & opul Synodos The- doros ab Attico, qui omnes belief & pu Fraifes erant. At versusim eft, quoniam nobis ob-
Mr. Johnson's Second Letter to Mr. Baxter.

SIR,

I have here enclosed first you back the Papers which I borrowed of you, and I have been so scrupulous in sending them back exactly the same as they were first sent to you, that I have not so much as minded some Errata which I observed (in the Copying them over) to have slipped my Pen when I wrote them first.

I have since received my own Papers, perused the Answer which you make to them; but what I am like to return, I cannot guess: For I cannot tell whether you have satisfied my Arguments or not. This I know, and shall not be ashamed to confess, that if you have, I have not yet hit enough to understand you. But before I will say you have not, I will a little more consider your Answer, and try my own Reason a little farther. Only this I will venture to say in the mean time, that if I can any wise judge of my own Heart, I never ensnared more unadvisedly after any Truth, than I do after this present Question; and therefore I do not doubt, but if Light be before me, I shall at length see it, though for the present it be hid from me: For as I said (if I know my own Heart) I can sincerely say, that in this Question I could be well content to find the Truth, though it ran cross against every Line in my own Papers. But I must needs confess, if I have Truth on my side in this Question, and after the most diligent Examination which I can make, it shall still appear that to plead for an uninterrupted Succession be of absolute necessity for the Justifying of our Ministry, I shall never dispute the other Masters with the like indifference. For in this combat I could be content to take a foil, and it is in a manner all one to me, whether of us get the better. But in the other matters which I am after to proceed upon, I have many complications before me to be afraid of owning Truth, if I should once with her end of my own Quarter.
APPENDIX. Numb. II.

Quarters. And therefore beside the Pains which it will cost me to discharge the Task, the very Fear which I shall be in least I should miscarry in the Managing, makes me more than willing to take a Superfedeas here. But if this cannot be done, you shall have the rest which I promised, performed in the same order as your self have stipulated, viz. before I make any Reply to yours, I shall endeavour to discharge the three other Particulars which remain behind, and all in due time from,

Sir,

Wamborn, Octob. 6. 1653.

Your Fellow-labourer,

and Enquirer after Truth.

M. Johnson.

For my Reverend, &c. very worthy Friend, Mr. Baxter, Minister of the Word at Kidderminster, There.

---

Mr. Johnson's Third Letter to Mr. Baxter.

Sir,

In my late Letter which I sent you, I told you, That I could not resolve my self whether you had answered my Arguments or not, but intended to try my own Reason a little farther, before I would say positively that you had not. And now upon further Consideration, I return you this to your whole Discourse: 1. Whereas you say to my first Argument that it was necessary for our English Bishops to prove an uninterrupted Succession against the Papists, because they might thereby argue ad hominem more strongly against them. I answer, That such learned Men as I have had the luck to meet withal, do not intend their Arguments or their Pains to any such end, and I prove that sufficiently thus. Because they that do use such kind of Replies do usually frame their Answers thus: 1. That there is no necessity of such a Succession. But, Secondly, If there was a necessity, yet the nullity of our Calling would not follow, because we can prove such a Succession. But say I, the learned Authors which I have hitherto met withal, have no such Concessions: And because you seem often to hint some such thing, I desire you would point me out to some English Bishop, who having written about this Subject, do concede, that a Succession in Office, or a Succession of legitimate Ordination is not necessary. And I do the more confidently require this from you, because I have it from one who is much better acquainted with Authors than my self, that the Socinian Faction were the first that ever owned that Affertion. And if he be able to make good what he faith, you gain as little Credit by abetting such a Faction as they are, in your Affertions, as we get by abetting the Papists, while we plead for the quite contrary.

But Secondly, Whereas you deny the Consequence, and tell me that all which they thought necessary is not necessary, they being not infallible. I answer, that you lay more stress upon my first Argument than I intended: For I never intended to argue thus: That therefore it was infallibly necessary because they thought it necessary, but that it was a good inducing Motive to persuade that it was a matter of more consequence than your Papers made of it, since learned Men took so much Pains about it: And though this indeed will not extend to a Demonstration, yet it may serve as far as I intended it, viz. as far as an Argument will reach, drawn only from that inartificial Topick a Testimonia, which you know in all contexts is familiarly used, and not to be rejected if the Testes be Men of Worth and Learning. And if so, then this Argument will stand good so far as it will serve, or was intended, notwithstanding any thing that hath been said to the Contrary.

To
To the Second Argument, Whereas you doubt not to lay, That if you answer me well in this, you carry the whole Case aforeside you. I shall so far gratify you as to acknowledge that you have sufficiently answered it, though I must allow proposals that I cannot find wherein you have given a formal answer to it. For the Apex, or the Quick of the Argument (as you are pleased to phrase it) was laid down in this Proposition [That there is no where in Scripture such a Form of Words as these. [That they that are thus and thus qualified may Preach the Word.] Now to this you answer, That there is quand fejum. And I reply, That this will serve your turn, if you do but make out: But I lay, that I cannot find it in your Papers. You urge six Particulars presently, from whence, I suppose, you intend to do it. But at length, your fall before the Quetion in the winding them up. For whereas you say, that the Form in the Law was not only thus: [That they that Preach the Word must be thus and thus qualified] but [That they that are thus and thus qualified may be appointed to Preach the Word.] I think you are before the Question. For I did not engage you to prove that there were in Scripture such a Form of Words as this: [But they that are thus and thus Qualified shall be appointed to Preach] but [That Men thus and thus qualified may Preach the Word, or have in being to qualified, Authority to preach the Word.] betwixt which two Propositions I conceive there is much Difference: It is one thing to say, [That they that are thus and thus qualified may be appointed, that is, may have Authority given them to preach the Word.] And it is a far different thing to say, [That they that are thus and thus qualified may preach or have de facto Authority to Preach, being so qualified.] And being thus as Mediums in a Syllogism will produce very different Conclusions. For Example, Suppose we could find such a Form of Words in Scripture as these, [That they that are thus and thus qualified may preach the Word.] And make this the Major in the Syllogism. Then any single Person or Individuum as could infallibly frame himself into the Assumption thus, [But I am thus and thus qualified.] might infallibly also make out his Communion to preach into this Conclusion: Ergo, I have Authority to preach the Word. And without any thing to do with further Ordination might presently go about the Work: The Word giving him his Communion, and I confess were there such a Form, would be a sufficient Medium to convey Authority as a sufficient Discoverer of the Will of God concerning such an Individuum. But then, if there be only such a Form as this; [They that are thus and thus qualified shall be appointed to Preach the Word.] Then any single Person or Individuum, having first fitted himself into the Minor thus, [But I am thus and thus qualified.] could make no other Conclusion but this: Ergo, I may be appointed to Preach the Word; which Conclusion, as I never did deny, so it is little Advantage for you to have proved: For the Question is not whether the Word doth direct who shall be appointed to Preach: But whether the Word doth immediately, by an immediate Application of something immediately, by an immediate Application of something in its part to an Individuum, convey Authority, into that Individuum to Preach, so as there shall be no need of further appointing or commissioning from Church Officers: which it would have done if there had been such a Sense in the Word as I required. But no such matter, though there should be such a Sense as you produce: For I cannot yield that which you conceive we are both agreed in; viz. That when the Word hath described the Qualifications of the Minister, that then there is no more to do but to discern or judge who is the Man that hath those Qualifications; for though the Bishop should judge such or such an Individuum to be fitly qualified for the Ministry, as discerning the Qualifications which the Word requires in him; yet till he hath by Impostition of Hands, Fasting and Prayer, let him a part for the Work, he is yet no Minister to my understanding, whatever he may be to yours.

But, Sir, I confess, though you have not formaliter answered this Argument, yet you have given me so much Light from your most excellent Discourse which you make from your scouts to the End of this Second Arguments Reply, that I can answer it my self. And therefore I shall, as I laid at the beginning, acknowledge that you have both satisfied it, and my own scrupulous Mind about this Question: And I do fully consent with you, that though the Succession of Ordination might be interrupted, yet we may draw our Authority from Christ by the Mediation of the written Word, or indeed by the very Law of Nature, which was a thing I confess I had not (as your self seems to fast me) duly considered. But now, having well weighed what Srels both Laws lay upon all Men to do what good they can when they have an Opportunity and there be a necessity of
their Help. I do not doubt but a Man may have a sufficient Discovery of the Will of Christ calling him out to Duty, and by Consequence giving him sufficient Authority for that Work, though he may want the regular entrance into it. And therefore since I see a way to justify the Ministry, and to derive our Authority from Christ, though the Succession should be interrupted (though also in the mean time I think all the Men alive may be defied to make full Proof either that the Succession ever was, or ever shall be interrupted) I shall neither trouble you nor myself any farther about a business so fo little purpose. But supposing from all the rest of my promis'd Task shall only add something concerning your Reply to my third Argument; and that is this: To my Question that I make in the Behalf of the Invaders of our Office, why we Clamour so much against them, why we give them not the Right Hand of Fellowship? you answer, We do not, we may not give them the Right Hand of Fellowship, because they come not into the Vineyard by the Door. But I Reply from your own Principles that it is for them morally impossible to come in by the Door, the Door to them being by Providence nailed up: The Men which you call Church Officers being either such as will not give them a Commission, or such as they dare not take a Commission from, as conceiving them not lawful Ministers, and because they cannot have their Orders from them sacer confitentis, it becomes impossible to them, quia omne turpe & inobedientum est impossibile. And so, though you say, nothing is more untrue, yet to me, nothing seems more evident, than that the case of extream Necessity is their case. The Anabaptists for Example; he cannot be ordained by a Bishop, he dare not, because he judges the very Order to be Antichristian: The Presbyterian, if he may have any better Opinion of them, yet they think to ill of him, that they will not give him Orders. Either therefore, though he be never so well qualified for the Work, he must take his Call from the Company of Brethren, or he must take it upon his own discerning the Qualifications in himself, or he must not Preach at all, though he sees the Church of Christ have never so much need of his Help. Now if you lay that in such a Case a Man may not bury his Talents when the Church hath need of his Help, and he an Opportunity to give it; but he may either take it upon himself, or the People may be the Judges to call him out to it, or the Magistrate either. Then they have the same Authority which we must have if the Succession be interrupted, and the Door of the Vineyard nailed up by Providence: and to their Authority seems built upon your own Principles. Now to all this it may be said, that it is their Error to be Anabaptists, and it is their Error to Judge the visible Ministry of England to be no Church-Offices, and that it is their Duty to quit themselves of these Errors, that they may be in a Capacity to receive Ordinations, and the Presbyterian in a Capacity to Ordain them, as you do in effect say. To this I answer, that I think, as well as you, that these are their Errors, and that these Errors ought to be laid aside. But yet, this being laid, doth not absolve them from the case of extream Necessity which I speak of. An erroneous Confequences binding as strongly as a found; and an Error appearing Truth, lays as great a Necessity upon the Party to frame his Practice to it as Truth: And so the Necessity becomes still as importunate. Me thinks this Answer which you give may be made by Papists to us Presbyterians, and by the Episcopal Party to you Presbyteries, when we tell the Papists, that we dare not take Orders from them, or the Presbyterian tells the Episcopacy that they dare not take Orders from them: How easily may the Papists lay to us, it is our Error? how seriously may the Episcopal say to the Presbyterian, it is your Error? You create Impossibilities and Necessities upon your selves by your erroneous Consequences? But if we Protestants cannot reject that Necessity which lies upon us of refusing Orders from the Papists; or if the Presbyterian cannot reject the Impossibility that lies before them of taking Orders from the Prelates, whilst their Consequences tell them they may not. Why may not the Scéfaries upon as good Ground, and as justifiable Principles refuse Orders from the Presbyterian, and plead as strongly a moral Impossibility and a nailing up the Vineyards Door by Providence, whilst their Consequences tells them they may not; and so baulking those that we call Church-Officers enter as regularly into the Ministry, or at least as inconfutably as any other Men, if the Succession be interrupted? And therefore I cannot think that you have answered this Argument, except the two first Lines contain it; where you say, That the best things may be made use of as Occasions to encourage Men in Sin, &e. because I think that there is much Truth in that, and that the Inconvenience which this Argument hath hanged upon that Affection, is but incommunam per accidens, which may be onseen upon most of the Truths of God; I supercede likewise in that Answer to my third Argument. As for
for my Fourth Argument, I confefs it was frivolously urged to the present Questi-
on, and I have wondered at my self how I came to hook it in under the present
Debate; and therefore I will return you nothing to what you have said against it:  
But giving you many Thanks for that Help which you have held out to my Un-
derstanding towards that weighty Question of justifying the Calling of the Mini-
istry; I beleevh the Almighty long continue your Life to the Advantage of his
Church. And this done, without further Ceremony, I bid you farewell, and rest

Wamborne, Nov. 9.
1653;

Your Fellow Labourer

in the Gospel of Christ,

M. Johnson.

For my Reverend, &c. very worthy Friend, Mr. Baxter, Minister
of the Word at Kidderminster, Thefe.

Mr. Baxter's Second Letter to Mr. Johnson.

Reverend Brother,

I know not whether I am more glad of your Satisfaction, or sorrowful that
you will not supersede the Task which you undertook. I confefs it is a La-
bour which I apprehend would be useful to me many ways; but a strong Concei-
of the Impo{ibility of performing it, did slack my Desires: But now you con-
elize me, expressing here a higher Confidence of the Fearful benefic of your Work
than before, (in your defying all the World on the contrary:) So that I must again
renew my fuit to you, that you would perform that Work, and prove de fide an
uninterrupted Succession. I profefs, it is for my own Edification that I defire it;
and if you fufpeft whether it be to evil, or enter a Quarrel with, you mistake
me. Such a Discovery would dispatch several Difficulties with me in several
Controversies.

As for your Animadversions last fent, I fhall reply to the Subftance of them in
brief. 1. The Firft I confefs little worth the infilling on, because firit you con-
fefs it is but a Motive to induce you to think there is weight in the Point. 2. Be-
cause if there were any thing in it, the contrary Judgments of all the Learned Di-
vines of France, Belgia, upper Germany, Hejtina, Denmark, Sweden, Scot-
land, Transylvania, Hungary, with a great part of the English, who are again
the necellity of an uninterrupted Succession, is as strong a motive to an
unprejudiced Man, as is the Judgment of the Bifhops of England alone. But
2. It is a known Cafe paff all doubt, that the English Bifhops oppofed the Pa-
pifts in this Point, till of later Years; and to name you more, what need I,
when you know I named you fo many in my Book? To all which add, That even
the late exafperated Epifcopal Divines, whereof fome have been fuperfected of hail-
ing, do yet confefs the Truth of the Reformed Churches and Mini{try that have
no Bifhops; as doth Dr. Fer, Dr. Steuart's, Answer to Fountain's Letter, Bifhop Bron-
fball againft Milferius, who yet would have the Pope to be principium Unitatis to
all the Church. I do not think you can find one of twenty that wrote againft the
PapiJts before the late King's Reign, or the Treaty of the Spanifh Match, but were
all againft the Papifts in this Point of the necellity of uninterrupted Succession
(if they medled with the Point).

All 2d. The Reafon why you faw not a Formal Answer in my Words, I con-
ceive was your Overfight, you took no notice of the Force of my Answer. You
required this Proposition to be proved from Scripture [They that are thus and
thus qualified may preach the Word] I told you it is contained in this which is
in Scripture | Men thus and thus qualified fhall be appointed to preach
the Word.] Here you overlook the Strength of my Answer, which is in the
Word [shall,] and you not only obfufe the Empaff, but change the Word,
and put [may] for [shall.] Here is contained a Precept comprehensive both of
the Preacher's Work, and the Ordainers conjufcly. Now all my Business was to
flew you, that as in this there are more Precepts than one,fo that secundum materia
subjectam they have not the fame Degree of Obligation; and that though God do
lay down together his Law both de re & de modo of the Work, and the Order of en-
tring on it, yet that the later is but for the former and subservient to it, and a more
dispensable thing, and that when the Ordainers fail of their Duty (which is his
own Precept included herein) the Perfon to be ordained remaineth nevertheless
obliged by the other part: So that while Ordination may be had, this ties such
to submit to it, and makes it necessarv as God’s Order; and then the whole Pre-
cept-comprehensive obligation: But when it cannot be had, or the Ordainer will
not obey his part of the Precept, the other stands in force nevertheless to the other
Party.

1. The Words [Men thus qualified shall be ordained] hath these two Precepts in it.
2. The First in Order and Weight is [Men thus qualified shall preach the Word.]
3. The Second subservient is [They shall (ordinis gratia) be ordained heretofore] Hethat
is willfully the first Diver of these Conjunct Precepts sinneth. Either the Man
that will Preach without submitting to Ordination, when it may be had; or the
Ordainers that will not Ordain the Orthodox, or otherwise well qualified. But seeing
the Word [shall] in the foresaid Precept, doth create a double Necessity, but far
unequal, [there shall be Preaching] and [Ergo, there shall be Ordaining.] it fol-
loweth from the inequality, that when one cealeth, the other doth not: ergo esse;
and so when Ordination cannot be had, the Proposition which you expected, re-
maineth alone, which before was conjunct with another. [Men thus qualified shall
Preach:] This was the Summ of my Answcr, which I do repeat verbo nomine
because you overlooked it the last time.

But you add, [I cannot yield that which you conceive we are both agreed in;]
Thus. That when the Word hath described the Qualifications of the Minifter, that
there is no more to do, but to discern and judge who is the Man that hath
these Qualifications: For though the Bishop should judge such a Man fit for the
Miniftrey, as discerning the Qualifications which the Word requires in him, yet
will he hath by Impofition of Hands, Faltting and Prayer, let him apart for
that Work, he is yet no Minifter to my Understanding, whatever he may be to
yours.] To this I reply; 1. I take the Form of Ordination to lye in the Au-
thoritative Appointment; and, God having described the Perfon by his Quali-
fications, I take the formal nature of this Appointment to lye only in [the deter-
miming Judgment] who shall be the Man: For [whether there shall be a Man ap-
pointed or not] God hath not left to Man’s Judgment; nor yet [what manner of
Man, for Qualifications, he shall be]: If, Ergo, the lawful Ordainers say, [We
do by the Authority given us of God judge, i.e. sentence or determine, that
consideret, considerandus, this is the Man that is qualified, and so called of God to
be the Pastor of this Church; and Ergo, require you in the Name of Christ, to
accept him and submit to him; this Man is ordained my Judgment, yea, though this
Determination be but in Writing. So if it be directed to the Minifter himself:
(which goes firt) [we do by the Authority given us of God, Judge there called to
the Office of the Miniftrey; and Ergo, require thee to undertake it.] By called I
mean ex parte Det, by Qualification, Contem, Opportunity, &c. which go be
fore Ordaining.

Now what do you yet want ad eftie Miniftri? You mention but two things, 1.
Impofition of Hands. 2. Faltting and Prayer: (For setting a part is done by the
former Authoritative Determination) But 1. Impofition you anon deny to be fo
necessary, in disinclaiming your laft Argument; which you feem here to forget.
2. Faltting and Prayer is, no doubt a mean Accident, or Duty fitly conjoined, but
not of the Effence of Ordination I think few Men living will fay, that if for the Law-
ful Ordainer do all the reft of the Work besides Prayer, that it is no Ordination;
Prayer is one thing (requifite ad bene eftir) and Ordination another. And for Falt-
ting, I could not learn that tho’ Bishops that I knew did always obferve it; but
when the Ordination was before dinner time (as it ufually was) and the Biphop
got presently from Ordination to his Feaft; that was not the Faltting, I think,
which you mean. But how are you satisfied that we may derive our Authority
immediately from the Law, if there were no Succeffion? and yet think him no
Minifter that hath the determining Sentence of the Ordiner’s Appointing him to
the Work, for want of Impofition of Hands, Prayer and Faltting.

Ad 2nd. I marvel, that on fo very flight Grounds, you think that [nothing is
more evident, than that the cafe of extrem Necessity is their cafe] who invade
the Miniftrey among us now! I told you that Nemini debetur Commodum ex propriis
culpis (as the Civil Law fayeth) I diftinguished between moral Impoffibility vicious
and culpable, and inculpable; and between necelfifitating to Sin, and necelfifitating
to, or constituting of Duty; and I told you, that the impossibility that lay on
them of right entering was vicious, or through their own Sin; and God doth not
caufe Men to Sin. I told you also, that this erring Confequence might necelfitate
them to fin, that is, enfafter them, that they fhall fin whether they do or not do;
but it can never warrant them in obeying it. This was the Sent of my
Speech, though not the Words. To explain which, I defire you to obferve, that
bounç of ex cuiui integris, at leat quad Species, if not quad Graduam. So that God
requireth to a virtuous Action which shall be properly and plenarily Moral, i.e.
votary, t; That it be made due by his own Precept or Law. 2. That it be ap-
prefhended fuch by the Intelleft, and fo by the Will elected, and elective as such:
So that where Confequence takes that to be Duty which is none, it hath but Offici-
um apparent, & non verum; it catcheth a Shadow, apprehending a Duty which is
no Duty; fo there may be interpretable a kind of formal Reason of Ob-
dience in the Will (the Guided Faculty) in that it did will that which was pre-
ferred to it as due, but there wants the Matter and the Form of Obedience
quad hominen, who is intelligent also; yea, here you must distinguish between
Ignorance culpable, (and fuperable) and inculpable: For when the Ignorance is
culpable, it cannot be faid that the guilty Will doth properly obedient, becaufe it was a
caufe of its own misleading by the Intelleft: And in our Cafe, that Ignorance is
always culpable. I do wonder, Ergo, that you fhould say, (and lay all on that Mi-
flate) that (an erroneous Confequence binds as strongly as a found) for the Obliga-
tion of Confequence is subordinate to God's Preceptive Obligation. God makes Du-
ty, and Confequence doth but apprehend Duty: So that an erring Confequence cannot
not make Duty entirely and materially: We muft not make a God of an erring
Confequence, much lefs can it make that no Sin, which God hath made Sin; yea,
make that Duty, which God made Sin. God's Preceps lye thus: [1. Thou
 fhalt not run before thou art fent] This is to the whole Man; and no Error of
Mans can repeal it. Then [2. The Will muft follow the right guiding Intelleft.]
This is natural, and excufeth not the following of an erring Judgment. Then
[3. That the Will follow the practical Intelleft: whether right or wrong] that is
no Precept, but the Nature of the Soul in its acting, becaufe that Will is poten-
tientia ceca, non nata, ad intelligendum, sed ad volendum vel nolendum intelligendum: So
that it is a moft inter-ollable thing to grant that Man's Error can make Duty no
Duty, or Sin no Sin. If Man muft will bonum apprehenfum, he may neceffitate
himself to fin in his choice, by misapprehending; becaufe then, though Bonum
be still Bonum, yet it is apprehenfum sub Raione mali, & contra, and fo one of the
two Necessaries to right Willing is wanting; but apprehending malum to be bonum
doth not make it fo; and Ergo, then the greater Necessary is wanting to the erring
Confequence, vide. God's Conftitution: So that whether you fay as Durandus, that
Confeientia errarz Ligat at non obligat, or whether you fay, as others, that ligeare
and obligare are all one; yet still the cafe is plain, that [an erring Confequence may en-
tangle us in Sin, whether we obey or not obey it; but it cannot free us from Sin
or from Duty, except where the cafe is fuch that God's Law hath made one and
the fame thing to be fin or no fin, according to Men's Knowledge or Ignorance;
which never falls out but when the Ignorance is inculpable, which is never in our
Cafe.] Even while the Perfon erring, he lyeth under a double Obligation: 1.
To do the Duty, or avoid the Sin. 2. To judge rightly of Sin and Duty, and
apprehend them as they are; and fo to lay down his Error: So that all your
Words import but this; [An erring Man cannot choose but err; or, cannot over-
come it.] But not [he is, ergo, innocens:] For it is his own Fault that brought
him to it, and continued him in it. He that is accufed to do evil, is not innoc-
ent, becaufe he can no more learn to do well, than a Blackamore can
change his Skin, &c.

1. This Anfwer of yours leems again to me, to be inconfiftent with your pro-
feffed Conviction. For if you do indeed think 1. That in cafe of necelfity the
Succession is not necelfary. 2. And that nothing is more evident than that
thefe Men have fuch Necelfity: then you muft think that thofe Men are lawful
Minifters; which I know you do not. Where the Flaw is, and what Link of this
Chain you will break, I cannot tell.

2. And when you fay, that (the Papifts may fay as eafily to us, as we to the
Seculars, that it is our Error, &c. (and fo the Episcopal Party) that we will not
take Orders from them.) I reply, They may fay it as eafily, but if as truly, they
conclude us under Guilt, and carry the Caufe. Twenty Partys may fay they are
all in the right, doth it follow that they are all fo, becaufe they make the fame Pre
tence to it? Many Parties may Plead one Medium, one Scripture, for contrary
Opinions: Are they, Ergo, alike found and justifieable? Thus the Scepticks and
Libertines use to say, [You say, you are in the right, and Papists and Anabaptists
say, they are in the right: Ergo, (What then? Why) they may be in the right,
or at least, should have Liberty as well as you.] But it is not he that faith he is
in the right, but he that is so indeed, that should be countenanced by the Magis-
trate: So it is not he that hath the same Pretence, but the justifieable Caufe that
must carry it. Else what are Judges for, if each Man have right that pretend to
it? If our erroneous Conciecnes make us grope in the Dark, and suppose the
Papists have nailed up the Door, when they have not, then the Sin lyeth on us.
But if indeed the Papists, do by wicked Oaths, and Engagements to Papal Ty-
ranny, and false Doctrines, supernumerary Articles of Faith, and wicked Pra-
tices, shut up the Door of Ordination, that no Man can lawfully enter at it,
among them, then is the Sin theirs, and God will judge them for the Divisions,
Diffracions, Confusions, Corruptions, and Desolations, which they have brought
upon the Churches of Christ.

Ad 4. I Need say nothing.
Sir, let me conclude as I begun, with a request that you would prove the un-
interrupted Succession, for the Information of

Nov. 18. 1653.

Your Brother,


To my Reverend Brother, Mr. Johnson, Preacher of the Gospel at
Womborne, This.

Mr. Johnson's Fourth Letter to Mr. Baxter.

SIR,

Altho' I had purposed wholly to have superceded from my former Under-
takings, as conceiving them a frutles Speculation in regard the Ministry may
be justifieed without them; yet, far from I did defide all Men alive to make
t full Proof that the Succession ever hath, or ever shall be interrupted; and upon
the Occasion of this Defiance, you do rather inve me, than challenge me to re-
new my Purpose: I cannot tell how I can avoid so much as my own Defiance
hath engaged me to. And therefore, though very unwillingly, I shall endeavour,
so far as my Defiance hath engaged me, to satisfy your Defire. And because I
therin stand upon the Defensive, and by consequence must find some Man that
pretends to make full Proof of the Quesion, before I can discharge that which
now I undertake; I cannot tell, where to meet with such an one, unless it be
your self in your late Book: And therefore I shall apply my self to
examine your Argument, whereby you endeavour to prove that the Succession
hath been already interrupted: But before I come to that I shall return you some-
ting to what you say in the last Papers. And For, whereas you tell me to my
Demand, that you have instanc'd in many English Writers, who do all plead
against the Papists the No-neecefly of an uninterrupted Succession, I answer, that
amongst those Authors which you quote, I have none by me but Bishop JeweI,
and so far as I can discern from the loco allegatio aut alibi, he speaks nothing at all
to the Quesion; what the other do, I shall examine hereafter as I meet with
them.

Ad 2. Whereas you tell me that my not seeing a formal Answer to my Se-
cond Argument proceeded from an oversight of the Word Ihrall and a Not-ob-
ervation of the Emphasis in it. To this I answer, that it is indeed true, that I
did not take heed enough to the Word, for if I had, I should not so indifferently
have sometimes used it, and sometimes put another Word in its room (which may
make it plain that the Word was changed through imagination rather than
by design); but it was not the Not-observation of the Word, but the Not-understand-
ing of the what the Word contained in it that made the Error: For if I had un-
derstood what it contained two Propositions: 1. That Men thus and thus qualified
shall preach the Word, or it is the Duty of Men thus and thus qualified to preach
the Word. And then 2. That [Men thus and thus qualified, ordina gratia, shall
be set apart to it, or shall be appointed to Preach] I never had made this
Animadversion, but should have acknowledged a formal Answer: But I under-
stood it only thus, that Men thus and thus qualified shall be appointed, that is,
it is their Duty, being fo and so qualified to seek for Ordination, or it is their Du-
ty being fo and so qualified to be appointed to the Work: which I thought
might be true, and yet they no Ministers till they were de facto set apart. But now
very well understanding, that it may well bear both Propositions, and the first
coming up close to the Question in hand, I shall willingly retract all that I said
upon that Point, and acknowledge a formal Answer, which I think may
stand.

But whereas you say, that by disclaiming my last Argument I denied Impo-
osition of Hands to be fo necessaey, and by urging something hereabouts did seem
to forget what I said anon. I answer, I did never intend to deny Imposition of
Hands to be of necessity to legitimate Ordination. I laid indeed, an Argument
drawn from thence against the Question in hand was frivolous. But I did not in-
tend to disparage the thing it felt any farther than Relatively to the Question then
in debate. And whereas you say, that Falling was not uled; I answer, that
there never was any Ordination but Falling was previous to it by the Appoint-
ment of the Church in Ember-Weeks, which were constantly kept by the Sons
of the Church, though neglected by others, and this I think might serve, though it
was not the same Day, and I believe you will say so too. But in these things nei-
ther can I be obnoxious till I am better informed what may be the substantial or
essential Parts of Christ's Ordinances, and what not; which I confess I have not
yet such an Idea of; So as to say in every Ordinance what is essential, and what
not.

Ad 3. Whereas you wonder that upon such flight Grounds I should so re-
naciously fand to part of my third Argument. I answer, that I did not intend

to enforce that the Case of extrem uncapable necessity was the Sectaries Cafe:
But such a Necessity as did inevitably intangle them in their Invasion of the Mi-
nistry, which though it doth no ways make them lawful Ministers, yet it makes
them inconclusively lawful Ministers, till the Opinions which first made them separa-
rate be proved to them to be erroneous; my meaning is this: I think if this Hy-
pothesis be true [that in case of extrem Necessity Men may, and some must en-
er irregularly into the Ministry], it is not possible to convince an Anabaptist that
his Invasion of the Ministerial Work is unlawful, till we can first convince him
that Anabaptism is erroneous. Now hereupon I thought their Hands was much
strengthened over what it would have been had that Hypothesis been false. For
then we could uncontrollably have cleared their Invasion of the Work, though
they had in the mean time remained unconvinc'd of their erroneous Opinion.

But now if we cannot convince them of their Error, but their way still ap-
ppear Truth to them, then they need no more to justify their Practice to them-
selves, but borrow our Principle; and that sets them right, and so their Invasion
is unconclusively from what they borrow from us. And so though they do
not justify themselves to us, because we think their Necessity culpable, and
through their own delusion, yet they do far justify this by this very Principle their PRA-
ctice to themselves, that it renders them unconclusively lawful, till we can prove
and make it clear to them, that their very Opinions are erroneous. So that you may
look while you thought that I intended to prove their Practice lawful,
whereas all that I intended was to shew that upon such a Principle their Invasion
became less culpable; and their Hands something strengthened over they could
have been upon the contrary Hypothesis; by which you may perhaps see what
Link of your Chain I intended to break. But enough of this, I shall now come
to the Bishops I first spake of.

First therefore you lay down the Episcopall Principles, pag 65. ets. That no
Church is a true Church without Ministers; and no Man a Bishop that is not
Ordained by a Bishop, and no Man a Bishop that is not ordained by a Bishop
lawfully called, and not deprived again of his Power: And this Bishop must be
Ordained by a former Bishop, and he by a former, and so the Succession must
be followed up to the Apostles.

* Having
Having done thus, you catechize these Seekers, as you call these Doctors: And then proceed to prove that these Reverend, Learned, Pious Bishops, which you acknowledge to be now in this Nation, are no lawful Bishops upon the Principles laid down; because they were ordained by such as had no Authority to ordain, 

This you prove because they were Ordered at length by the Popish Bishops in Hen. VIII. Time, who had no Authority to Order; this you prove, because they derived their Authority from the Pope, who had no Authority to give them any. That the Pope had no Authority you prove by an Interruption of Succession of lawful Bishops in that Chair. That there hath been an Interruption in that Chair you prove by the Instances of Liberius, Honorius, Dame Jone, and many others, as you say, out of Bishoif Jewel. The Strength of these Instances depend upon that Hypothesis, that Hereby or notorious Impiety doth evacuate holy Orders.

Now if it can be infallibly proved that Hereby or Impiety doth not evacuate Holy Orders; or rather, if you cannot infallibly prove as it is my part at this time to deny (I being upon the defensive) that Impiety or Hereby doth evacuate Holy Orders, then it will not follow that there was an Interruption, though Liberius was an Heretic. And if no Interruption, then Pope Clement the Incumbent at Rome in Henry VIII. Days, was, notwithstanding what is urged, in full Power to Ordain: And then if he had Authority, then the Popish Bishops which derived from him had full Authority; and if they had, then our Bishops who at length derive from them have also full Authority: and so the whole Structure will fall at once if that Hypothesis, which is the Foundation of all, shall chance to shake. And therefore, Sir, in the first place, I pray you take notice, that I deny that Hereby or Impiety doth evacuate Holy Orders; and expect the Proof of it.

But then suppose I should grant this (which I never intend) I may, I conceive, fairly debate, that though there should be an Interruption in the Succession of the Chair at Rome, yet the Pope that now is, or the Pope that sat at Rome in Hen. VIII. Days were fully authorized to ordain, if they were but ordained by fuch, who neither were Heretical or Impious: For the Authority or Power of Ordination, I conceive, doth not come to any Bishop by Vertue drawn from his Predecessor in fede, but by Vertue derived from him who laid Hands upon him at his Confeeration. For Example, that you may understand my meaning; suppose Dr. Widefe, the late Bishop of Lincoln, was consecrated by the Imposition of the Bishop of Worcester's Hand: I conceive it is unreasonable to affirm, that this Doctor received his Episcopal Orders rather from Dr. Williams, his Predecessor in the Chair at Lincoln, than from the Bishop of Worcester, who is supposed to lay Hands upon him at his Confeeration. Or if the Question be whether he was a lawful Bishop that gave him Orders; I conceive that it is equally unreasonable that we should go and inquire rather after Dr. Williams his Authority who was his Predecessor in fede, than after the Bishop of Worcester, who was, or is supposed in the Cale to be his Confeerator. Or if John Williams, who was his Predecessor, should have de fede, proved an Arrian or a Conjuror while he fat in the Diocesan Chair at Lincoln, I think it is ever white as unreasonable to affirm, that therefore Dr. Wmffe, who succeeded him in that Sear, should lose his Episcopal Authority, when as his Confeerator can have no fuch thing fastened upon him. In like manner, though Liberius was an Arrian while he sat in the Pontifical Chair at Rome; yet if that Bishop, whoever he was, (and look you to that) who consecrated Pope Clement were Orthodox, and do forward till we come to the Apollines, his Authority was good enough, though one, or more of his Predecessors in fede were Heretical. If you shall say that the Cale is not alike betwixt the Succession of Popes and other Bishops: I ask, where's the difference? If you say that the difference is in this, that the Pope claims not his Authority from his Confeerator, but from his Predecessor. Answer, That it is very probable that he doth do so: But let him and the Popish Doctors therefore see how they can quit their Hands of this Interruption: For our parts we conceive we need not be engaged in this Controversy: It is enough for us to reply to this affered Difference. That the Question is not what they lay claim to, but what they ought de jure, to lay claim to. If you say, That de jure, they do challenge their Authority from their Predecessors, I except that you must prove it, before I will promise you that I will believe it. But if you say, that the Difference is only this, That they do de facto claim their Authority after another manner than other Bishops; then I rejoice, that it doth not follow, that they have their Authority after another manner than other Bishops; because they say they have. If therefore the facultas Ordinandi doth not come from the Bishop's Predecessor in fede, but from the Bishop who is the Confeerator. Then Sir,
you must prove that some of those Bishops who Consecrated Pope Clement e're the Succession reach the Apostles were Hereticks: It little avails to prove that some of his Predecessors in Cathedra was such, at least to me, who are unwilling to be thought a Protestant.

But then Thirdly, Suppose we should grant this (which we likewise never intend) how will you make it appear that our Bishops in Hen. VIII. Time had their Authority from the then incumbling Pope. If you say, they went over to him for Imposition of Hands, that's improbable; if you say he came over to them, that's intolerable; if you say, that he did delegate his Authority to some of our English Bishops, or sent a Deputy, or Nuncio authorized to those Ends: I answer, that it may be true that he did so. But then the Question will again be, whether our English Bishops had not full Authority to have done all this without his Knowledge; or whether rather an Expectation of a Commission from him were not a Fruit of the Error of those times holding him to be the universal Bishop: If it was, though it be Argumentum ad hominem, and will again, I think, prefs fore upon the Papists who affert the fame) yet it doth nothing trouble us who affert no such Universality. I ask therefore, must we acknowledge the Pope to be universal Bishop; or must we not? if we must, why do we not? if we must not, why should any Man urge that Practice in his own Defence, which he himself judged to be erroneous: I speak plainlier, if the Bishops in Hen. VIII. Time had their Authority from the Pope, than this must be pretended, I think upon others Grounds; either because the Bishops had indeed no Power to Ordain without his Commission, or because they thought they had none, or because they could not exercise that Power which they both had, and knew they had, without his leave.

If you say they had indeed no Power to Ordain without his Commission; I say, that you are more than a Caffandrian Papist. If you say they had no Power because they judged they had none. I deny the Consequence, and expect you should prove it. Or 3. If you say they had their Authority from him because they could not exercise it without his leave. I shall only propound this Case in answer to you: Suppose General Cromwell should put in to between you and the Exercise of your Ministry that without his leave you should not preach or administer the Sacraments, would you say, if you had leave from him, that you derived your Authority from him, because the external Exercise of your Authority depends upon his Leave? I think you would not.

Well, Sir, I shall now only rehearse what I expect you should prove. And the first thing that is expected is this: That Hereby or Impiety doth evacuate Holy Orders. 2. That the Power of Ordination is derived from the Predecessor in fe. de. 3. That some of Pope Clement's Consecrators e're his Line reach the Apostles were heretical or impious. 4. You must prove that the Bishops in Hen. VIII. Time did not only judge that they had dependance upon the Pope for Authority, but that indeed they had no Authority but what they derived from him. If you can indeed make good all this, then I shall confess that the Interruption of Succession is made good alto. But till then, I shall deny. Yet in the mean time, shall be a very great Admirer of your Worth, and Lover of your Industry,

M. Johnson.

Wamborn, Dec. 8. 1653.

For my Reverend and very Worthy Friend, Mr. Baxter, Minifter of the Word at Kidderminster, Thefe.
The Question, as I remember, was stated between us thus: Whether an infallible Knowledge that our Ordinaries have full Authority to ordain, be necessary to make us have true Peace of Conscience in the Exercise of our Ministry. To which Question, before I give any Answer, I shall first willingly yield these two Propositions. 1. That an infallibly lawful Ordination is necessary to make an infallibly lawful Ministers. 2. That an infallible Proof that we have been lawfully ordained is necessary to make us infallibly know that we have been lawfully Ordained. But I deny that an infallible Knowledge that we have been lawfully Ordained is necessary to make us lawful Ministers. Or that an infallible Knowledge that we have been lawfully ordained, is necessary to give us true Peace in the exercise of our Ministry. The former Negative is so clear from the extrinsic nature of Knowledge to the Essence of the things known, and the posterity of the nature of science, and Scibillis, that it is altogether superfluous to say any thing in order to the Proof of it. But the other being indeed the thing you doubt of, I shall offer you what is upon my own Understanding, and what it is that persuades me to take the negative part. And my Reason is thus: I do therefore think that an infallible Knowledge that our Ordinaries had full Authority is not necessary to give a Man true Peace in the Exercise of his Ministry: Because true Peace, according to Gospel Equity is not founded upon exactly, but upon utmost Diligence and sincere Endeavours. And particularly in point of Knowledge or in the Question [What is our Duty to know? True Peace is not founded upon exact or infallible Knowledge, but upon utmost Diligence, or sincere Endeavour to know. And therefore if we can but truly say, that we do use our utmost Diligence to know, we have the Foundation of true Peace, though we be in the mean time in much ignorance about the things we enquire after. And to the Question in hand, if we can truly say, that we have used our utmost Endeavours to know whether our Ordinaries had full Power to Ordain: we may have true Peace in the Exercise of our Ministry though in the mean time we cannot infallibly prove, and by consequence cannot infallibly know that they had any such Authority. True Peace, according to Gospel measure, very well agreeing with infallible ignorance.

And the Truth is, if it were not thus in other things, I do not see how any Man could with Peace of Conscience enjoy those things which we call their Inheritances. For it cannot be infallibly proved, nor they by consequence infallibly know, that they have just Right and Title to them. If they be not lawfully begotten, they have no just claim to their Inheritances. Now if they do not, or indeed cannot infallibly know that they have been lawfully begotten, they cannot know infallibly that they have a just claim to their Inheritances. But they can never come to an infallible Knowledge that they have been lawfully begotten, and by consequence upon such Principles as these, can never, with Peace of Conscience, enjoy that which all Men inferentially call their due Inheritances.

And I conceive upon the same Grounds, The Levites and Jewish Priesthood could never, with any Peace of Conscience, have exercised their Sacred Offices, in regard they could never come to an infallible certainty that they did descend from Aaron, upon which account only they had their just claim to those holy Employments. Yet, and all the Princes in the World, who derive by descent their Titles to their Crowns, would upon such a Principle as this, sit either very loose, or with little ease in their imperial Chairs, being never able upon infallible Proof to make good that they were the true legitimate Heirs to their Predecessors. Which Considerations a posterioris, (as the Argument alleged doth a priori) over-rule my Judgment to determine that an infallible Knowledge that our Ordinaries had full Authority to Ordain, is not necessary to give us true Peace in the Exercise of our Ministry; which was the only thing intended at the present.

Wamborn, Decemb. 26.

1653.

By Your Fellow-labourer, and Enquirer after Truth;

M. Johnson.
Numb. III. Letters between Mr. Baxter, and Mr. Lambe.

Mr. Lambe's Letter to Mr. Baxter.

SIR,

PERhaps my Boldness may seem much in this Address to one unknown by Face; but want of that is no sufficient Plea to refrain me, knowing it's no Impediment to the Communion of Saints. These Lines are writ out of much Affliction of Heart, and in many Tears which have run over at the Throne of Grace many a time about the Cafe preferred. The Reason of my Address to you, rather than any other, is because of some Concerns I have had with your, Writings, whereby I judge you to have the Tongue of the Learned, to speak a Word in Season, being experience'd your self in Spiritual Affairs and Temptations, the immediate Cause of this Address was my reading your last Direction in the Book of Getting and keeping Peace and Comfort.

The Cafe is mine only, as it is the Cafe of one who is my felt in the dear Relation of a Husband; it is an unusual one, and therefore will require, I doubt; you more Pains to reach it, and fo is the more boldness in me, but from you will be the more Service to Christ Jesus; if you engage in it I would be brief, but must of necessity declare Circumstances. This dear Husband of mine, Mr. Lambe, is one that hath been devoted to God's Fear from his Youth up, and hath defined exceedingly, and delighted greatly to serve Christ Jesus our Lord; the Ministry he was nourished and bred up in was, Mr. John Goodwin's, for Twelve or Thirteen Years, where he joined a Member, and afterward by common Consent, and Prayer, and Fasting was ordained an Elder over that flock, and did labour in the Word and Doctrine then with great delight, striving to adorn the Gospel in all Acts of Love, Righteousness and Mercy. Going on thus with Joy, about Five Years ago the great Controversy of Baptism had some access into his Judgment through the means of another Member of that Body, Mr. Allen, a very Holy and good Man, who having had long doubts about Infant Baptism, was carried to the other, by means of Mr. Fisher, once Quaker; by these Arguments presented, Mr. Lambe was taken in his Judgment, and in Conscience of his Duty did practice accordingly, not thinking then, but still to hold communion with the Church notwithstanding; but then suddenly was led farther, namely, to love the Communion of that Church, and finding not where to find any Society in that Engagement where they could have such means of Edification as they had left, they were induced to join in a Body with some others, about Twenty that came off by their means from the same Fellowship, and so for Five Years have gone on till there is an Addition of about an Hundred. Pray, Sir, pardon my troubling of you with this Story; but that which follows cannot so well be understood without it.

Which is, That now about Nine Months last past, by some Experiences and Sights of the Faults of man, particularly that of Fishers, and disbelieving the Practices, and Affections of some, in unchurching all besides themselves, he began to be provoked and pressed much in Spirit to consider the Grounds of separating upon the account of Baptism, and in that Survey still their Weakness, which appeared the more by reading yours, Mr. J. Goodwin, and Homes Books of Baptism; begot in him not only a Sight of Weakness in his Grounds about Separating; but weakened his Confidence as to the opposing of Infant Baptism: In this time; as things appeared to him (he being free and open Handed) was ready to express his Thoughts to those he conversed with, who being rigid about Separation, still persuaded him these new Thoughts were Satan's Temptations, to hinder him in the Lord's Work: Which occasioned much Prayer, and Fasting and Prayer; that if these Thoughts were not of God's Holy Spirit, they might dye from his Soul. But still they increased and came with such Light and Power, argumentative from Scripture, detecting his former Principles as to Separation. In this Interval he conversed with divers Minillers in Town, as Mr. Goodwin's Book, Mr. Minson, Dr. Reginald's about the meaning of 1 Cor. 12. 28 &c. his thoughts still carrying him on, till he had formed them into three Sheets of Paper; but all the
way it was a Fight with Temptations, as often is declared; yet his Light plainly evincing the evil of Saints dividing upon the account of Baptism, although it should stand good, Baptism should belong only to Believers: And as I conceive those Temptations partly occasioned by Friends, who out of their Love would charge him to take heed, for some Root of Bitterness or other was the Ground of those Thoughts, and some Carnal end he had, and was weary of Christ’s Yoke, and the Woes to Backsliders would be his Portion, &c. and that never any owned these Principles that forsook them, but they became the Objects of God’s Displeasure: Satan sitting in when these did occasion great Distresses, and Searchings of Heart, many Fears, Prayers, and Tears, fore Temptations that he was not sincere, which was heightened by one Thought that he had ejpted in his Heart when he was amidst these thoughts; namely, that to break the Neck of those frail Principles which would not permit any to Marry but to those in their own way, would be a Freedom in respect of his Daughters in their Marriages (who are but now Ten and Eleven Years of Age) the Fearsleft the having of this in his Thoughts shouId in answer to this, argue the Predominancy of the interest of the Flesh, hath filled his Soul with great distress, which I declare to you as a spiritual Physician, that you may know the whole Case. After seeking God, a little help was attained in this: and he received some Testimony of Conscience that this Thought was not the moving Cause of his change of Mind, or any predominant end, only an after Thought which had some encouragement in it. When this Temptation was over, then as bitter Fears about apostacy, all those Texts seeming to apply themselves to him as Speaks of an evil Heart of unbelief in departing from God, of being cut out as a withered Branch; and these, attended with Tears, and woundings of Spirit: If he did cease from drawing up his Arguments, then he should have ceased; but the Light of them was so prelenting upon his Mind, that he could not forbear: This hath been his Life for these Eight or Nine Months, having declared his Arguments, the People to whom he is Elder, they grow offended and disturbed; if he have any thought of returning to Mr. Goodwins Church again, then nothing but Horror and as it were a flaming Sword in his Spirit: is not that a Ground that he ought not return thither? He finds most ease in his tender and fair Intreaties of the People he is now with, to keep them from Separating to the further prejudice of their Souls: Having a little ease about the Fear of Apo
cacy, by finding by Experience that his Soul never went out in such strong Desires and high Prerogatives of Jesus Christ, and earnest Desires to serve him in his Gospel, and having in this time more abundantly than ever found his Soul emptied of self
eem, and fence of his need of Christ’s Nourishing and Comforting. After this, the next Temptation which now he wrestles with is, hard Thoughts of God, as if he were hard, not easy to be intreated, &c. These fore Temptations hath made him ready to faint, saying sometimes, O that he were fet with his former Thoughts against Infant Baptism, and could practice with a good Conscience as he had done the other, to this it’s suggested, no now it shall be hid from him, he received not the Truth in the Life of it, &c. and Heb. 12. 17. made use of to wound him that he obtained not the Blessing though he fought carefully with Tears: Those Thoughts occasioned strong Cries, and Tears, and great Distresses of Soul. Yet Sir, take notice that all this while his now Arguments to one Communion with all Saints, as Saints, are never questioned in his Judgment, but all admitted to him; nay, all that have been them, who are divers of the Re-baptism, have not any of them as yet offered any thing to detect them, but contrarywise, they have had their force in the Minds of some.

Now, dear Sir, I hope you understand my Sriblings, the end of all is to intreat your help as one that Christ hath set in his Church for the edifying and effectual ing of his Members; judging you faithful, and one of a Thousand in experience, I have taken the boldness to intreat your Answer to the following Particulars.

1. Whether God doth use to leave any of his Servants to such bitter Temptations when they are about a Service acceptable to him? If so, what his Ends may be in it?

2. Whether these Distresses of Spirit can be any Demonstration that his former Practices and Principles about restraining Communion to after Baptism, nor more pleading to God’s Spirit, which hath seemed to be proved, and fo Dependant: These latter Arguments about large ends in that kind.

3. Whether considering his former Relation to Mr. Goodwins Congregation, from whom he withdrew upon the Thought he had of unlawfulness to communicate with unbaptized Persons, which now he sees the Vanity of, it be not now his Duty to return thither, and if so, then 1. What should be the Reason that his Conscience,
Confidence, though very tender in other things, should have little or no tent of that as his Duty. And 2. What should then be the Reason, that when he hath had any Thoughts tending that way, such Terrors, like a flaming Sword should pierce his Soul?

4. Whether, having been an Instrument to draw so many together into this way, it be not rather his Duty to continue with them, applying himself in all ways of Love and Forbearance to enlarge their Spirits, which he judges his Duty, because he finds a tenable seat in his Soul, upon such Resolutions and Applications?

5. Inasmuch as he stands an Elder over them, and is weakened in his Confidence against Infant Baptism (which they are so confident against) and also cannot baptize Believers otherwise than to satisfy their Scruple of Confidence that shall desire it out of doubt of the Defect in their Infant Baptism, and with Cautioning of such to take heed of their taking it up so as to denominate their Christianity, Saint-ship, or Church-ship thereby; if any Party of the Congregation can not bare him thus, but should separate, and so want means of Edification, or, as some say, rather he be Quakers than so indifferent, or as one of them fays, he would join with the Church of Rome, if he thought that true which Mr. Lambe fays, namely, That he may have Communion with Perfections not baptized; whether considering their Danger he ought not hide, or cease to defilt on his Sense, or what he ought to do?

6. Considering his present Temptations and Assauls to his Faith and Sense of God's Love, it be his present Work to study to be settled in a full Persuasion one way or other about Baptism: But to mind his spiritual Defence against these Violent Assauls, which makes him fay, O that he were in his late confidence again, and fo is resolved to study the Arguments that are against Infant Baptism: And he is directed to your Twenty Arguments in the Book about Right to Sacraments, about the Necessity of Faith to Interf in Baptism.

Now, sweet Mr. Baxter, shall I have so much Grace in your Sight, as to have your definite Answet to these Particulars; truly, it will be Service to Jesus Christ, whom we have desired to serve in all singlenefs of Heart from our Youth up, and have no defire in this World like to this, to know his Will and do it, whole Love and the Light of whole Countenance, is better than Life to our Souls, having no Defign but to serve our Lord upon the best Terms, who hath dealt bountifully with us, whose Mercy and Faithfulness we have often experienced.

I trust it is of God that put it into my Heart to write to you, and I will wait that the Son of Righteousnes may shine through you, a Star in his Right Hand, to our Guidance in this Night of our Temptation. I acquaint none that I do it, were it known, it might occasion me some farther Trials: Therefore I interest your Secretly in it. My Husband hath indeed sometimes faid, he would write to you; but hath faid again, Mr. Baxter will not regard me; and indeed he hath scarce freedom of Mind to any Eufines, he should take a Journey to Worefeeter, which if he do, he fays he will come to you: I do not acquaint him with this, but your Advice I know I fhall be able to help him by. Now our Lord Jesus Christ, who still giveht Gifts to Men, and doth continue Means in his Church, sufficient to the help of all his poor Servants, be your Helper to us ward, with craving pardon for my great Boldness, I take leave, and remain

London, in Great St. Bartholomeus, this 12th of Auguft, 1658.

TOURS

Barbara Lambe.

I have inclofed sent a Copy of the mentioned Arguments, which pray peruse, and keep private.

Sir, I defire what you write in answet to me may be inclofed in a Cover, to Mr. James Marshal in Friday-Street at the Half-Moon, who is my Son in Law, and fo I shall have it with privacy. I fhall long to know that they come safe to your Hands.


Thefe prefent.
Dear Mrs. Lambe,

HOW true did I feel it in the reading of your Husband's Lines and yours which you say in the beginning, that unacquaintedness with the Face is no hindrance to the Communion of the Saints: So much of Christ and his Spirit appeared to me in both your Writings, that my Soul in the reading of them was drawn out into as strong a Stream of Love, and closing Unity of Spirit, as almost ever I felt it in my Life. There is a Connaturality of Spirit in the Saints that will work by Sympathy, and by closing uniting Inclinations, through greater Differences and Impediments than the external Act of Baptism: As a Load-stone will exercise its attractive Force through a Stone Wall. I have an inward Sense in my Soul, that told me so feelingly in the reading of your Lines, that your Husband, and you, and I are one in our dear Lord, that if all the self-conceited Dividers in the World should contradict it on the account of Baptism, I could not believe them.

About a Year ago Sir Henry Herbert gave me one of your Husband's Books about Baptism, which when I had read, I told him that the Author and I were one in Love, though not of one Opinion, and that he wrote in the most favor, honeft, moderate Style of any of that Mind that ever I read. But truly the pefuliar of these Arguments persuade me yet to higher Thoughts of him, much more may be said than he hath said in that great and weighty Cafe; but yet I have met with none that hath said so much in so finall a room. It delighteth me to feel the workings of a Catholic Spirit in his Lines. Nothing hath more undept us (except flat Ungodliness) than the los of Catholic Principles and Affections among Christians; (few are more void of them than the Papists that boast of them:) It must be this loving a Christian as a Christian that must hold when all is done: He that loveth Christ in Christians, will love all Christians where Christ appears. Should not Dividers fear leaf Christ say to them that castoff most of his Holy Members for this Opinion fake? 'Did it unto me?' Is Christ in these Saints, or his he not? What! a Saint, and Christ not in him! that cannot be.

And is he in them, and shall he be used so unkindly, so uncharitably, as to be cast by? Oh dear Mrs. Lambe, the Lamb of God hath reconciled greater Differences, and closed greater Differences than these: and his tender Bowels yearn over those that we fullly reject. He that said to his sluggish Followers [The Spirit is willing, but the Flesh is weak?] and that sent so kind a Message to Peter (that lately denied him) as soon as he was riven, and that still fewed such marcheifs Compaiions to the weak, will give little Thanks to dividing Spirits that cast out his poor Servants whom he himself doth not cast out. I know not Mr. Lambe by Face, but Mr. Allen I know; could he find in his Heart to deny me Brotherly Communion if I defired it of him, and proselted that I would be of his Opinion and Practice if I durst, and my contradicting Judgment did not hinder me: I have told the Pfalers of the Re-baptized Churches here, that if any of their Judgment and Practice will satisfy themselves with being again Baptized, and will live in peaceable Communion with us, they shall be as dear to us as any other; and that if I were a Member of Mr. Tombe's Church, if he would permit me. I would live obediently under his Miniftiy (allowing me the Liberty of my Confcience): I hope God is working for our Unity and Peace. I have been long preaching of the Unity of the Catholic Church, containing all true Christians as Members; and the last Week gave one, Mr. Tombe came to the Re-baptized Church at Broadley, and preach'd on the fame Subjeft, and so excellently well (as I hear) for Unity, among all true Christians, to the fame purpose with your Husband's Arguments, that I much rejoice to hear of it (though I hear none of his People were offended). And now that this should be secnded with your Husband's peaceable Arguments, puts me in some Hopes of a little more healing. I have strong Hopes that if I were in London I should persuade such as your Husband, and Mr. John Goodwin, and many an honeft Presbyterian Minifter (as great a distance as seems to be between them all) to come yet together, and live in Holy Communition. But be sure God will drive us together before he hath done with us: Living Members will smart by distance, and be impatient till the Wound be closed, what a Damp is upon the Spirits of those Christians that can separate (interprettively) from a thousand parts (to one) of the Church of Christ: The Papists would desire no better sport (nor the Infidels neither) than to reduce the Church of Christ to the Antipodes Baptists, or the baptized at Age, and so to deny him to have had any
any visible Church in the World (that we can prove) for so many Years: Would they have held Communion with the Catholick Church for a thousand Years to¬
gether, or would they not (if they had lived in those times)? If they would, then why not with us also that are of the same Judgment? Was it a Duty then, and is it unlawful now? or are they Respecters of Persons? If they would not in all those Ages have held Communion with the visible Church, what would they have done but separated from the Body, and so from the Head, and cast off Christ in all his Members, and taken him to be a Head without a Body, which is no head, and so no Christ, what would they have done but denied his Power, and Love, and Truth, and consequently his Redemption, and his Office? Hath he come at the end of Four Thousand Years (since the Creation) to redeem the World that lay so long in Darkness, and hath he made such wonderful Preparations for his Church by his Life and Miracles, and Blood and Spirit, &c. and promised that the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, and that his Kingdom shall be an Everlasting Kingdom, and his Dominion endureth from Generation to Generation; and yet after all this shall he have a Church (even as the Seekers lay) but for an Age or two: For doubtles, (tho' where Heathens were the Neighbours of the Church, many were baptized at Age, yet) no Man can name or prove a Society (or I think a Person) against infant Baptism for One Thousand Two Hundred Years at least, if not One Thousand Four Hundred: And for many Ages no other ordinarily baptized but Infants. If Christ had no Church, then where was his Willism, his Love, and his Power? What became of the Glory of his Redemption, and his Catholic Church, that was to continue to the End? That Man that can believe that Christ had no Church for so long time, or any one Age since his Ascension, must turn an Infidel and deny him to be Christ, if he be a rational Man. Did all the Gospel-Precepts of Love and Holy Communion cease, as soon as Infant Baptism prevailed? doubtles (though it be be his Ordinance) Christ never laid so great a stress on the outward Walking as Dividers do. Whenever Baptism is mentioned in Scripture, it means [The Engagement of the Person to Jesus Christ by solemn Covenant, which Waling is appointed to solemnize] and 1 Cor. 12. 13. doth plainly mean [That one Holy Spirit, which is usually given to the Baptized, either in or near their outward Baptism, doth inwardly animate all the Body, and unite them and affiliate them and prove them Members].

the Great was the Glory of the Church in his Generation, maintaining Holiness and Peace, when the Patriots were some Corruptors, and some Dividers, and would have broken all in Pieces but for him: He ordinarily Preached, (or made Holy Prayers and Speeches in Meetings) and yet was never baptized all this while till near Death, and none ever affirmed his Communion. I would know of the Dividers why they should think Baptism more necessary to be believed than the other Sacrament, the Supper of the Lord; Yet it is certain that all the ancient Church did purposely conceal the Lord's Supper from the Knowledge of the Catechumens; by which it appears they judged not the Belief of it essential to a Church Member: Yet I know the great thing meant by the Word Baptism in Scripture is essential to the Church-Membership of the Adult; that is, the giving up our selves to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in Covenant; but the Sign is only necessary as a Duty, but not as a means without which the thing cannot be had. This is voluminously proved against the Papists, with whom the contrary minded do comply. Circumcision in the Wilderness was separated from Church-Membership and Communion. And is the outward part of Baptism more necessary under the Gospel, which is forth leys by External, and where God that is a Spirit it will be worshipped in Spirit and in Truth; and where neither Circumcision nor Un¬
uncircumcision availeth any thing, but a new Creature, and Faith that worketh by Love.

But our main Argument against them is, That no true Definition can be given of Baptism that will not agree with Infant-Baptism, if it were granted to be unlawful, were it proved an unmeet Age, it will never prove the Baptism null. But I do but go before your Expectation, I suppose in all this; which is occasioned by your Husbands Paper and the main Cause. I shall therefore come at last to your Cafe. But will Mr. Lambe regard the Judgment of one that differeth from him as I do? You know according to my Judgment what I must advise him to: but though still it is my Judgment that Infants of Believers should be solemnly given up to Christ by Baptism; yet I shall deal as impartially as I can, and put my felt iri Mr. L's Cafe, and supposing I were of his Opinion against Infant-Baptism, I shall answer.
answer your particular Questions. To the two first I answer: 1. We have a sure 
Word to fly to for Direction, and many great and evident Principles (as here the 
Nature of the Catholic Church, &c.) to give us Light in the darker Points that 
depend upon them: and in such a Case it is dangerous gathering our Informa-
tions about Truth or Duty, or Sin from dark and doubtful Providences, which are 
not our Rule, but only some Effects of the Will of God, that as to Events are 
clear, but as to Truth and Duty can tell us nothing or very little, but in full Sub-
ordination to our Rule, from which they must receive their Light. And of all 
Providences few are darker than Motions and Troubles from our own Thoughts, 
so many, and secret, and powerful Causes are there within us, and about us of 
Misperceptions and mislaid Passions, that its very dangerous boldly to Judge of 
the Mind of God by our own disturbed Minds; when it is our Duty to judge our 
own Minds by God's, and God's Mind by his Word; his particular Providences 
being mostly to help the Word in working in a Subordination to it. 2. I 
cannot be sure that know him not, but I suspect by the Narrative, that this is 
Mr. L.'s Case; 1. His Heart being upright in what he had before done, God in 
Mercy gave into his Mind, that Light concerning Catholick and Brotherly 
Love, and other Truths contained in his Papers, which tended to his Satisfaction 
and Recovery. 2. Upon the sight of this much Truth, it must needs raise some 
Trouble in his Mind, that he had acted contrary before, and yet the Words of 
the contrary Minded holding him in suspense, and unrelieved about his future 
Practice, at least, increased his Trouble (an unrelieved Mind in great Matters 
being a Burden to it self). 3. And the terrible Threats and hard Propagandists 
of these Differences and their Censures of him, might yet sink deeper. For it is the 
way of some to fall upon our Passions instead of our Judgments, and stir up 
Fears in us, instead of convincing us. As the Papists win abundance by telling 
them, that no others can be saved (as if we should be frightened to the Party that 
will be most uncharitable, when Charity is the Christians Badge). So I doubt 
too many do, that we have now to speak of. 4. The Apprehension of his Peo-
oples Distcontent, and some bad Consequences to them and himself, that he Pre-
headed would follow his Return, did yet make the disturbance more. 5. The 
long and serious Study of the Matter with much Intention, might yet go farther. 
6. And by all these means, I conjecture he is somewhat surprized with Melancholy. 
7. And then (if that prove so) is very hard to gather the Mind of God from 
his Disturbances; for they will follow the Impress of his own disturbed Mind. 
But all these are but my different Conjectures from what you write. But to come 
neater. 

3. Whether he have contracted any Melancholy or no, this is my Judgment 
of the Causes of his Changes. 1. God cauèd his Light and Convictions in much 
Mercy, that's evident by the Conformity of his Affections here to the Word of 
God, and the Principles of Christianit.y. 2. Satan envied him and others the 
Mercy that was given in: and therefore I verily think he is the cause of his Hor-
rors and Troubles, when he thinks of returning to Unity with others, and whole-
ly withdrawing himself from the Schism: My Reasons are, 1. Because I know 
that the Work is of God, and Ergo, who but Satan should be against it. 2. Be-
cause that Troubling, and Terrifying, and Disturbing the Passions is usually his 
Work; especially when it is against God's Light. God worketh by Light, and 
drawing the Heart to Truth and Goodness: But Satan usually worketh by flir-
ting in the Passions to muddy the Judgment. 3. Common Experience tells us, 
That it is his ordinary way, where once he hath got Power, to give quiet in Sin, 
and to trouble and terrify upon Thoughts of Recovery. Quest. But how should 
he have such Power with a Servant of God? This leaeth me more particularly to 
answer your first Question. God frequently giveth him such Power over his 
own Servants, 1. When the Service we are upon is a recovering Work, which im-
plyeth our former Guilt. It was no small Sin (though ignorantly committed by 
an honest Heart) for Mr. L. to separate and draw so many with him, and put so 
much Credit and Consequence upon a Cause, that hath made such sad and misle-
table work among the Saints: O! What Churches might we have had by this 
time in England, if the Enemy had not made use of our dividing Friends to his 
Advantage, and to do his Work. 

Now you must not marvel if the Accuser and Executioner have some Power giv-
'en him to be a Vexation to a Godly Man after such Guilt. And indeed so few 
look back that fall into Divisions, that Mr. L. should not grudge at a little Perplex-
ity that moves him in the way of so great a Mercy. An ingenious Mind would 
not
Appendix.

not come out of so great a Sin whithout some moderate Trouble for it (and for it, it is meritoriously, and should be intentionally). 2. Especially if Melancholy give him advantage, Satan (that commonly worketh by that means and Infrument) may do Wonders. 3. And I shall tell you of some other ends in the conclusion, that I conjecture at.

To your Second Question I say, it seems to me, as is said, a hard thing; yet, impossible to judge of his Cause by these his Passions: But it's most probable by far, that this Distress of Spirit is for his former Sin in separating (to say nothing of Re-baptizing) and that it is also a gracious Providence for some further Good, that yet he knows not of.

To the Third Question I answer, I know not the State of Mr. Goodwin's Church, and Eng, can say nothing to it, whether he should return thither: But my Judgment is 1. That he should in Prudence a little forbear deferting his separated Church for the ends in the Conclusion mentioned. 2. That when he removeth he should preach the Gospel on the Terms in the end. 3. That if he must be a private Member, he should rather go to Mr. Goodwin's Church than another, if it be rightly constituted, (because he thence removed): But if it be disorderly gathered out of many Parishes without Necessity, were I in his case I would rather join with another Church, and that in the Parish where he lives, if there be a Church that is fit to be joined with; if not, I would remove my Dwelling to the Parish that I would join with: Cohabitation is the Aptitude requisite to Church Membership. To your Question, Why his Conscience feels not this Duty: I know not, unless providence mean, as I shall speak anon. But I marvel if he feels not the Sin of his Separation.

To your Fourth, I answer: Having drawn so many into a Schism, it is his great unquestionable Duty to do all that he can to get them out of it: and if he cannot, to leave them, and partake no longer in their Sins; yea, and do more than this for his Recovery and theirs.

To your Fifth Question: It is answered in the former; he ought openly to disown the Sin of Separation.

To the Sixth: If he be Melancholy, let him forbear Studies; if not, he should impartially search after the Truth by Study, but with Patience, not forcing God a time for his Resolution. As for my Twenty Arguments, which you say he is referred to, I partly considered what they made for, before I set them down. They prove a Necessity of Professing of Conformity in all adult Covenanters: But yet Parents may profess their Consent to their Childrens Covenanting or Engagement; That the Parents are the Believers and the Conventers, and Eng, must be the Professors. They have Power of devoting, and giving up, and engaging their Children to God. I would Mr. L. could tell me [When the Privilege and Duty of Parents entering their Children into the Holy Covenant with Gods, and solemnizing this did ege?]

Let him answer me but that one Question well, and prove it, and I will be of his mind (but this is beside my Intent): It will not prove that Infants are not favored, because it is said so oft, That be that believeth shall not perish: and be that believeth not, is condemned already, and shall be damned, &c. No more will it prove that Infants that profess not, and believe not, may not be entered by professing Parents into Covenant with God, (as undoubtedly till Christ's Time they were) because Professition is necessary to the adult. As the Parents Will dispeloth of them (for their good) to the Parents Professition is enough. But I come to my Conclusion.

I am no Prophet; but I hope God hath given Mr. L. his Light and his Tryals, yet for higher ends; and suffered him to delay his Relinquishment of the Schism, that he may be more serviceable to the Church, in helping to heal the common Breach. To which End I make this Motion to him, and tell him from me, I think it of God, and will produce his Comfort.

1. If he desire it, I will readily send him a Model of Agreement between the Churches of the Protobaptists and Anabaptists (as commonly called) in order to their charitably brotherly Communion, and the preservation of the common Truth, that it suffer not by our Divisions: This he and I will subscribe to, and then I doubt not to get Mr. Tombs to subscribe it; and next I will get all our Association to subscribe it; and next let Mr. T. and he get what other of the Re-baptist to subscribe it that will. If none but he and I do it, we will publish it, and shame the World into a Peace, or do our Parts. And methinks I foresee great Benefits that will ensue (more than this Paper will hold to enumerate). 2. When this Agreement is Published, Mr. L. shall also Publish his Arguments, and I my Reasons for our Agreement. 3. When this is done, let Mr. L. become the Pastor of a Church that's mixt.
mixt of the Baptized and Re-baptized, if it may be; if not, at least a Publick
Preacher in a convenient Station: For I see that Light in his Argumentation, that
he may not hide, and that God will never Suffer him to call off and go against
but at his Peril (which I cannot fear). Dear Mrs. L. receiving your Letter near
Bed-time on Saturday Night, I thought it no Sin to make it part of this Lord's
Day's Work to return you this Answer, which I desire you to accept from (and
pray for)

Aug. 22. 1658.

Tour Brother,
in the Covenant
and Spirit of Christ,


If Mr. L. look into my Book for Infant Baptism, let him know that I much repent of the
harsh Language in it, but not of the main matter.

London, the 16th of Sept. 1658.

Honoured Sir,

I Perceive my Wife hath, unknown to me, sent you my Papers touching Free
Communion with all Saints, which God knoweth my Heart and Soul is in;
and since the Matter is so well received by you, as appeareth by your kind an-
swer, and my own particular Case so affectionately tendered by you, I am encour-
gaged to further Converse, and indeed do welcome your Overtures of a loving
Correspondency with many Thanks both to God and your self: 'Tis a rare thing
to find Men of Parts, Learning, and great Abilities, clothed with Bowels of
Mercies, or Humbleness of Mind, Psal. 113. 5, 6. The Prophet speaketh in the
Praisè of the Almighty; That though he was high, yet humbled himself to consider the
things on Earth; yea, even the poor on the Dunghil fitting in Dust; God's
Heighth hindereth not him, but Mens doth them ordinarily, though not in it
self: Not as a Caufe, but as an Occasion through the Corruption that is in the
Heart of the felf. It may be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ whom
I have sought with Fainting, Prayers and Tears; hath appointed you to interpret
his wonderful dealing with me, and to shew me my Uprightnes. I mean what
he will account so. He that could do so, would be an Interpreter one of a Thou-
sand to me that walk in Darkness, and see little Light: O, that I knew the Mind
and Will of God in my difcult Cafe! happy should I be: I have this Comfort
in my Affliction, that my Will is perfectly subdued to God's: I would go his way
if I could tell where it lay: But alas! I cannot find it: I make my mean to the
Almighty, but he feeth to carry it severally towards me, instead of making
straight Paths for my Feet: Upon my earneft Solicitations, he leaveth me in the
Hand of Tormenting Fears. That you may the better know what to say to me,
I shall as briefly as I can, tell you my cafe.

My Understanding being enlightened that all Saints, as Saints, ought to hold
Church Communion against what I have foolishly printed (for which I loath my
self, and abhor the Sight of it): I let my self to consider other Events that lead
me to that narrownes of Spirit, as late come to doubt whether God be pleased
with Re-baptizing, to the Rejection of Infants out of the Visible Church: But
am out of doubt in this, that to re-baptize any now; do denominate their visible
Saintship, or give right to Church Fellowship, and so to part them from all the
Believers in Christ not so Baptized as the World, as not of the visible Church of
God, is a most pernicious Error; and a great Evil: further, I found fault with
Popular Government in the Church, as it confounds the Definition of Governor
and Governed. Also that in the fected State of the Church, no Man ought to
take a Personal Charge but Persons both able, and wholly devoted to the Work.
That to be a Merchant and a Minifter doth not agree, except in Cases of invin-
cible
Numb. III. APPENDIX. 59

cible Necessity: That in the Levitical Order appointed by God, there is a moral equity respecting the Ministers of the Gospel, both Separation to the Work, and Maintenance in it; and however People may Imagine, the contrary Principles and Practices prove dishonourable to God, and destractive to Religion.

4. In the multitude of these Thoughts I began to conclude, that it was not possible for me to hold my Relation to the People I now serve, and that God enlightened me in these things on purpose to appear against them, and lead others out of them;

5. in this Confidence I grew bold, and began to preach something publicly that I knew would turn the Congregation against me, and to prepare me for my Return to Mr. John Goodwin's from whom I separated about Five Years ago. But the Truth is, as I began to widen from the Church I relate to, my Soul sank into deep Mire, where there was no standing, into a horrible Pit, the Arrows of the Lord stick fast in me, and his Hand pressed me sore, the Poison of them drank up my Spirit, and the Terrors of the Lord set themselves in array against me, instead of the Smiles of Christ, and the comfortable Testimony of Confidence, as to a Service pleasing to God and the Lord Jesus Christ, I met with hellish Horrors, Temptations to despair of God's Love to me, and much ado to keep my Head above Water.

6. Whereupon I humbled myself under the mighty Hand of God, and flopped my present Professions of my Purposes; which was to have burnt my Books; to have returned to Mr. Goodwin's again; to have provided my Papers with some Additions, and a solemn Address to all the Churches under that Form: But meeting with this wonderful Opposition from God, my Hand hangeth down, and my Knee feeble, I am in an amaze, not knowing what to say, think, or do; But this I have found, That as widening from the People I am with brought us great divers, so joining with them again allay the Waters of my Affliction, upon these Terms I stand not daring to stir from them, nor do any thing to prejudice my esteem with them: But yet not satisfied neither through Fear, least by going on the way I am engaged in, I should countenance a By-way not pleasing to God.

7. And thus by degrees, I have opened to you the perfect State of my Cafe, but it was because you would ask me what matter the Enemy (if it were the Enemy) wrought on to make me so great Affliction upon it, one thing was some Thoughts of Heart that I had had concerning my Children: That made it indeed a matter desirable to me to be out of this; but my Confidence telleth me the Thoughts was lawful and good, and that they had not the least influence in the change of my Judgment. Another thing is, the way we are in is a very narrow way, and we have some Christians, my dear and intimate Friends, that walk in it, that excell in holiness, and are gone somewhat farther out of the World with their Hearts, through their Faith and Sense of future things than ordinarily Christians go; these all frown'd on me. And then 3. The way I should return to was more open, and the Perfections fentible (Oh, Sir, there is abundance have Knowledge, but there is but a few have a rich Sense) 4. I should leave the Poor, and go among the Rich, that minded more the adorning of the outward Man than the glorious Gospel of Christ ordinarily: whereas my Spirit is much set against gay Apparel and following of Fashions; not but that Mr. Goodwin's Church is as sober as mott, I think as any, But the Truth is, it is a Sin in my apprehension at least) that few are sufficiently sentible of. 5. My Confidence telleth me, that as for Parishes, there is no proceedings in Parishes that are worthy the Name of Church-Proceedings ordinarily. There is indeed in some few an able Man to Preach, and the People go to hear, but as for watching, visiting, and nourishing, and such like faithful Proceedings for the Health of Souls, there are but few lay any such things to Heart; so that the Parishes, for the most part, are but like a dead Corps without Life. The living Stones are gone into one gathered Church or other, but I confess, I do not find them blessed after. 6. Another thing was the Danger that the Souls of our Friends would be in upon my leaving them. 7. The making of thousands of Hearts sad, who have their Eyes upon me.

I perceive your Propositions at the end of your Letter, Alas for me, I shall be fit for nothing, except God be pleased to heal my wounded Spirit; that is my great Care for the present, how to behave my self to obtain the Light of his Countenance. If God would go before me, and lead me, I would do any thing, the Joy of the Lord is our Strength; but however I thank God that enableth me to hold out waiting; I am sure my Soul hungereth and thirsteth after Righteousness more than all Riches, and therefore I am under the Promise of being filled at last: I have indeed coveted to serve God, and secretly plotted how to call my Af-
sirs, so that I might be free for it, I have in order to the Devotion of my Soul
to the Word and Prayer, wholly taken myself off all Converse with the World,
and supposing I should not long stay where I am, I was considering where I might
be useful: At last I thought of going into some Country, with the leave of Mr.
Goodwin's Church, where there was much People, and no means, and there to stay
my self, having a good Estate of my own, by which I could not only serve freely,
but do much good. This I thought would have been pleasing to God, I resolved
not to meddle with the Point of Baptism one way or other, but have driven the
Conversion of Souls to Jesus Christ: But his late Frowns on me made me fear
he will take no delight in me: But however, since I call him Father, it is fit I
should say Thy will be done; even so Father let it be. Amen, Amen.

If you would draw up such a Model of Agreement as you write of, I know
not how much it may conduce to the Glory of God: I believe some here would
subscribe it, I hope many: I propounded it to Mr. Manton; he said, he should
like such a thing very well.

The Lord preserve your Life, Health, and Strength, that you may live to do
God more Service; your Zeal provoketh many: I am fully persuaded, and I
think, upon good Grounds, that had the Ministers taken the Course, that I hear
you take at Kidderminster, it had prevented Separation. The good Lord fill you
with his Holy Spirit, and enable you to do yet more abundantly. Dear Sir, I in
please you to use your Interest in Heaven for me, that my Faith may be strength-
ened, which the Enemy layeth at daily; to enlighten my Understanding; to give
me good knowledge and good Judgment; to deliver my Conscience from unne
cessary Scruples; to manifest his Love to me, and increase my Love to him; and,
if it be his Will, to use and comfort me in his Service, which he knoweth is Meat
and Drink to me, who am

I hope shortly to hear from you.

Your affectionate Friend

and Brother in Christ Jesus,

Tho. Lambe.

Dear Mr. Baxter,

Do return my many Thanks for your excellent Letter which I have received with the en-
closed; wishing I knew how to requite your Love, and answer that Favour I found
with you in your large Letter, which is not in vain in word, but of much use; the
Lord requite your Labour of Love. I only redouble my Request for an Interest in your Pray-
ers, that God would deliver my dear Husband from all his Fears, and guide him by his Light,
our God will hear, who keepeth Covenant and Mercy for ever with those that fear
him. I rest,

S I R,

Your Sister

and Lover in our Lord Jesus,

E. L.

B. L.

For Mr. Rich. Baxter, Minister at Kidderminster.

Dear
Dear Brother,

As sure as Love is a Fruit of the Spirit, the Character of a Saint; yea, the most high and noble Grace, as being the Beginning and End, the Spring of all other Holy Affections and Actions, and the enjoying Act that's next our End, so far is it State to you a growing State, in which you increase in Holy Love, and so far was that a declining State in which your Charity was slumbered and diminished: and as sure is that Doctrine of Christ, that leadeth to an universal Love of Saints; and that against Christ, which is against it. It is not the least Grief of my own Soul, that in the eager Desire of that which fillth judge to be the Truth, I have done any thing prejudicial to my own or Brethrens Charity. Upon peculiar I now find that many of my Speeches in my Book of Infant Baptism have been too provoking, of which I heartily repent, though I dare not of the Doctrine. The Frame of our Affections doth much advantage or disadvantage our Judgments, and Experience is a help to both: This I perceive you have found as well as I: All Holy Truths must be entertained with mixt Affections; with Sorrow for anything that we have done against them; and with Love, and Joy, and Gratitude to the bountiful Revealer of them. These, that you here enumerate, as revealed to you, are very weighty, because of such a practical Nature, and publick use; and Eggs, you must be true to them, and use them accordingly: they are such as leave no room for Doubting, as bearing their Testimony to legible in their Forehead: This being concluded that they are certain Truths, it may much help you to judge of your following Troubles. I shall reduce all that I have to say for Resolution to these Propositions. 1. The Word of God, and not the Troubles of your own Spirit, is the standing Rule by which you must judge of Dury and Sin: You cannot know either by your Troubles immediately, but as they awaken or help you to understand that Word. 2. It is Ego, most certain that none of your Troubles should in the least measure, move you from the certain Truths, which by the Light of this Word hath been made known to you. All the Troubles in the World will not alter Scripture, and make Truth to be no Truth: You must not once offer to try Scripture Truths by your Feelings, but your Feelings by these Truths. 3. You must therefore first see whether you obey the Truth revealed to you; which plainly requireth you first to manifest Repentance for so much breach of Truth or Unity, or Charity as you have seen your Guilt Guilty of. 2. And to be Guiltie of the same no more. Now whether you live in that Sin, or out of it, I leave to you to judge. And no doubt but it is your Duty to do your utmost, to draw all those out of it, whom you have encouraged in it, and as many more as you can. There are but these two Questions then before you: What is the Cause of your Trouble? and how you should dispose of your felt for the future. And to the first I answer in this fourrth Proposition: Though we know in general that Sin is the deserving Caufe, and God's Will and Love the disposing Caufe; yet it is not easy to find out the particular Sin, nor the particular Deign of Love; but the former is the more easy by the help of Scripture, which sheweth us our Sin more fully than God's future intended Works. 5. But, as it is certain that no Providence is to be interpreted against a Precept; fo, as far as I can conjecture at this distance, your Trouble is most likely to arise from these connected Causes: 1. From some Melancholy that hath got Advantage of your Head, by the Thoughtfulness, Perplexity, and the first actual Difficulties. 2. From Satan's Temptations working on this Advantage; but of the first I am no competent Judge, because distant: But I strongly suspect it (by long Experience in Multitudes of that Diffemper, who few of them will believe that they have it themselves). But of the second I am more confident: Satan cannot trouble us when he will, but 1. When Sin hath procured him a Permission: and 2. When some Melancholy or Difficulties have given him an Advantage. 3. Have met with few Persons that ever fell into any Calamity by Sin, but Satan did very much trouble them when they attempted the means of their Recovery. The Difficulties and Horrors that befall upon most ungodly Persons, when they are about coming home by Christ, may be from God principally, but from Satan as the Instrument of his Wrath, and as permitted to try them. Whenever any escape any notable Snare of Satan (in State or Fate) usually Satan roareth and rageth to hinder them, if possible, till the escape is made, and then God meeteth them with further Light and Love: Pharaoh follows them into the Red Sea, and
God receives them, and puts a Song of Praise into their Mouths on the dry Land.

But this first Question is not such as you need much to stick at: You may easily see for what Sin its like you should have this Ailment; or if you could not (after a faithful Search) get rid of all and sweep as clean as possibly you can, and then you will remove that Sin with the rest. The resolving of the next Question is your principal Busines, which is, to know now where your Duty lies for the time to come: For when once you are fled in the way of Duty, Pray for, and the dark Face of your now disconforted Soul be cleared up (unless it is deep Melancholy, or unfruitful Providence should continue your Trouble) and indeed it is not very easy to see the way of your Duty to the end; but part of it is very easy: 1. That you should obey the Light that God hath manifested to you, and help to communicate Catholick Principles and Affections to all your People, to the utmost of your Power, this is certain; and do all that you are able to care uponcharitable dividing Principles or Dispositions. 2. That you may not live in a Practice contrary to your Doctrine as is plain; and Erga, may not be guilty of continuing a divided Church; though you may prudently observe the finest manner and Sealion of your coming off: Therefore it seems to me your Duty, freely, lovingly, compassionately to communicate your Reasons to your Auditors: If they can prove them unfound, (which I am sure they cannot in the main) then yield them to them; if they cannot, then beg their Pardon for misguiding them, and beleeve them to return, not to any Sin against God, but to the Love of the Saints, and the Unity of the universal Body of Christ, and the Communion of Brethren.

To return to Mr. J. Goodwyn's Church again, I dare not difflinate you or advise you; but I would not do it if I liv'd in another Parish, where I could have lawful Communion; yea, or if I could live in such a Parish, I would not be a Member of a Church gathered out of many Parishes, in such a Place as London: Co-habitation is in Nature and Scripture Example; made the necessary Disposition of the Materials of a Church. 4. My Thoughts still are, that you should Preach the Gospel in some Congregation most fettitable to you.

But I am very glad that you give me the Reasons of your Trouble; for it is a sad kind of Work for you or another to plead against Troubles in the dark, which a Man can give no Reason for. 1. Your First I need fay nothing to: If you had ever had a Temptation to thrust in a wrong Motive into a good Cause, it neither proves the Cause bad, (else all our Preaching were too bad) or your Heart bad; as you fee your Sin, I hope you fee your fufficient Remedy. 2. The Second is carnal, to reflect to great a Truth and Duty, left good People be displeased; what are they your God? God must be enough for you, if ever you will have enough; and it muff fastify you that he is pleased, if ever you will be satisfied. Tell tho' 'Chriftians, you will not cease to love them, by Loving more; nor cease any due Communion with them, by having Communion with more: Keep in with them by Love and Correspondency, even whether they will or no, even when you have left their Separation. Do not reproach them when you leave them, but enjoy the Good of their Communion still, as you have Opportunity. God's House hath many Mansions; if your Friends think that their Clofe is all the Houfe, convince them of their Miftake, and confine your felf to that Clofe no longer but yet renounce it nor; it may be a part (though finfully divided) though it be not the whole. 3. The way that you are called to is God's High way: and though the Churches have many in them that are dead, yet have they with them as many living Members as yours, and many more, if these parts may be Witnessed: I would not be a Member of that Church willingly that is composed of none but not able Chriffians; though I moft Love the belt, and delight moft in their Fellowship, and with that all were fuch, yet when I fee a Church fo gathered, I easily find it is a wrong Constitution, and not according to the Mind of Christ.

I will never join with them that will have but one Form in Christ's School. I would have the A B C there taught as well as the profoundefl Mysteries. 1st no Sign of the Family of God to have no Children (what if I fee Infants) in it, but Strong Men only: Nor of the Hospital of Christ to have none Sick; nor of his Net to have no Fish, but Good; nor of his Field to have no Tares: Flesh and Blood hath tied me oft to Separation, for Eafe; but its too eafy a way to be of God: I undergo another kind of Life; you are extremly mistaken if you think that you are put on to much Duty and Self-denial, by many Degrees, among your Hundred Preachers, as we must undergo: Your Work is service to ours; how then is yours the fireghter way? 4. For Riches and gay Apparel, you may help
to cure Excess where you find it: What! a Physician fly because his Patients are
Sick! O that we had no forer Difmalces to encounter, than fine Cloaths: If you
were with me, I could tell you quickly where to find Forty Families of humble,
godly Christians, that are as bare, and Poor as you would Wish, and need as
much as you can give them or procure them; that scarce lose a Day's Work by
Sickness, but the Church must maintain them. And I could send you to Sixty
Families that are as poor, and yet so Ignorant as more to need your Spiritual Help.
When they have fat by me to be instructed in my Chamber, they sometimes leave
the Lice fo plentiful that we are forced with them for a competent space of time.
Never keep in a Separated Church to avoid Riches and fine Cloaths, and for fear
left you cannot meet with the Poor. I warrant you a Cure of that Melancholy
Fear in most places in England. 5. The next is the great Block. 1. If you ga-
ther out the choicest Members that should help the reft, and then complain of Pa-
rishes, when you have marr'd them, you do not jutly: 2. If you will not do
your Duty in a Parish, because some Miniflers do not theirs, your excuse is frivo-
lous. 3. If I durft have gathered a Separated Church here, I could have had one large
and numerous enough, or fuch as would allow me eafe, but I think Parish Work
the beft. We here agree on thefe Four Heads, 1. To teach all: In which Work
in my Parish, I could find Work for Ten Miniflers, if I could maintain them.
2. To admit none as adult Members, without a perfonal credible Prefcription of
Faith and Holines (of which I refer you to my Treatise of Confirmation). 3.
To execute Discipline with thefe. 4. To hold Communion of Churches by Al-
fociations and Assemblies of the Officers: And I blefs God, I find not my Parish
fuch a dead Body as you fpoke of. Among Eight Hundred Families, Six Hun-
dred Perfons are Church-Members: I hope there is not very many of thefe out-
with fuch a Prefcription as giveth us good Hopes of their Sincerity; and none whole
Prefcription I am able by any way to diuade, and this fits ftrictly, more than thefe
many (I hope Scores) there be of thofe that join not with us (on divers Accounts)
that I hope bear God: If you have Charity to judge that our Parifhes have Chrifti-
ans, you may have Charity to judge that they have Life, and fome fit for Com-
munion. How tender is Chrift of his weakef Members? and fhall not I imitate
him? yea, shall I judge them that am fo bad my felf, and pluck them from his
Arms, that designeth it as his higheft Honour, to be admired and glorified
in the freenefs and fulnefs of his Grace and Love to the Unworthy. 6. Your Fol-
lowers Souls are by you endangered, while you leave them in their Sin; will it en-
danger them to tell them of that Danger, and help them out? What! to lead
Men to Holy Love and Unity with the Cathlick Church of Chrift? fuch danger
will be but by Accident; as every neceffary Duty hath its Danger. A loving,
making Lamentation for that Violation of Charity, which your own, and their
Division hath been guilty of, is like to profit humble Souls that love the Truth:
and if they are fuch as will not induce the Doctrine of Love and Unity, what are
they better than our Parifhes? 7. None will be fad for the Return of a Brother
to Unity or Love, but thofe that grieve for your Felicity, not knowing what they
do. You would not forbear a Return to God from any great Sin, for fear of
grieving Men: Is not Schism a grofs Sin? Are they not great that are directorly
against Love and Unity, the Soul and Life of the Church of Chrift? and were
you no whit partial, you would think that Twenty Hearts made glad at your Re-
cover, for one that's made fat, fhould at leat here leave the Ballance even. A
Publifh'd Exhortation from you (fuch as it feems you intended) to draw your Par-
try to Unity and Communion with all true Christians, and diffame them hereafter
from Controvertie, opposition to the Miniftiy; and Separation upon the Ac-
count of fo difficult a Point, and fo far from the Heart of the new Man, might
do more good than your overfpeaking that Church an hundred Years, it is not a
Trifle to hold, an Opinion that would warrant a Man to have denied, or Separated
from the universal visible Church, for fo many Hundred Years; even for almoft
all the time of its Exiftence since Chrift. I forbear lending you the Form of Con-
cord mentioned till you are reader for it, and fhall defire it, as judging it useful,
and then, God willing, I fhall fend it. The Lord I hope will clear up to you his
Mind concerning the way in which he would have you walk, and in the way of
Duty give you the Peace, which you defire and expect. I ref

Sept. 29. 1658.

Dear unworthy Brother,

To Mr. Lambe.

London, the 15th of January, 1658.

Dear Sir,

These are to return you many Thanks for your two Letters, which have been a very great Comfort to me in my Affliction and Warfare that I am now engaged in. Sir, I thought good to be silent a while, and not to trouble you with any more Letters till I had some new thing to say to you: Now what I have to say is reducible to Three Heads: 1. I will inform you what God hath done for me since my last. 2. What I have done, I hope, in his Strength; and that I may not doubt to say 'tis for him in the Point of Union. And 3. The present Frame of my Spirit and State.

1. For God's dealing with me. Sir, after waiting on the Lord in his way, fighting for Light, and panting after him for refreshing; as the Heart panteth after the Water Brook: My Light hath broke forth as the Morning: It hath rose in obscurity: and my Darkness became as the Noon Day. I fee by Experience, that though I am dark, God is Light; and though I am poor, he is Rich; and I believe there is nothing I want, but Heaven is full of it. The right Notion of God's Universal Church, and the Unity he would have amongst the Members; and indeed, the necessity thereof upon the Penalty of infinite Dammage to the most excellent Body of Christ is, that God hath blest me with the Sigh of, and shewn me as in a Glaafs, the Condition of all our Congregations that refuse Communion with other Churches of Christ, flanding off from the main body of the Church militant, as Christ's Part of that Body, as Antichriftian; and so refusing to give or take Influences for their Comfort and Succour: It healeth the whole, but dreadfully endangereth those small Parts so divided: Just as it would endanger a Troop or Company that should fland off from the main Body of a great Army that hath a parent Enemy engaged in the Field against them. By this Light I perceive our Case, namely, that we are, as you say, guilty of Schism. The Light in this Matter being clear to me, I now begin to be satisfied that the Lord hath visited me from an high in Mercy, and that all my inward Oppositions, and outward too, from my Friends, are of Satan to flop me in a blessed Work. I praiie God I am now help'd to bear the Reproachs of my dear Friends that pour Contempt upon me daily, as a most dreadful Apostate, a Judas, one that it had been good for never to have been born; one, that though I were as the Signet on God's Right Hand, I should be pluck'd from thence; others wishing they had followed me to my Grave when they went with me to Baptism. But it flireth me not much; for though their Zeal for God and his Truth, and their Love to Christ and Holylinefs, and Ability to fuffer for Christ be more than mine, yet my Conscience tellth me they are in an Error, and that I am sincere in all I do, not swayed by carnal Considerations, in which I am manifest to their Consciences, that they are more troubled with me for that things fake. Oh, Sir, I admire how a Man without the Brefet-plate of Righteousnefs holdeth up his Head in fuch a Day: But withall, I experience the Worth and Excellency thereof. By the Grace of God, my Righteousnefs I will hold falt, and my Heart shall not reproce me all my Days: My confidence tellth me (which is my great Comfort) that I have not wickedly departed from my God, that I would not break the leaff of his Laws willingly, to gain a Thousand Worlds: That the Love I bear to my Saviour, and his most excellent Body, the Church, is the chief thing that inflipreth me in all I do.

2. Now 2. Touching what I have done towards Union since I wrote laft, it is as followeth: 1. I have been at Mr. G.'s Congregation, from whom I departed, to acknowledge my Sin in separating from them upon such fiftly Grounds, and have offered my felf to break bread with them if they pleased: But withal, told the whole Church, that for two Reafons I could not come so close to them as heretofore, 1. becaufe of my Relation to the poor People I now ferve, being not yet well lodged in some fafe Place. And 2. becaufe of some Scruples in my Mind, whether Independence did not infer Schism in the Church Universal: As that Independence upon the narrow foot; I mean, that which divideth Communion with Saints, as Saints doth, fo my refufing Communion with them, made me guilty of Schism, in refpeft of that particular, I do not doubt it, and our Anabaptifts are their natural Offspring. But how to determine my Duty, in refpeft of Mr. Goodwin's Church, from whom I feparated, and with whom I was for many Years joined, I know not, considering their Principles are larger for Communion than others.

2. Amongst
2. Amongst our selves I have privately urged, to my Friends enlarging considerably.

3. I have my self with my Family frequented the publick Lectures.

4. In the Strength of God taken Courage to preach to the Congregation the Doctrine of the Church Universal, and its Unity, from 1 Cor. 12. 26. and from thence to shew them the Schismatical state wherein we are; which Sermons hath brought the Anabaptists about my Ears from other Parts. Four or five of them opposed me the last hift day after my Sermon, and because of what I had preached the Day before, half my own Congregation never came to hear me: Their Hearts are quite gone from me: Not any of the Church cometh to fee me, or ask me any Querition.

1 Now 3. and Lastly, As to the present frame of my Spirit and State it is this.

As to the uniting Work I have in Hand, I thank God I am bold, and am waiting on God, (upon whole Influences I live) to guide me in Thought, Word, and Deed about it, but I have lately been sorely troubled with one Temptation: What should I preach, or write any thing for, concerning Religion? I cannot endure Torments for Christ if I should be tried; 'tis not for such faint-hearted Creatures as I to meddle in such Work: Now the Confidence of this, that indeed I am a poor Creature, weak both in Faith and Spirit, hath made way for this Temptation to seize upon me, to the faddening of my Soul, and to the enfeebling of me to go great a Degree, that for this two or three Days I have not been able to do any thing. As for my present State in respect of the Church, I am still with them, and purpose, God willing, to Morrow to apply what I have preached about Schism. The next Wednesday is appointed to debate things; our Friends call in the Head of other Churches to their Affiffion, and I hear thoso from abroad intend to stir up our Friends to cast me out of the Church, what the Issue will be God knoweth, and what to do with my self afterwards I know not, I know I shall be sorely beted by the Enemy; but my hope is in God, that he will not suffer me to be tempted above that I am able, and that my merciful Redeemer and High Priest will be touched with the Feeling of my Infirmities, himself being tempted, he knoweth how to succour thoso that are tempted. Heb. 4. 16, faith, Grace hath a Throne: and 5. 20, 21. faith, Grace reigneth: Oh blest be God! 1 Ephe. faith, he hath given him to be Head over all things to the Church; not to govern it only, but to influence it with all necessary Supplies, to fill all in all. He supposed while we are here, we shall be in an indigent Condition divers ways: but at that Throne where Grace Reigneth, there is Grace enough to supply all our Wants. Therefore 1 Feb. Of his fulness we have all received Grace for Grace, and becaufe such poor Creatures as I, sensible of much Unworthiness, are very apt to doubt our Entertainment, and fear where no fear is, blest Jesus calleth us to come boldly.

Sir, when I shall have done my Work where I am, which I believe will be shortly, I could be content to return to Mr. Goodwin's, if God would like it, and that my Re-union with that Church would not hinder my main Work. They have of their own accord made a Vote to receive me when my Spirit should be free to return, and indeed always have manifested much Love to me; but the Truth is, I am so clog'd with Scruples about popular Government, and such like things, that though to Will be present with me, to perform I find not. Mr. Goodwin never renounced his Ordination to take it from the People, and is for Free Communion, and faith, will join in such a Uniting Draught as I hope you will now draw up and prosecute presently, and which I will labour in God willing, to promote when it cometh here: That which mainly flicketh with me in respect of returning to Mr. Goodwin's is, that when I shall publish what is in my Heart about the Causes of the Churches Malady in England, I shall relitct upon the Independent Principles exceedingly. Now my fear is, that my Relation to them, will be a Curb to me. I know not what to do, but my Eye is up towards God. I am sure I have reaped Benefit by your Counfel, and hope I have had an Interesse in your Prayers, which I still beg, being confident God will hear you. Sir, the Lord preserve your Life and blest your Labours. I hope it will not be long ere I shall hear from you, who am

From my House in Great St. Bartholomew's.

Your affectionate Friend and Brother in Christ Jesus

My Wife preteth her Love, with many Thanks to you.

Tho. Lambe.

To his very worthy Friend, Mr. R. Baxter, Preacher of God's Word at Kidderminster in Worcestershire.

Dear
Dear Brother,

If I understand any thing of the Ways of the Love of God, and can perceive by the Effects below, what Souls the Light of his Countenance doth shine upon, you owe much to his Love, and are used by him as he useth the dearer of his own; what a Mercy is his Illumination? and how much greater his quickening Life, that possessest you with Love to God and Man? O did we but know when we feel one Spark of Love to God and his Servants in our Souls, from what an infinite Love it comes, and to what it tends, and what is signified, surely there would be more studying comparatively, for Charity that edifieth, than for the Knowledge that possessest up. If your Work for God did cost you nothing, it would not be so comfortable to you symptomatically or effectually.

Though I confess it is harder to bear the Cenfures of Godly Men than of the World, yet the bigger the Trial, the fuller will be the Evidence of Sincerity in Submission, and the greater that Grace and Peace that is used to be given in for Encouragement or Reward. And yet I must tell you, that your Trial here is not of the greatest, when your Recovery is like to procure you the Efection of Ten, if not an Hundred of God's Servants, for one that you are like to lose; and I am glad that you give your Cenfures so good a Description: for if they are such as you despise them, I am persuaded many of them will come after you in time. And is it not a great Encouragement to you, that your Brother and Fellow-labourer comes over with you, and so your Hands are strengthened, and half your Opposition taken off and turned into Comfort. For though I never told him of your Letters to me, nor you of him, yet I take it for granted that you know each other Minds and ways; and yet you know that he is satisfied and rejoiced for Catholick Communion. I pray you go together, and do what you do as one Man, while you have one Mind and Heart. I perceive the Signs of Judgment and Charity also in him. I beseech you also both to hold on your Charity, even to them that are offended with you; so far as Christ appeareth in them, let them have your special Love. The Distinctions you mention are unreasonable: Will you conclude you cannot suffer, before you are called to Suffering? Deny the Baits of falsely Pleasure, vain Glory and worldly Gain, and live sincerely to God in your Prosperity, and I dare say, you may boldly expect his confirming sustaining Grace if he call you to Adversity. I had almost said, that (with men) it requires greatest Grace to overcome the Temptations of Prosperity, and to content a flattering World for Christ, than to die for him. At least the one will prove you possessed with his Spirit, and an Heart of Promise, as well as the other: And therefore the Spirit and Promise that enable you now to love to God, would enable you to die for him if he required it. Look you to your present Work, and truf God for Strength for what he calls you to. If my Advice be worth your regard, it's this; 1. That you do at you have done; offer Communion to other Churches, but forbear yet a while to join your self as a Member to any. 2. That if you like the Proposals I shall send, and Mr. Goodwin like them, you both, with him, do signifie so much, and I will take some course that they may be the introduction to a more general Agreement. 3. And that at the time when we publish such Agreement, you and your Fellow-labourer join in publishing your Reasons for Catholick Communion: For, I thank him, he hath communicated his and yours together, will give much Evidence in the Case. But I must a little while crave your Patience, before I send my Papers, by reason of a Crowd of pressing Business: But the Sweetness of the work will draw me from all willing Delays (Your Brother also I perceive is not yet ready for my Proposals). I rest

Jan. 22. 1658.

Your unworthy Fellow Servant,


To Mr. Lambe.

Numb.
Dear Brother,

Blest be the Lord for the great Consequence I had in the perusal of your Papers: All the Motions and Operations of Holy Love are lovely. That is the way of God that is the way of Love, and that to be much suspected that quencheb it. What is so much prejudiced through all the Gospel? Above all other ways, what a mellow sweetness datab the way of Love communicate to all the Duties and Conversions of those that are abounding in this Grace? And it is the Manhood and Maturity of Christianity. The Infancy of the Law had less of it than the full Age of the Gospel: And young Christians usually are like young Fruits, astringe and unpleasent, whom age and Holy Experience must mellow by the growth of Love, produced by the Sun-shine of Heavenly Love. I had thought to have presently returned you my Answer to your Reasons about Infant Baptism: but when I had read your other Papers, I could not find in my Heart, least Disputing should in any Measure abate in the Love that God was kindling: Yet shortly, (if I can find the least leisure) I shall give you a few Words to them (if God will) when that which both a fearing of containing will be more seasonable. Your Arguments for Communion are very weighty. My next Work to these Ends shall be to persuade some godly Ministers that differ from you, to a more charitable Judgment, and walking towards them of your Opinion; and (if I live so long) to persuade our Parliament Men against excessive Rigour and Bitterness against them. Do you do the like with those of your way. If Love reign in us, it must command our Tongues to plead its Cause, and to endeavour the promoting of it in the World. And when Love shall Reign among the Nations, the Lord shall Reign in a way of Love: And this is the way to those glorious Times that some expect by other Ways. And as the abounding of Iniquity and the cooling of Love are coupled by Christ as Cause and Effect, so will the abounding of Love, and the decay of Iniquity be conjoined. The God of Love carry on this blessed Work in our frozen Souls, and in all the Churches, by keeping me under the Light of his Countenance, and the Sun-shine of his most glorious Love. Premain

Jan. 7. 1658.

Your Brother,


To Mr. William Allen.

The Case of Separation.

Quelt. 1. Whether Particular Churches be of Divine Institution?

Answ. Yea; that is Christians associated for Personal Communication in Doctrine, Worship and Discipline, under the same Pastors (one or more) are a Church of Divine Institution. Proved \textit{Acts} 14. 23. \textit{Titus} 1. 5. \textit{Rom.} 11. 2. \textit{1 Thes.} 5. 16, 17. \textit{Heb.} 15. 17. 24. and many other Texts.

Quelt. 2. Whether the Parish Assemblies are such?

Answ. Parish-Assemblies are not of one sort; some are not such, that is, Parish Assemblies which deny the Essentials of Christianity, and are Heretics; or deny Church Essentials, or that have no Pastors, or such as want some Essentials of the Office, as visible to Man's Judgment.

But Parish Assemblies are true particular Churches, who profess the Essentials of Christianity, and of Churches, and have Pastors who visibly want not any thing essential to their Office (though otherwise faulty). 2. Churches are called true, 1. In point of Essence (as aforesaid). 2. In point of Soundness and Integrity (as a sick Man, or a maimed Man, or a Thief, is a true Man in Essence; but not in Soundness, in Integrity and Honesty).

The Parish Churches, as constituted by our Laws, Articles, Ordination and Canons, are true Churches as to Essence; but not without some Wants and Dilemmas that need a Cure.

I 2

3. Churches
3. Churches may be called True, 1. In their Constitutions: Or, 2. In their Administration. Ours in England, as afore described, are true in their Constitution: But in the Administration some are excellent, some are laudable, some are tolerable, and perhaps some have Ministers intolerable; as the Parliams differ.

4. The Society called the Church of England hath Paflors of several Minds; most I hope, hold all that is Effential to Christliana, Ministry and Communion: But some late Innovators and Corruptors, seem to deny somewhat Effential to particular Churches and Ministry; but these impeach no Mens Ministry but their own; against these I wrote in my Treaties of Episcopacy.

5. Distinguifh between the Office as inftruted by Crist, and owned by the Church of England, and the Exercife of the Office, as restrained and hindered by Canons and by Laws, the Parthi Miniflers and Churches are true Minifters and Churches as defcribed by Ordination, and the Church Doctrine, but many Canons and some Laws doeftully fetter them, and hinder the Exercife of their Office on pretence of governing them; but neither do nor can deftruy the Effence of the Office it felf: The Minifters have all effential Qualifications and the Confeft of the People (though not the firft Choice) and the People are profefled Chriftians.

6. A Parith and a Parith-Church are not the fame, all are not of the Church that are in the Parith; there are three forts of the Parith, 1. Communicants, and thofe are the Church. 2. Meer Hearers and Catechetical Perfons, and thofe are Candidates. 3. Aliens, Atheifts, Infidels and Papifts, Hereticks, Men of no Church or other Churches; Parthi-Churches as combined parts of a Chriftian Kingdom, or National Church thus diligiously from Aliens, Auditors, and not only tolerated, but orderly combined, maintained, encouraged, are the moft regular Churches agreeable to Scripture, Reason, and Antiquity.

Quesl. 3. Suppose the Parthi-Churches fhould be no true Churches, is it deftructive to particular Churches to join with the Parthi-Assemblies?

Answ. No; who can dream that Families, and Neighbours, and occafional Meetings may not Worship God; or, that fuch Worship deftrues Churches. Did Cornelius’s Meeting, Acts 18. or thofe Acts 12. 12. or thofe that Acts 20. prayed at an Oratory, nor the Water deftruy the Church? 2. Occafion Communicants are not bound to try the Call of the Minifters where they come, and have no Vote but to take them according to visible Profeflion and Poliflion, and if the Minifters fhould prove uncailed, the Los would be to themfelvcs, and not to the Faithful that are blamefull and have right to the Childrens Bread, though a fals or a Pharifee diftribute it.

But the Separatifs Object, that pretended Churches which are not true, are worse than occafional Assemblies that pretend it not. Answ. 1. whether they are worse or better, is nothing to this Queftion of deftruying Churches. 2. The liker they are to true Churches, the liker they are to be better than thofe that are unlike them. 3. The Officiating of a true Minifter may make that a true temporary Church, which is not a constant fetted Church. 4. It is far liker that many separating Congregations will prove no true lawful Churches, for want of true Minifters, and other Caufes; and yet it will not follow that all that join with them deftruy true Churches; ifor fome under Government may do it blamefull; and they that do it finfully may yet own true Churches, every Sin deftrues not other Churches.

5. It is a Duty for Members of a Church to get what good they can by all Chriftians, whether they be regular Churches or not.

Quesl. 4. Suppose the Parthi-Assemblies to be particular Churches, are the Corruptions in them fo great as that we muft separate from them, or would it not be Schifism to do?

Answ. There are many forts of Separation: It is Schifism to call them (no true Churches of Chrift) or (fuch as is not lawful to hold Communion with) and to separate on that account, and this I have oft proved in Print to fully, that I muft not now repeat it.

But there are many Occafions which may warrant and necofimplify a meer local Separation, as I have fully proved in many Treaties; as if any Sin be imputed and Communion denied to thofe that will not Sin, thofe Men do not separate, but are driven out by Separatifs or Tyrants, and muft not give over all Church Worship of God because Tyrants forbid it them. Many other Inflances of lawful local Separation, I have publifhed, which I cannot find any have confuted, no, nor denied.

Quesl. 5. Whether there are not in congregational Churches fuch things which are not plainly instituted in Scripture?

Answ. Congregational is a forry Word as here used in diflimination from Parthi-Churches, Parthi-Churches are Congregational, they confift of Paflors and Chriftian
Numb. IV. APPENDIX.

ftian Communicants joined for Personal Communion, and Independants and Separatists much differ, many Independents are against Separation, the old Nonconformists, both Presbyterians and Independents were judged the Parish-Churches that had tolerable Ministers to be true Churches; and Independents greatly differ among themselves; some are found in the Faith, and some are unfound; some are for Infant Church-Membership and Covenant Grace, and some against it; some are for Self-made Covenants and Terms of Church-entrance and Communion, and for the Peoples Power of the Keys, and against Ordination and many other Errors; which others do renounce. And remember it is one thing to be Independents by Agreement, as Neighbour Churches, and another thing to be dependent as Subjects on governing Churches: And it is one thing to be Independent on equal Neighbour Churches; and another thing to be independent on a superior Ministry: The Churches of Rome, Corinth, Galatia, Ephesus, and the rest, were independent on each other, as to Government; but they were dependant on the Apostles and Evangelists (Paul, Barnabas, Luke, Mark, Silas, Timothy, Titus, and Apollos, &c.) as to Oversight and dependant on other Churches as Fellow-members of the same Universal Body, as the Members of our Bodies are. 3. I know no Churches to happy as to have nothing that is not particularly (yes, or generally) instituted in Scripture; yea, and that obstrued on the People. O! when will God make them wiser? some Independent Ministers and Churches have Catholic, Charitable, Uniting Principles. But the separating part who are they that have so many and great Defects and Faults as I have in my former Writing enumerated, and need not here again recite, but advise you impartially to review them. Queft. 6. Whether every Person who doth join with such a Church doth not become guifly of the Sin of such a Church, as tho' do that join with the Church of England?

Anf. This Question intimateth that you know not what the Church of England is: It is nothing but a Christian Kingdom, consisting of a Christian supreme Power, and combined Christians and Churches governed by that Power; it is not Liturgies nor Ceremonies that effentiate the Church of England: Orthodox, Godly Presbyterians, and Independents who deny not a Christian Kingdom of Christian Churches (though differing in many things) are all parts of the true Church of England; But I suppose you mean the Conformists (which are but a part).

2. One is guilty of the Faults of the Conformists by their bare Presence and Communion, who do not consent to those Faults, and if bare Presence signified Content, we must avoid Communion with all Churches on Earth, for who are Saints? And all must avoid us; and how shall we avoid our selves, who fin in all we do?

3. But when People caulefley separate and unchurch other Churches far founder than their own, and falsely accuse them; yea, and almost all Christ's Churches these Fifteen Hundred Years, as those now called Separatists usually do, I think your ordinary joining with such, when you may have founder Communion is a sinful Encouragement of them in their Schism, justly leaveth you under the Imputation of Schism, and required great Humiliation and Reformation, being greater than some great private Sins, as publick Caifes are more important than private; but I am loath to say all that I Judge true against the present separating Way, lest it be mistaken, as if I would render them odious, or be against the necessary Toleration of the Week.

I have truly told the World near Forty Years ago, that I am past doubt that neither the Episcopal Presbyterian nor Independant way alone, will well settle the Church: But that each of the three Parties (and those called Eragians) have some-what of the Truth in peculiar, and somewhat of Paulinists, and if ever the Church be well settled, it must be by taking the best, and leaving out the worst of every party, and till that can be done, we must bear with what we cannot amend.

Octobo. 9. 1688.

Mr. J—,

Because your Friend referseth Conference, though I promisef secr&c, and a lo-ving Debate, I will for your fake anfwer your Questions my fel, which I take to be thefe Two: 1. Whether you ought not pretendly to fix your fel in a particular Church, and not continue any longer occasional Communion with many.

If. What
II. What Church you should be a fixed Communicant in.

1. As to the First, I know not well what is meant by fixed Membership by the Author of the Writing which you shewed me; you must be a fixed Member of Christ, and the Church Universal, or else you are no fixed Christian: But as to particular Pastors and Congregations, Order, and Concord, and Edification are the general Rules which tell you where to fix and how far.

2. You ought not to commit any real Sin for Communion with any Church.

3. Though you may and must join with faulty Affembles and Worship; yet you must not justify their Faults, nor profefs your Conform to them, nor promise that you will never endeavour any Amendment of them.

4. There must be no Self-obliging unnecessarily: Liberty is not so contemptible a thing that we should cast it away for nought; much less must you bind your self contrary to God's Providence, or without excepting Alterations by it.

Your Church-Membership, as to particular Congregations must have no greater fixedness than your Habitation and other Obligations: You may remove your Congregational Relation when you remove your Dwelling; and none can hinder you from removing both, when your Interest requir eth it. Suspect them that would make you their Propriety.

II. As to the Second (where you should fix):

1. You are in your Father's House, under his Government, and must obey him in all lawful things; and must not go against his Consent.

2. You are a Member of a Chriftian Family; and no Scripture tells us of the Members of one Chriftian Family being of divers Churches, nor alloweth it.

3. Scripture knoweth no particular Churches, but what were bounded by Neighbourhood and Cohabitation; except Heretics: There were never Churches gathered out of Churches then; nor two approved Churches of the same Language in the same Bounds.

1. I do hereby undertake to prove against any Disputer, that there is no Form to agreeable to God's Word, as this following: 1. A Chriftian Kingdom consisting of a Chriftian King (or supreme Power) and particular confederate Churches being the Burgeffes, and peaceable Unbelievers that tolerated Aliens or Catechumens. 2. A reformed Episcopal Successors to the Evangelists, that (without the Sword or Force) had the Care of many Churches. 3. Reformed Parifh Churches, confifting of Godly Pastors, and profef sed Chriftian Cohabitations, the incapable being Catechumens; which made the old Nonconformists declare that they were far from being against Parifh Churches, that their Lives would be a burden to them if they were not recovered to them.

The first Church State that Christ himself made, was the Platform of a Chriftian Kingdom Church, offering to make Judea such, setting Twelve Apostles over the Twelve Tribes, and Seventy two Disciples, the Number of their great Council, and fo would have gathered all Jerusalem's Children to himself, as a Hen gathereth her Chieftens, Mat. 23. which they refusing he declared that the Kingdom of God should be taken from them, and given to a Nation that would bring forth the fruit thereof; and fo they were cut off for our Unbelief, and we grafted in (to the fame Olive or political State, the Mofiacal Law only changed for Chrift's Law): And as all the Prophets foretold this, that Chrift's Church should be a Davidical Kingdom; so after Two Hundred Ninety Four Years Tryal it was set up, and the Pagan Empire, Babylon, did fall, and Christ reigned by Chriftian Emperors, and his enemies were made his Foolish, and the Kingdoms of the World became the Kingdoms of the Lord and of his Chrift, confisting of Churches confederate for Unity; and the Nations brought in their Glory to it; and the Fulneses of the Gentiles came in, and all the Israel of God were saved, Judea becoming the most Chriftian Nation in the World: And Heaven and Earth rejoiced at the Fall of Babylon, and this new Jerusalem's initial State: And sure it is such a Kingdom-Church which thefe expect, that talk of the future Thousand Years Reign of Chrift. As Teachers are under him as Prophets, and Priests as he is Priest; so are Chriftian Kings as he is King; and bad Kings are no more Reafon against his Institution than bad Teachers and Priests.

2. There are Three Sorts of Pastors or Bifhops in Chrift's Church:

1. Such as were to gather many Churches (out of Infidels) and to let Elders or fixed Bifhops over them, and then oversee both the Elders and People: Such Chrift made the Apostles, whose Office was partly extraordinary and temporary, and is fo far
far only sealed, and partly ordinary and continued, and so Christ promised to be with them to the end of the World: And such were Evangelists sent forth with and by the Apostles to gather and oversee many Churches and Pastor: Such were Titus, Timothy, Luke, Mark, Barnabas, Silas, and many more. God never recalled this Order of Ministers, if any say he did, it lyeth in them to prove it. This was the first sort of Pastors.

II. The Second Sort were the fixed Elders which there ordained in every Church; who were all Bishops over the Flocks, and so called: but under the general Ministers (who yet had none of them any forcing Power by the Sword) these two God instituted.

III. The Third Sort (between these Two) was a Presidt Pastor in every particular Church, like the President of a Colledge, who had some moderating guiding Power among the rest of the Elders: This was set up to avoid Division among the Elders (every Church having usually many) and received even in some of the Apostles Days, and never rejected for a Thousand Years.

1. Particular Churches in Scripture Times were distinguished by the places of their Neighbourhood, as I said before; and there were never two Churches in the same Bounds, except Heretics, and Men of divers Languages.

From this it is plain, that the most Divine Form of Government is 1. A Christian Kingdom. 2. With (Reformed) General Ministers. 3. And (Reformed) Parish-Churches, having fixed Pastors (and where it may be our Chief) &c. Moreover (as to your fixing) the Churches in Quisition with you, I suppose, are not the Papists, the Quakers, the Familists, &c. But the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, the Independent and the Separatist (if not the Anabaptists also).

I. The Episcopal are of Two Sorts, Conformists and Nonconformists. The Episcopal Conformists are of Two Sorts; some lately sprung up, that follow Arch-bishop Laud and Dr. Hammond, hold that there are no Political Churches lower than Diocesan, because there are no Bishops under them; and so that the Parish-Churches are no Churches, properly, but part of Churches; nor the Incumbents true Bishops, but Curates under Bishops; nor the Foreigners true Ministers or Churches that have no Diocesan Bishops. This Party called themselves the Church of England, 1658, 1659. When we knew but of Four or Five Bishops left alive (who Dr. Hammond said (with that Party of the Clergy) were of his Mind): And those feemed uppermost in 1660, and 1661. and were the men whom I disputed with in my Treatise of Episcopacy.

The other Episcopal Conformists are they that follow the Reformers, and hold the Doctrine of the Scripture as only sufficient to Salvation, and as explicatory of it, the Thirty Nine Articles, the Homilies, Liturgy, Book of Ordination, Apology, &c. These take the Parish-Pastors for trueRectors, and the Parish-Churches for true Churches, but subordinate to the Diocesan, and to be ruled by them. But the Laws have imposed on them some Declarations and Subscriptions, which they think they may put a good Senfe on, though by stretching the Words from their usual Signification. The Bishops and Deans are chosen by the King indeed, and by the Prebends in Favour. The Incumbent are chosen by Patrons ordained by Diocesans with Presbyters, and accepted by Consent of the Communicants of the Parish. The Episcopal Government is managed partly by the Bishops, and partly by Lay-Civilians and Surrogates.

The Episcopal Nonconformists are for true Parish-Churches and Ministers, reformed, without swearing, promising, declaring, or subscribing to any but sure, clear, necessary things; defining that the Scripture may be their Canons, disowning all persecuting Canons, taking the capable in each Parish for the Communicant and Church, and the rest for Hearers and Catechized Persons: defining that the Magistrate be Judge, whom he will maintain, approve, and tolerate, and the Ordainers Judges whom they will ordain, and the People be free Confessors to whole Pastoral Care they will trust their Souls; defining that every Presbyter be an Overseer of the Flock, and every Church that hath many Elders have one Incumbent President for Unity and Order; and that Godly Diocesans may (without the Sword or Force) have the Oversight of many Ministers and Churches; and all these be confederate and under the Government of a Christian King, but under no Foreign Jurisdiction; though in as much Concord as is possible with all the Christian World: And they would have the Keys of Excommunication and Abolition taken
APPENDIX. Num. III. IV.

ken out of the Hands of Lay-Men (Chancellors or Lay Brethren); and the Diocesan to judge in the Synods of the Presbyters, in Cases above Parochial Power.

That this was the Judgment of the Nonconformists that treated for Peace in 1660. and 1661. is to be seen in their printed Proposals, in which they desired Archbishop Usher's Model of the Primitive Episcopacy joined with the Synods of Presbyters.

II. The Presbyterians are for Parish-Churches as aforesaid, guided by Elders, some teaching, and some only ruling, and these under Synods of the like Clafs, without Diocesan or Parochial Superiors; and all under a National Assembly of the fame, as the Supreme Church Power.

III. The Independants are for every Congregation to have all Church Power in it fell, without any superior Church-Government over them, whether Bishops or Synods, yet owning Synods for voluntary Concord.

Of these some are against local Communion with the aforesaid Churches, and for avoiding them by Separation; some as if they were no Churches, and had no true Ministers; some for Forms of Prayer, some for faulty Communicants, some for Episcopal Ordination, and some for subsisting, and some for all these, and many other pretended Reafons.

But some Independants are for occasional Communion with the other Churches, and some also for stated Communion in the Parish-Churches, for which you may read Mr. Tomes's the chief of the Anabaptists in a full Treatife, and Dr. Thomas Goodwin on the fift of the Ephesians, earnest against Separation (as the old Nonconformists were).

Now which of all these should you join with? I affirm, that all these except the Separatists are parts of the Church of England, as it is truly effentiated by a Christian Magiftracy, and confederate Christian particular Churches. All are not equally found and pure, but all are parts of the Church of England: Liturgies, and Ceremonies, and Canons and Chancellors are not effential to it, as a Church, or Christian Kingdom: But it is now a Medly, left confonant than is defirable: but you are not put upon any fuch Dilufes; whether you will call the prefent Church of England Roman, as denominated from the King that is the Head; or whether you will fay that King and Parliament confound are the Head, and fo it is yet Protestant, becaufe the Laws are fo; or whether you will denominate it materially Protestant, becaufe the Clergy and Flocks are fo; your Doubt is only, what Congregation to join with.

I anfwer, That which all your Circumstances fit together, make it moft convenient to the publick good and your own.

Though I hold not Ministerial Conformity lawful, I take Lay-Communion in any of these except the Separatists, to be lawful to fome Perfons, whole cafe maketh it fettelf: But I judge it unlawful for you to confine your Communion to any one of them; fo as to refufe occasional Communion with all fave them.

1. The Parish-Churches have the Advantage of Authority, Order and Confequency, and the Protestant Interefs is chiefly call upon them, therefore I will not separate from Lay-Communion with them, though they need much Reformation.

2. You must not go againft your Father's Will, no, nor divide the Family, without neceffity: The fame I lay of your Husband when you are married.

3. The Nonconforming Episcopal and Presbyterian have not fuch Churches as they defire, but only temporally keep Meetings like to Chappels, as Affiliates to others, till Parifhes are reformed.

4. I think it a flated sinful Schism to fix as a Member of fuch a Church and Pastor as is of the Principles of the Writing which you fhewed me.

I. Because they grievously hinder the Parish-Churches and Ministers as none, and their Worship and Government as far worfe than it is.

II. Because they Renounce local Communion with almost all the Body or Church of Christ on Earth, by renouncing it on a Reafon common to almost all.

III. Because they separate from fuch Churches as Christ and his Apoftles joined with, and fo come to condemn Christ and his Apoftles as Sinners. Christ ordinarly joined with the Jews Church in Synagogues and Temple-Offices; when the High-Priest bought the Place of Heathens, and the Priests, Pharifees and Rulers were
were wicked Persecutors, and the Sadduces Hereticks or worke; he sent Judas as an Apostle, when he knew him to be a Theif or a Devil.

The Apostles neither separated nor allowed Separation from such Churches as Corinth, Gallatia, Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardis, Laodicea, &c. defiled with odious Crimes and Errors; though God command them to reform.

IV. Because hereby they tempt Men to infidelity, when they hear that Christ hath no greater a Body and Church than they with which Men may lawfully communicate; and rob him of almoft his Kingdom.

V. By false accusing the Prayers of almost all Christ's Church, and renouncing Communion with them, they forfeit their Interest in the Benefit of their Prayers, and of the Communion of Saints.

VI. Who but Satan would have all the People of England and all Nations to live without any publike Church-worship, till they can have better than such as is in our Parish-Churches; as if none were better.

VII. With whom would these Men have held Communion if they had lived in any Age till two hundred Years ago? when as far as ever I could find, there was not one Congregation of Christians or Hereticks in all the World that was against Forms of Worships, or Bishops, or all Ceremonies; let them name one if they can, what then will they pay to the Qedition, Where was your (new) Church before the two last Ages? Had Christ no Church for One Thousand Two Hundred Years in all the World, that a Chriltian ought to join with in local Communion? Did Christ disown them all, and yet was he their Head, and they his Body? Or are these Men as much fiercer than Christ, as the Pharifees were about his Converse and the Sabbath?

VIII. They condemn themselves by their own Practice, while some of them cry down Communion with imposed Forms of Liturgy; they sing Psalms imposed by the Pafte or Clerk, which are the chief part of imposed Liturgies: They sing them in new Verfions, Metre, and Tunes, different from the Apostles Churches (and yet better for us): They use imposed Translations of the Scripture: The Paflor impofeth his Words of Prayer, as a Forme which the People muft all join with: This is but a different Mode of Liturgies.

IX. Charity (or Chriflian Love) and Unity are the great vital Graces of the Chriflian Church: And oh, how woefully do these Men violate and destroy it? when, as is said, they renounce Communion for a Thoufand or Twelve Hundred Years at leaft, with all known Churches on Earth, as unlawful in point of local Prefence. 2. They bind all Chrifrians that will hear them, to do the like to this Day, to almoft all the Churches on Earth. 3. Their Principles and Reasons make it infuf to have Communicated with the Reformers, the Waldenfes, Wickliffe, Luthcr; Melancthon, Zuinglius, Calvin, Bucer, and the reft. 4. And they condemn Communion with the Martyrs, both under Heathens, and of later Times, who made or valued and used Liturgies. 5. They condemn local Communion with all the late and former holy excellent Bishops and Conformifts; fuch as Archbishops Parker, Grindall, Abbot, Usher, &c. Bifhops, Hift, Morton, Pilkington, Downham, Davemant, and many fuch: All that glorious Tribe of Conformifts; Prestons, Sibbs, Balton, Whately, Crooke, To. Downham, Stoughton, &c. Oh, how great a Number and how excellent, almoft matchles Men? Almoft all the late Weftminster Aflembly. 6. And all the excellent old Nonconformifts that were againft Separation; Dearing, Greenham, Perkins, Bayn, Reigmolds, Dod, Helderfham, Bradfow, Ball, and Multitudes of fuch of greatef Piety and Parts. 7. All, or near all the Reformed Churches. 8. All the meer Independants that were againft their Separation; fuch as Dr. Tho. Goodwin aforesaid, and many of his Mind. 9. Yea, they condemn the Old Brownifts, who Printed their Profefion of Communion with many Parish-Churches, and with Liturgies. 10. And they utterly condemn all local Communion with the meer Nonconformifts of this Age, who offered Terms of Concord in Liturgy and Epiftolopy, 1661. None of all these are good enough for thefe Men (especially their Women and Lads) to have any preffent Communion with.
Do they know how little radical Difference there is between lying, as Persecutors, All these are Hereticks; and as Separatists, All these are unworthy of Christian Communion: Yea, the Pope rejecteth Communion but with two or three parts of the Christian World, and these Men renounce local Communion with almost all: Is this the way of Love and Unity in the Body of Christ?

X. Is Provoking, Excommunicating them the way to reconcile the Publick Ministers and Churches? Or is this a time to join with the Enemies of the Protestant Religion, to draw all the People to forsake them? That to the Reformation here may have only private Toleration as we have, till some Disorder is laid to forfeit it? the King promiseth to defend them, and shall separating Protestants pull them down?

XI. The Weakness of these Men's Judgments and Dealings, bring all the Nonconformists into Contempt and Scorn with Multitudes of undistinguishing Men, as if we were all of the same Temper, and hardeneth Thousands in hatred to them all, and maketh them long to be persecuting us again, and keepeth them from repenting of the Evil they have done: Offence must come, but woe to them by whom it cometh.

XII. God hath most expressly decided this Controversy in Scripture, and these Men seeming Adherents to Scripture cannot see it, Rom. 14. and 15. and 16. 17. f. 17. 22, 24. Pbil. 2. Eph. 4. In a Word, in all those Texts that plead for Church Unity and Love; and all those that speak of the finfulness of Schism, and that a kingdom divided cannot stand; and all those that condemn Dividers, and all that command mutual forbearance, &c. Do you think that [receive one another as Christ received us: even them that are weak in Faith is self.] doth mean no more than [do not silence them, or imprison, or murder them:] No doubt but it meaneth, receive them to Church-Communion.

XIII. What a great Sin is unjust silencing worthy Preachers. And do not these Men endeavour to silence more thousands than the Act of Uniformity, or Bishops did, when they tell all that it's a Sin to hear them.

XIV. If it be unlawful to join with others that are no worse than they, it must be unlawful to join with them: If I be guilty of all that is laid or done amidst the Parish Churches, I shall be more guilty if I join with the Separatists. I am not defirous to accuse any, but to cover their Faults as far as I can. But I cannot relieve your Question without telling you that I take their Church-State to be so far different from the Rule, and in many Respects worse than the Parish-Churches, as that to join with them as fixed covenanted Members, will be a Flate of Sin.

1. Scripture-fixed Ministers, or Elders were all ordained by superior general Pasteurs, either alone, or with Presbyteries: So are not theirs (if by any at all).

2. Scripture flocks were ruled by their Pasteurs, Heb. 13. 7, 17, 24. 1 Thes. 5. 13, 14. 1 Pet. 5. 1 Tim. 3, &c. But many of their Flocks are the Rulers of themselves and Pasteurs.

3. Scripture particular Churches were all distinguished by the Limits of their Habitation or Proximity: So that there was never two Churches in the same City or Bounds, save Hereticks, and Men of diverse Tongues (at least where one could hold them all) But it's otherwise with the Separatists.

4. No lawful Church in Scripture, was gathered out of a true Gospel-Church: But theirs are.

5. Scripture Churches had fixed known Tefts to know qualified Members by; which was content to the Baptifmal Covenant, explained in the Creed, Lord's Prayer and Commandments: So that all Churches had the fame Teft and Terms of Qualification, and so had one Profession. But these Men leave this Arbitrary to the Pastor (or People) to try whether Men are converted by uncertain Terms and Words devised by every Minifter; so that the Terms are unknown and not agreed on among their Churches, and may be as various as Ministers.

6. Scripture Churches never divided the Chriftians of the same Family, some to one Church, and some to another: But these Men do it, to great Confusion.
7. They are not agreed on any Form of Doctrine to be a Test of their Agreement with other Churches with whom they will have Communion: If they say that the Scripture is that Test; I answer, a General Belief that Scripture is the Word of God, is neither sufficient to Salvation, nor to Communion: Many have this, who deny the Essentials of Christianity: And an explicit Understanding and Belief of every Text, no Man hath. Thousands of Texts are not understood by most Christians or Teachers; therefore there must be some Collection of the Essentials in a Creed, else there can be no certain Notice whether so much of Scripture Truth be explicitly believed as is necessary to Salvation. And if single Pastors require more, it must be only in order to Growth and Edification, and not as a necessary Qualification for Membership, or Communion of Churches.

I have great Caule to know what I say of them. A Parliament once chose Fourteen Ministers to draw up the Fundamentals of Religion, as a Test of such as were to be tolerated in Union: There were Dr. Owen, Mr. Nye, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Mr. Sydrak Sympton, Dr. Cheyne, and others: Bishop Usher was chosen, and relished; and I was chosen in his stead: Before I came they had drawn up Fourteen or Fifteen Articles all in new Terms of their own, and some neither Essential, nor true: I told them that we were not to make a new Christianity or Creed, but must own that which the Christian Church was known by in all Ages: But I could not be heard, though Mr. Vines and Mr. Mantou joined with me. At last they wrote this for a Fundamental: [That they that allowed themselves or others in any known Sin, cannot be saved.] I told them that though I could not be heard by them, I durst say, that I would make them plainly blot it out. They bid me, do it if I could. I said, [The Parliament taketh Indepency, Separation, Anabaptisistry, and Antinomianism for Sin: And they will say, These Divines pronounce as all Damned if we allow them.]

They said not a Word, but threw away their Fundamental. The rest of them they printed: But the Parliament were glad with silence to pass by all their Works, and take no notice of it, left it should be a publick Reproach that we could not agree on the Fundamentals. And I am glad that I hindered such an Agreement as they would have made, instead of the old Creeds which they would not rest in. And can such Churches be of any known Consistency or Concord? If you join with them, how know you what Religion they are of? Or how know they what other particular Churches are in their Communion? (for I hope they hold a Communion of Churches,) Arrians and Socinians say they believe the Scripture: No Man understands the all the Scripture: The necessary selected Articles they have no known Agreement in: If they say that they own the same Creed that we do, why then do they not use it as the Test of Christian Profession, but instead of it leave every Pastor to make one in Terms that is only his, and no two Churches have the same: To agree in Indepency or Separation, is not to agree in Christianity: There are abundance of Books written for very false Doctrines by men called Independents (it's odious to name them.) Are all the Author of their Communion or not? The Assembly could never get them to tell whom they would take to be of their Communion, and whom not.

8. Therefore their Churches are not compaginrate nor confederate to as the Members of our Body should be, and as Scripture-Churches were, and as Christ would have had the Jewish National Church to be.

9. They have no Certainty and Concord in their Church-Worship, which they have little more than Such Preaching and Praying, which cannot be known for True or False, Sound or Unsound till the Words are past: And it may justly be expected that Separatists, Antinomians, Anabaptists, Socinians, and all erroneous Men should put their Errors into their Sermons and Prayers, and sinfully lather them all on God: And so God's Worship must be contiuallly uncertain to the Flocks; and of as many different Strains as the Preachers differ in Parts and Wisdom: And it must be low, and poor, and confused, wherever the Ministers are young, raw, erroneous or ignorant.

They once met at the Savoy, and drew up an Agreement of many Pasteors: But in that they differ from many other Churches called Independants, and from the Anabaptists. And they expressly contradict the Scripture, 1. In saying that [we have no Righteousness but Christ's which is imputed to us] when as Scripture many Hundred times mentioneth also another personal, inherent, or acted Righteousness.

K 2 2. They
2. They lay that [Faith is not imputed for Righteousness]. I think they mean well: But they should rather expound Scripture than flaily deny or contradict what it saith; and after, demon thole fallly that would help them more diligently to understand it. Their People are taught to speak evil of what they understand not, and to represent Men as dangerous or odious, who think not of many wordly Controversies as confusedly and ignorantly as they. Their Churches are too usually constituted of such Novices in Knowledge of both Sexes, as are like a School where the Boys call their Teacher a Deceiver for every word by which he would deliver them from their Errors, and teach them more than they knew before.

10. They lazily gather a few that seem so much better than the rest, as will put them to no great labour in Teaching and Discipline. But if all the rest of the Parishes ly in Ignorance, how little are we beholden to these Separatists for the Cure. When I came to Kidderminster, some, inclined that way, importuned me to take a few Preceptors of Zeal for my Block, and let the rest follow their ignorant Readers. But when I denounced their Council, and after my own and my Affiliates long Catechizing them, and perceiving all the Families, House by House, they saw the Body of Town and Parish in love with serious Religion, they knew me they had been undone if I had followed their Counsel: William Allen, who, with Mr. Lamb, were Pastors of an Anabaptist Arminian Church, first separated from the Papist-Churches, and next from the Independents, was turned from Independency much, by seeing (being our Kidderminster Factor) that Parish-Churches may be made as holy as separated ones, and the People not left by lazy Separatists to the Devil: So that this Experience made him and his Companion more against Independency than I am.

11. They abuse the People in indulging them in works that they were never called to, nor are capable of, nor can give any comfortable account of to God; that is, To be the Judges of Perfons admitted to Communion, and of Mens Repentance and Fittness for the Sacrament, &c. whereas God hath put this Power, called The Church Keys, into the Pastors and Rulers hands. (the not over-forced Men, but Volunteers). Baptism is the true Churches Entrance, and the Baptist is the Judge of the Capacity of the Baptized: no more but Content to particular Church Relation and Duty, is necessary to Membership of Neighbour Christians in particular Churches. And nothing but proved nullifying the Baptifmal Covenant by Herefie, or Sin inpenitently maintained or contained in, doth forfeit their visible right to Communion. And if the People must judge of all these, they must have their Callings to examine every Perfon, and they will grow wiser and able, then many of their Leaders are.

12. Their Churches have among them no probable way of Concord; but they are as a heap of Sand, that upon every Commotion fall in pieces. The Experience of it in Holland broke them to nothing: And it did affect the Sober in New-England, that in 1660. or 1661. Mr. Afl and I were fain to diffuade Mr. Norton and Mr. Breadstreet, whom they sent hither as Commissi oners, from inclining to our English Episcopacy (fotelling them what was doing and we have seen) to deeply were they afraid of being received by that Peoples unceivable Separation from their before Pastors, whenever any earnest erroneous Teachers would induce them. Their Building went the Cement.

13. God hath so wonderfully by his Providences disowned the way of Schism and Separation (on how good pretences ever) that I should be too like Pharaoh in hardnels, if I should deliberate his warnings. For Instance,

1. In the Apostles days all are condemned that separated from the fedel Churches, even when those Churches had many heinous Scandals, and St. Paul faith, That all they in Asia were turned from them. The Authority and Miracles of the Apostles did not serve to keep Men from Separation and raising Schisms.

2. Even when the Church lay under Heathen Persecutors for 294 years, yet Swarms of Condemned Sects arose, to fo great a number, as that the naming and confessing them filled great Volumes, to the great Reproach of the Chrifian Churches, and Scandal of the Heathens.

3. As soon as Confumine delivered the Churches from the Flames of cruel Persecution, and let up Chrifians in Power and Wealth, separating Sects grew greater than before, each Party crying up their several Bishops and Teachers, and grew worse by Divisions, till thereby they tempted the Papal Clergy to unite Men carnally by force.
4. At Luther's Reformation Swarms of Separatists arofe in Germany, Holland, Poland, &c. to the great dishonour of the Protestant Caufe.

5. Here in England it hath been ill in Queen Elizabeth's time, by the Familists and Separatists; and far worse since: It was such as Quartersmen and Lillibours, and other Separatists that drew Tumults and Crowds down to Westminster, to draw the Parliament to go beyond their own Judgment, and thereby divided the Parliament-men, and drove away the King, which was the beginning of our odious War. It was the Separating Party that all over the Land set up Anti-Churches in the Towns that had able godly Ministers, when they had nothing impoed on them to exculde it, neither Bishops, Liturgies, nor Ceremonies. So that Churches became like Cockpits, or Fencing-Schools, to draw alunder the Body of Christ. It was the Separating Party that got under Cromwell into the Army, and became the common Scorners of a godly able Minifttry, by the Names of the Priest-lyers, the Driveirms, the Westminster-Simmers, the Difembly-men, as Malignant Drunkards did, and worse.

It was then that thought Success had made them Rulers of the Land, that caufed the disbanding of all the Soldiers that diffliked their Spirit and Way, and then pull'd down, first eleven, and then the major part of the Parliament, imprifoning and turning out Men of eminent Piety and Worth, and making a Parliament of the minor part, and their killing the King, and afterward with scorn turning out that minor part that had done their work, and to whom they had oft profeft themselves Servants: It was these Men that set up a Ulurper; that made a thing called a Parliament, all of his and his Armies nomination. If this should ever be imitated, whom may we thank. It was these Men that set up the Military Government of Major-Generals: It was they that set up and pull'd down so many feigned Supream Powers in a few years, as made themselves the Scorn of the World, and by a dreadful warning of Divine Juflice, all their victorious Army and Power drop't in pieces like Sand, as they would have ufed the Church, and was diffolvd without one Battle or drop of Blood; fave the after-Blood of their Lea-<>

If any lay (truly or fallily) Those had bad a hand in some such thing your self. I answer, If I had I will hate it, and write against it fo much the more.

To thrust ones tell into a way fo difowned by God, by such a course of fearful warnings, is to run with Pharaoh into the Red-Sea; especcially when Impenitence fo fix'd the guilt on them that cannot endure to hear of it, as may make us fear that the world is behind, and Sin and Judgments yet continue.

The Sum of what is laid to you on the other fide, is that the Church of England and the Parifh Churches have no true Minifttry, and therefore are no true Churches: That they confefs there is no Church without a Bishop, and no Bishop below the Diocesan, and no Church below the Diocesan Church: That thefe are no Scripture Bishops and Churches; and Men cannot be Pfaltres againft their wills, and the will of their Diocesan. That I conftradict my Treatife of Epifcopacy in denying this: With more like this.

To which I fay, If the Parifh Congregation were but part of a Church, you might joyn with it as a part, as well as with part of an Independent Church. And they that can hear a Lay-man with the Separatifs, might hear the Minifters there.

II. Whether I conftradict my felf, or not, is nothing to your Caufe and Con-<>

The formal Notion of a National Church is nothing out a Chriftian Kingdom: The Matter is Chriftian Rules and Subjects, as ordered Confederate particular Churches: England hath been fuch in many Ages. Here from the Reformation they owned the Sovereign Power of the Head of the Politi-<>

These Books are still owned by the Church: But at laft a new forf of Bishops rofe up that would have made the Parifh Churches to be no proper Churches, but like
like Chappels under the Diocesan: Those called themselves the Church of England, when there were but about four or five Bishops left alive, who Dr. Hammond said were of his mind. Some such domineered afterward, and would have set up that way, but never prevailed either to retract the Churches Books and Laws, nor to get the major part of the Clergy to own them. Now all the vain question here is, Which of these two Parties shall be called The Church of England? Neither of them alone: They are two disapproving parts of it: I argued against the left, professing not to do it against the first; which your Counsellor would take no notice of. And what's all this to you? If you will not be of the National or Diocesan Church, you may be of a Parilh Church.

III. I proved that if all the Bishops and Parliament had said, The Parish Ministers are no true Pastors, this would not have made them none, (though they might be guilty of depoing them as far as they could:) no more than it would make the Nonconforming Ministers and Churches to be none: Because we all take the Office as instituted by Christ, and Men to be but serving servants to him, having no power to alter it: And as in the Marriage the Husband shall have power over the Wife though he that marry them say Nay; so shall an ordained Elder be a true Pastor though the Ordainer say Nay.

IV. I proved that the old Church Books and Doctrine are in force still by Law, and the Kingdom and Church are sworn or bound, not to endeavour any alteration in the Government of the Church: Therefore not to put down the Parish Ministry and Churches. Therefore this is the Sence of the Church of England, though not of the new Faction that usurped that Name.

V. Though a Man cannot be a Pastor against his will, yet he may be one without his knowledge, if by Error he think he is none. For he may consent to all the Office, while he thinks it is not all, and denieth the Name. If a Man think that a Deacon may do all essential to a Pastor, and so that he is but a Deacon, he is nevertheless a Pastor if he confess to the Work. Many thousands are Christians that think they are not, and do truly confess to Christianity, while they think they do not. And why may it not be so also to the Ministry?

VI. But our Case needeth none of these Reasons. For where there is all that is essential to true Pastors and Churches, there are true Pastors and Churches: But by God's great mercy, in many thousand Parishes in England, there is all that is essential to true Pastors and Churches: Therefore they are such. When you will call me to dispute it with any Denier, I will fully prove to you, (That there is great need of Reformation).

1. That the Church of England, as it is a Christian Kingdom, containing Confederate Churches under a Christian King and Laws, is that very Form that Christ offered to settle in Judea, and did settle by Conformity.
2. That if the Diocesans be good Men, and lawfully chosen, as they are meer Successors of Timothy and Titus, and others that had the oversight of many Churches and Pastors (by the Word) they are stronger than the Opposers.
3. That the Incumbents of the Parish Churches have a valid Ordination by such Bishops and Presbyters, righter than the Dividers.
4. That many thousands of such Pastors are Men of competent Abilities: and many of greater Ministerial Abilities than most of us Nonconformists: yea, that no known Nation under Heaven hath, in so small a compass so many able Ministers as England. And that to deny it and separate, is great ingratitude towards God.
5. That Parish Bounds are a laudable Distribution of Churches; the capable Members being Communicants, and the rest Catechumens.
6. That the ordinary Communicants in multitudes of Parishes, are Members that have all that is essential to Church-Membership.
7. That the Pastors have power from God for all their Work, and Mens denial (even the Ordainers) must not that Power, when they are in general ordained Presbyters.
8. That by the Law of the Land they have all Power essential to Pastors: They may keep from Communion all that are not Confirmed, and there have owned their Baptifmal Covenant, or are ready and devoir to do, and therefore may try their resiendes: This is required by the Liturgy: And they may deny the Sacrament to all
all that live in scandalous Sin: And they must prosecute such to the Bishops Courts.
The Law call them Rectors (Rulers), and they own themselves for such: And even the Canons (that are their worst restrainers) do own the same; and do the rest of the Church-Books and Laws, that they all subscribe to, and promise not to alter: Ask them whether they take not themselves for true Pastors, if you would know whether they consent to be such.
9. Though some late Innovators, that called themselves The Church of England, would, as far as they could, have nullified in some part the Parochial Ministry and Churches, and the Canons themselves do finically limit the Exercise of their Power, (the Cause of our Calamities), yet this nullifieth not the Office and Churches; the Essential Power being vested both by God’s Laws and the Churches; and the restraint of Exercise nullifieth not the Power.
10. That to Exclude any from Communion that are Baptized and at Age, have owned their Christiannity, and are not proved by sufficient witnesses to have nullified that Profession by Apostasie, Herefie, or a wicked or scandalous Life, is Church Tyranny and Injustice; of which all are guilty that do it or define it.
11. That if this Discipline be neglected by the Ministers suitul Sloth, or by the sinful Omission of the People, that will not (first privately, and then before witnes, and then to the Church or Pastor) admonish the Offenders, this is the Sin of Pastors and People, but nullifieth not the Church or Office.
12. Through God’s great Mercy the Doctrine professed by the Church of England, and usually preached in many thousand Parochial Churches, is found, and as well preached as in any other known Kingdom on Earth (though Ministers have had their Sins which we still smart for and by).
13. There is nothing in the Liturgy-worship which the Laity in the Congregation are ordinarily to perform or joyn in, which they may not lawfully do or joyn in, or be present at: (most that needeth Reformation being in Rubricks and By-Offices, Baptizing, Confirmation, Excommunications, Ablutions, Burials, and in the Ministers part).
14. The Ministers have all the three parts that can be accounted by any party necessary to an outward Call. 1. They have the Magistrates Consent (by his Law) who is Judge whom he will maintain and tolerate. 2. They have the Ordinaries Consent and Million (Bishops and Presbyters) who are Judges whom to Ordain. 3. They have the Communicants Consent expressed in their conftant Attendance and Communicating who are the dicerning Judges to whom to commit the pastoral Care and Conduct of their own Souls: And though more be desirable, no more is of necessity.
15. The Confedrate Parochial Churches of England that have able godly Pastors, want nothing, which CHRIST or his APOSTLES, or the UNIVERSAL CHURCH of Christ for Six hundred years (yea or to this day) did ever make or judge necessary to the being of Ministers or Church. Nor have the said Churches any Error or Sin in Doctrine, Worship or Government, which either Christ or his Apostles, or the Universal Church, for Six hundred years after Christ, did judge inconsistent with the being of a valid Minister, and true visible Churches.
The large proof of these Fifteen Propositions I offer, though too long now to perform; which though they will not justify such Ministerial Conformity as I have been urged to, yet you may easily see by them, 1. What Church-Frame is most agreeable to Scripture. 2. And what to judge of the false Accusers of the Church. 3. How far Separation is sinful Division, and contrary to Christian Love and Union.

I know the Dividers say, 1. That I am turned Conformist. 2. And why do I not Conform, if I think so well of the Parochial Churches and Liturgy. And 3. Why have I left above Twenty thousand pounds in Five and twenty years, by refusing a Bishoprick and other Preferments.

To whom I answer; If our printed Proposals, Difputes, and Petitions for Peace in 1661, and my first, second, and third Plea for Peace, and many more of which Writings, and my Care of Church Divisions, and my Book for the true and only way of Church Concord, and my Confusion of many the made me a Separatift while I Communicated in my Parochial Church, and never gathered a Church merely because I forsook not my Miniftry, but preach a Lecture, and my Book against Sacrilegious Deference of the Miniftry; I say, it all these Books will not silence these ignorant Objectors, nor restrain them from speaking evil of that which they understand not, I owe them no more, nor can hope to cure their quarrrelsome Ignorance,
Ignorance, should I say or write never so much more. They have contemned to many excellent Rules, and Passages, single and Assemblyes, far wider than I, and so con-
eriously condemn almost all the Body or Church of Christ on Earth, that I am
not so vain as to expect to escape their Censure. Even in New-England, not only
Mr. Wilfon, Mr. Norton, and such other single Independent Ministers, lived and died
in lamented Separation, and warning the Land against it as their danger, but their
Synods have been at much trouble thereby, and left their Healing Determinations
and Testimony against that Dividing Spirit and Way.

They that would see more, may read a small Book of Mr. Philip Nye for Hearing
the Parish Preachers; and a bigger Book of Mr. John Tomes (the greatest and most
learned Writer against Infant-Baptism) vindicating the Lawfulness and Duty of
joyning in ordinary Communion in Word, Prayer, and Sacrament with the Parish-
Churches.

Dr. Thomas Goodwin on Ephel. 1. Serm. 36. pag. 488. explain-
ing some Words in the foregoing Sermon.

IT was understood as if I said, That all Parish Churches and Ministers generally were
Churches and Ministers of Christ, such as with whom Communion might be held. I
said not so: I was wary in my Expressions. I will only say this to you about it.
There is no Man that desires Reformation in this Kingdom (as the generality of
all godly People do) but will acknowledge and say, That multitudes of Parishes,
where Ignorance and Propriety overwhemeth the Generality, Scandaloufness and Si-
mony the Ministers themselves, that these are not Churches and Ministers fit to be
held Communion with. Only this: The Ordinances that have been administered
by them (so far we must acknowledge them, that they) are not to be recalled or
repeated again.

But here lyeth the Question, my Brethren, and my meaning: Whereas now in
some Parishes in this Kingdom, there are many godly Men that do constantly give
themselves up to the Worship of God in publick, and meet together in one place to that end,
in a constant way, under a godly Minister, whom they themselves have chosen to
elevate to, (though they did not choose him at first;) These, notwithstanding their mix-
ture and want of Discipline, I never thought for my part but that they were true Chur-
ches of Christ, and Sitter-Churches, and so ought to be acknowledged: And the con-
trary was the Error that I spake against.

Secondly, For holding Communion with them, I say, as Sitter-Churches, occasionally
as Strangers. Men might hold Communion with them: And it is acknowledged by all
Divines, that there is not that Obligation lying upon a Stranger, that is not a
Member of a Sitter-Church, to find Faults in that Church, or in a Member of it, as doth
on the Church it itself, to which one belongeth.

I will give you my Reasons that moved me to speak so much. It was not simply
to vent my own Judgment, or simply to clear my self from that Error: but the
Reasons, or rather the Motives and Considerations that filled me in it, were
these.

First, If we should not acknowledge these Churches, thus stated, to be true
Churches of Christ, and their Ministers true Ministers, and their Order such; and hold
Communion with them too, in the Sense spoken of, we must acknowledge No
Church in all the Reformed Churches; None of all the Churches in Scotland, nor in
Holland, nor in Germany; for they are All as full of mixture as ours: And to deny
this to our own Churches, which we do not to the Churches abroad, nothing can be
more absurd.

And it will be very hard to think that there hath been no Church since the Reformation.

Secondly, I know nothing tendeth more to the peaceable Reformation among
us, than to break down This Partition-Wall: for there is nothing provokes more
than this clotl, to deny such Churches to be true Churches of Christ. For do but
think with your selves, and I will give you a familiar Example: You come to a
Man whom you think to be a godly Man; you tell him, He hath these and these
Sins in him, and they are great ones: It is as much as he can bear, though you tell
him
him he is a Saint, and acknowledge him so: but if you come to him, and say, besides this, You are a Lumb of the Devil, and you have no Grace in you, this provoked all in a Man, when there is any Ground in himself to think so, or in another to judge him so; so it is here: Come to Church and say, you have these Defects among you, and these things to be reformed: But if you will come and say, Your Churches and your Ministers are Antichristian and come from Babylon, there is nothing provoketh more. Therefore if there be a Truth in it (as I believe there is) Men should be Zealous to express it: For this is the great Partition Wall that bindeth of twain making one.

Then again, This is that which I consider, and it is a great Consideration also. I know that Jesu Christ hath given his People Light in Matters of this Nature by degrees. Thouands of good Souls that have been bred up and born in our Assemblies, and enjoy the Ordinances of God, and have done it comfortably, cannot suddenly take in other Principles: You must wait on Christ to do it.

In this Case Men are not to be wrought off by Falsehoods, God hath no need of them; no, rather till Men do take in Light, you should give them all that is comfortable, in the Condition they are in; we should acknowledge every good thing in every Man, in every Church, in every thing; and that is a way to work upon Men and to prevail with them, as it is Phil. vi. 6. That the Communication of thy Faith may become effectual acknowledgment of every good thing which is in you in Christ Jesus. It is that which buildeth Men up, by acknowledgment of every good thing that is in them.

Lastly, The last Inconvenience is this, It doth deprive Men of all those Gifts that are found amongst our Ministers, and in this Kingdom, that they cannot hold any Communion or fellowship with them.

So that I profess my self as zealous in this Point, as in any other I know. And for my part, this I lay, and I say it with much Integrity: I never yet took up Religion by Parties in the Lump. I have found by trystal of things that there is some truth on all Sides: I have found Holiness where you would little think it, and so likewise Truth. And I have learned this Principle, which I hope I shall never lay down till I am swallowed up of Immortality, and that is, that which I said before, To acknowledge every good thing, and hold Communion with it, in Men, in Churches, or whatsoever else. I learn this from Paul, I learn this from Jesus Christ himself: He filleth All in All: He is in the Hearts of his People, and filleth them in his Ordinances to this Day: And where Jesus Christ filleth, why should we deny an Acknowledgement, and a right Hand of Fellowship and Communion?

My Brethren, this Rule that I have now mentioned (which I profess I have lived by, and shall do while I live) I know I shall never please Men in it: Why? It is plain; for this is the Nature and Condition of all Mankind, if a Man differs from others in one thing, he loeth himself in all the rest: And therefore if a Man do take what is good of all sides; he is apt to lose them all: But he pleaseth Christ by it, and so I will for this particular.

Thus far Dr. T. Goodwin prefaced and commanded by Thankful Owen, and James Barren, worthy and peaceable Men, deceased.

The Transcriber craveth judicious Resolutions of these two Questions:

1. Whether it be lawful to be a fixed Member of a grossly Schismatical Church, that is guilty of such separating from flandering almost all others, as is here reproved, when Communion with better may be had?

2. How far others are bound to reprove and Testify against such dividing Principles, Ministers and Churches, especially after and under doleful Experience of their sinful calamitous Effects?

Dear Brother,

I have felt that in my own Soul, and seen that upon my Brethren for these two or three Years past, which persuadeth me that God is about the healing of our Wounds, having communicated more healing Principles and Affections, and poured out more of the Spirit of Catholic Love and Peace than I have perceived heretofore. Love is arisen and shined upon the Children of the Day, and your concealed Stiffness begins to vanish, and a Christian Tenderness to succeed. The Prince
The Prince of Peace erects his Banner, and the Sons of Peace flock in apace. It is a
shame to be the last but a misery to be none. God will bring his divided, distracted
Servants nearer together; and it is Pity he should be put to bear down any refilling
Sains among the Instruments of Satan, and that any of their Carcasses should be
found on the Ground when he conquereth the Enemies of Peace. The Lord is
about revealing to his Servants the Error of their Convenience, Hardships, Un-
charitablemenfs, and Divisions, and how grievously they have wronged him and
to themselves by departing so far from Christiant Love and Unity. He will let them see
how much of the Caufe was secret and undiscovered; Pride and Self-conceitednes
and want of Holy Christiant Love, while little was pretended or discerned but
Strictnefs and Obedience. He will fhew them more fully wherein the true Na-
ture of Grace and Holy Obedience doth confift, and teach them by the Imprefs
of his Spirit, what he fo emphatically commanded them by his Word, to go
learn what that meaneth, I will have Mercy, and not Sacrifice: It's pity we should
not understand the meaning of Words fo plain; but it's Sin and Shame as well as
Pity that we have studied them no better, after fuch a Memorandum and Com-
mand as this. But many of God's Servants have in the Points of Unity and Peace
been like thofe miserable Souls, that are defcribed to have Eyes and fee not, Ears and
bear not, Hearts and understand not, (thefe benefic Precepts of Love and Unity,
though none more plain, and frequent, and urgent) for the time was
not come that they should be recovered and healed; though this Defection be
not in the Essence of Christianty, but the Degrees; nor for Perpetuity, but a Time;
yet it's fad that fuch a Spirit of deadnefs should fo far prevail, that Men inquisi-
tive after Truth, and zealous of Holines, should leaft understand the plainest,
neareft, frequent Precepts, and fo little feel their Obligations to fuch weighty Du-
ties, that the Lord is pleased to stir upon their Spirit among others, is a great re-
joicing to me. And I hope I may tell you, that it is in vain, as I am sure I may
tell you it is no Small Sin any more to refift and strive againft him. If the Hand
of our dear and tender Lord be fetting you in joint again, think not on account
of preffent pain, (much lefs fhould you fear the Reproach of being in Communion
with the Body) but impartially hearken unto him and yield; but lay by all Tumults
of Spirits and Paffions, and get out of the Noife of vulgar Clamours; for the
Voice of Peace is a Still Voice, and in Calmefs must be attended unto: And
when you are reforted, if you find not the Sweetnes and Advantages of Peace
(if you are indeed reforted in Mind as well as Practice) the Lord hath not fpoken
in this by me. I can hardly think that he that hath raifed thefe Thoughts with-
in you, and begun thefe Convictions, will let them die. In order to the Endsde-
sired and hoped for, I fhall offer you fo much of my preffent Thoughts, as your
described Cafe requires. And 1. though I defire not to difpute the Cafe of In-
fant Baptifm with you now, yet I may fay, we believe you live in a confant
Sin againft the Lord, in neglecting, denying and oppofing it, and that if you
will by one erroneous Suppoftion draw on a Chain of hurtful Conquences, you
are the Caufe of your own Diforders. At a fitter Season I fhould defire you but
to anfwer me this one Argument: All that fhould be facramentally or feomnly
infted into the Holy Covenant with God, as his People, fhould be Baptized (or
if at leaft be taken as true Members of the Church, and their Entrance juft) but the
Infants of believing Parents fhould be sacramentally and feomnly entered into Co-
venant with God or his People; Ergo, &c. The Minor we give you the abundant
Proof of Law and Promife for, before Christ. It was Abraham's Duty and Pri-
vilege according to the Tenour of the Promife which was made with him be-
fore the Law, to enter his Children facramentally and feomnly into the holy
Covenant. It was all the Churches Duty after both Jews and Profelytes; both
the uncircumcifed Females, and the circumcifed Males, and all the uncircumcifed
Church in the Wildernefs, Deut. 29, &c. Tell me now how I fhould anfwer it be-
fore the Lord, if I tell Parents that they are abfolved from this Duty of solemn
enning their Children into the Covenant, and are divifed of the benefic Privi-
ledge; effentially when you here tell me well, that you know of none but his Bo-
dy that Christ is the Saviour of, and that the Church is this Body; Ergo, you
know of no Salvation for Infants if they be not of the Church; Ergo, Exclusion
would be a heavy Cafe, than fay that Christ hath recalled this Law and Grant?
b but how fhould I prove it? I fhew you the Law and Grant; do you fhew me the
Repeal, and we have done. Christ never speaks a word to repeal it, nor any of
his Apostles. Entering our Children into the holy Covenant, is not a Ceremony.
If God fay to a Father, why didn't thou not dedicate this Child to me, and
folemnly
solemnly enter him into Covenant with me? what can he say? The Precept, Promine and long Practice were plain; was the Repeal also plain? Yes; if it be a Repeal for Christ to take such Children into his Arms, and bless them, and tell us of such is his Kingdom, and to be offended with those that would have kept them from him; and to command that all Disciples be Baptized. He knew well enough when he instituted Baptism, and exercised it first upon the adult, that the Jews did so too with their Profelites: And Ergo, when he did in that no more than they did that yet admitted the Infants of Church-Members, his baptizing the Adult could no more signify his Denial of Infants to be baptized, than the Jews baptizing the Adult could signify it, who at that time baptized Infants also: nor could the Disciples interpret Christ's Doctrine and Will to be contrary to the Jews, when his Practice was no more than theirs: And when he never uttered a Sylla ble to intimate a Repeal of that great Mercy and Duty of entering Infants solemnly into the Covenant which by God's Appointment had continued so long. And the Covenant was, I will be thy God, and thou shalt be my People. But all this falls in besides my first intent, and therefore I rather expect your Pardon than your regard of it at the present; though time may shew you Light in that which now seems Darknes.

2. But if our Infant Baptism were irregular, how will you prove it a Nullity? never by any foul Argument; every Irregularity is not a Nullity. Whether you take the Word as signifying Edus Sacramentales, a Sacramental Covenant (as Scripture commonly doth, more notably intending the Covenant than the outward Act) or Sacramentum Federale a Federal Sacrament or Action, (most notably, signifying the Sign or Act) it's all one to our purpose, for Infants are capable of both the Covenant, and the outward Sign, and of all that is essential to Baptism. That they are capable of being entred into Covenant. Nature tells us, we commonly enter them under Princes as their Subjects, and into private Contracts with Landlords for Possessions. 2. The ancient Law, Promine and Practice of the Church before Christ tells us, for then it was actually done by God's Command. And that they are capable of the outward Sign is undeniable. Prove it a Nullity if you can, though it were a Sin.

3. But if both were granted, the Sin and Nullity, I come now to give you my Reasons why it warrants you not to deny Communion with the Churches that were thus Baptized in Infancy. And I beseech you note that Baptism is as necessary, if not much more, to the Admission of Men into the universal visiblo Church as such, or into a particular Church: Ergo, If Men may be admitted into the universal visible Church without adult Baptism, then he may be admitted into a particular Church without it: But yet here grant that he may be a Member of the universal Church without it: Ergo, Baptism is indeed appointed to be our regular entrance by way of Sacramental Covenant and Institution into the Church Universal, and not into a particular Church necessarily, though it may be into both, yet it is but indirectly into the particular Church. The Eunuch, and all that were baptized first in any place by the Apostles, were baptized only into the Church universal, and afterward fisted in Order under Paifors in particular Churches. Baptism, as such, as it was called our Chriftening, doth only lift Men under Christ as Chriftians, and if it do any more as to the thing in Question, it is accidentally, and not always, nor necessarily: We are not (directly fore) baptized to our Paifors, and not to that particular Church, nothing then is more plain in Scripture than that Baptism was appointed for our Entrance upon our State of Disciples in general: And Ergo, if a Man may be a visible Disciple without it, where it seemeth most necessary, then much more may he be admitted into a particular Church afterward without it, when at least it is no more necessary, and indeed much less, and not at all, save only as universal Church-Member, this is pre-requisite to particular. The Ministers of Christ Baptized 2000 without asking the Consent of any particular Church. 2. They are under both a Precept making the use of instituted Ordinances their Dury, and a Promine of Acceptance in the Performance, must perform these Duties with belief of their Acceptance: But such are thefe that you account unbaptized: Ergo, That they are under a Command is plain. All the Precepts for Chriftian Communion, and not forfaking the assembling of our felves and obeying those that rule over us, &c. are made to the whole visible Church, that hath Opportunity for such Communion, you will not think that our Sin (as you take it) can except us from an Obligation to Duty. But all the Question is, whether such Duty will be accepted if performed by the unbaptized (as you now fuppofe them) and this you grant, pref...
App. IV.

1. Sing your self that you are out of doubt that we are very well accepted of God, and you think that it is accounted for Baptism to us. And if you yield both that we are bound to the Duty, and shall have Acceptance in particular Church Communion, what is it then besides the regularity that you deny? Do you not grant the Caufé in Hand? And we have many Promifes of Acceptance of Believers in their sincere Endeavours, and all things are pure to the Pure. And if involuntary unavoidable Millakes shall hinder our Acceptance when we are sincere, then we can never be sure that we are accepted. 3. It is but visibility that is requisite in a Church or Member to make them capable of our Communion. If it be a Communion of Chriftians as Chriftians, or Saints as Saints that particular Churches are to hold within, that confent and are Members of their Churches, then Chriftianity or visible Sandity in such Confenters is all that is of Necessity to such Communion: But the Antecedent is plain: As it is as Chriftians that we must inwardly love one another, so it is as Chriftians, that we must manifest that Love in holy Communion. Communion is the Demonstration of Love; and all Men must know us to be Chrifi's Disciples by our loving one another; and therefore if any Man be but a visible Chriftian, it's plain that he's capable of your Communion (if he cohabits and confents) else it were not formaliter a Communion of Saints or Chriftians, but of something else: Now you confes that Men are visible Chriftians that are (to you) unbaptized.

4. There is no fuch thing as a universal visible Church that is not to be Eugharifical Communion, nor any parts of it that have opportunity. Your fimilitude of Corporations in a Republick holds in some things, but hath this diffimilitude, that all Chrif's Republick should confit of fuch Corporations, except a Person that is a Merchant Traveller, Embassador, or by fome extraordinary Necessity is denied Opportunity: which Rarities are not here of Consideration. And whereas in Republicks, it may be as commodious for rural Villages to be not incorporated, as for Cities to be incorporate, and their Priviledges in their Nation may be as great, and they are not obliged to incorporate, none of this is fo in our Cafe: But every visible Chriftian (not hindered by Necessity) is bound to incorporate, and charged not to forfeake the Affembles; but all to join and speak the fame things and Glorify God with one Mouth, &c. And he that is not a visible Chriftian, hath no visible Right to our Chriftian Communion: And he that is a visible Chriftian and deprive himfclf of this Communion fineth, and wrongeth his own Soul, and as it were, out-laws himself; and is not as you fuppofe in your Comparifon of the not-incorporate: But though in fome Cales fuch may be favored, as deny instituted Communion and Worhip, or neglect it, yet they do fo put themselves into the State of thofe without.

5. Your Opinion lets up a new kind of Church, or Chriftian Assemblies and Communion of fuch as may only hear and Pray, and not have Eucharifical Communion and be under Church-Guidance: Shew us any fuch in Scripture if you can.

6. Heathens or Infidels are called to a natural Worhip of God: Ergo, visible Chriftians are called to more.

7. Faith it felf hath its Office formally by Institution, though its aptitude there to be in the Nature of the thing. And if the Gospel it felf be supernatural, and our Chriftianity and Faith an instituted thing, as well as Sacrament and Governours, and fo the universal visible Church an Institution as well as a particular, then certainly want of Baptism will no more keep a visible Chriftian out of the particular instituted Church, than out of the universal; because as to the Point of Institution there is no fuch Reafon as can make a Difference.

8. The great and expert part of Church Communion is that which you call natural Worhip as performed by Believers, in the loving God in Chrift and admiring and magnifying his Love, in the Riches of the Grace of Redemption, and seeking with all Saints to comprehend it, hearing his Counsels and Commands, praying for his Grace and Glory, and praising and magnifying him in Faith, and Hope, and Love, with our Eye upon the second Coming of our Lord. And that which you call Instituted Order and Worhip, is but the means to this, and without this but a Shell: It is subfervient to it. And therefore

9. They that are capable of the greater, are capable of the lefs. Heathens are bound to mere natural Worhip, and their Hearing and Praying is another thing, and Obligation and Capacity differ.

2. They
2. They that must do the work, must do it in God's way, and by his means. The great internal Worship is as the Soul, and the external as the Body, which are to be distinguished, but not separated. Must one sort of Christians have the Soul of holy Communion without the Body, and carry the Knife naked, while you deny them the Sheath?

5. If a Member of the Universal visible Church, as such, is pro tempore to be admitted to Communion in all Ordinances with any particular Church where they come, then thes that you acknowledge such visible Members, must by you be lo admitted, and fo are capable of Communion in institutd Ordinances, but the Antecedent is true beyond Dilupse. None of the Apostles were Members of particular Churches, but were as Itinerants to do their work in many countries: so was it with abundance of Itinerant Preachers of those times called their Companions and Fellow Labourers and Helpers: as Barnabas, Luke, Mark, Silas, Timothy, Titus, Epaphroditus, Apollo, &c. When Paul came to Troas, Acts 20. he and all his Company are admitted among the Disciples in breaking Bread, and that not as Members of any particular Church, but as Christians. Some Christians are lawfully excused, and necessarily deprived of stated Church-Membership in a particular Church (as Princes Ambassadors, that may spend their Lives in motion and action in several places, &c.) and shall all these Christians be deprived of actual Communion, Sacraments, &c. in the Places where they come, because they are uncapable of any fixed station. Yea, when perhaps it may be the Work or Cause of God that is the Cause of their unsettled selfs.

10. Dare you undertake to exempt all, but those that you judge Baptized, from the frequent Precepts of knowing those that are over them in the Lord, and submitting themselves, and esteeming them highly in love for their work fake, and being at peace among themselves, 1 Thess. 5. 12, 13. and from giving double honour to the Elders, 1 Tim. 5. 17. and obeying those that rule over them, &c. Heb. 13. 7, 17. All Christians that have opportunity are bound to submit to and obey their Guides and Pallors, and that cannot be flately, but in a particular Church. And then if you look to the beneficial part, it's plain, that when Christ ascended up on high, and gave gifts to men, it was for the perfecting of the Saints, and the work of the Ministry, and edifying of the Body of Christ, even that Pallors and Teachers were given, till we all come in the unity of the faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God to a perfect Man, Ephes. 4. 9, 11, 12, 13. And will you exclude twenty, if not five hundred parts of the Church from this (all this) benefit of Pallors and Teachers, when Christ provided them for all? Consider what you do?

11. The Unity of the Catholick Body, and their commanded correspondence requireth a Fellowship with all the Parts according to opportunity. From Christ the whole Body were joyly joined together (or joined, which is by Officers, Order, and Love) and compacted by that which every joynt supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, (when you exclude a hundred, or many hundred parts from their Communion) makest increas of the Body to the edifying of it fell in love, (not only secret, unknown love, but love appearing in Communion) Ephes. 4. 16.

12. Excommunication out of particular Church-Communion, in instituted Ordinances, is a grievous Censure, and never insisted on the holy Servants of Christ, that never willingly refit or reject his Truth or Precepts. No nor on Offenders, but for impenitency, or grievous Crimes. Durst you Excommunicate me out of your Church, if I were in it, and professing my owning of Baptism, and my hearty longing to know and obey the will of Christ. There is many an honest humble Christian in this Town (that I conjecture you may know and deal for) that if you should cast out, on such an account, I am confident infinite Love would be offended with you, and lay you have not the Apple of my Eye. Inasmuch as you cast out these my Members, you did that which was too like casting out me. And sure you must cast them out upon your grounds, if they were in your Church, because you judge them uncapable of a station and communion with you, and judge your selves bound to leparate from such.

13. You seem to exalt an outward Act even when the heart disclaims it, before a heart that is right with God, without the Act. For if you had one twice or thrice Baptized in your Church that afterward disclaimed it, and owned none but his Infant Baptism, what would you do with this Man? If you would receive him, you would lay more stress on a disclaimed outward Act, than on the Light of Grace. If you would reject him, then it seems you judge not the Baptism and Entrance,
Entrance, which you suppose right, to be enough in Fact and Existence, but you
can not believe of the Necessity necessary, and so you put it among the Credenda,
and not the Agenda only, when it was never in the Churches Creed. For if it be a
necessary Article of Faith, they must perish that reject it.

14. Paul, and other Penmen of the Scripture, telling us of many greater Er-
rors than the thing you oppose, doth not require an avoiding of the Communi-
on of the Erroaneous, ye commandeth us to receive them that are weak in the faith,
but not to doubtfull Disputations, Rom.14.10. and dare you reject a strong Believer
upon a doubtfull Disputation?

15. Search, observe, and judge whether the abundant earnest Precepts for Spe-
cial Love, and Company, and Endarednes of Saints, as Saints, (I could soon fill
a Sheet with pertinent Citations) will possibly confilt with your rejecting them
from Special Communion and Separating from them. Is this the appearance of
your honouring them that fear the Lord, Piaf. 15. and your Loving the Brethren,
and that with a pure heart fervently. Can all Men know you by this to be Christ's
Diciples? Communion is but the expression of this Special Love, and holy Im-
provement of each other for God and our mutual Benefit. As he contradicts
himself that faith, He loveth God and bateth his Brother, fo doth he that faith he lo-
veth his Brother and yet separate from him, or rejetteh him (and most fuch on
Earth) for an unavoidable infirmity. If you that are strong (or think fo) are bound
to bear the Infirmities of the weak, then not to Excommunicate them, Rom. 15.

16. Though this Body hath some Parts which we think les honourable, yet mul-
there be no Schin in it, but the Members must have the fame care one of ano-
other as Suffering, being honoured and rejoicing together, 1 Cor. 12. 24, 25, 26. nor
must one part fay to another, I have no need of thee, nor cut it off from the Com-
munion of the Body. The general command of Love, Company, Familiarity,
Edifying, and Advertising one another, comprehends the Means in which this
Communion must be held, or will not be fulfilled in rejecting fuch Persons.

17. Doth not your Cause plainly bear an Image contrary to that of God? Love
is likelt him that is Love. Charity covereth ininfirmities, and thinketh no evil, and
shall we find them (and make them) in our Brethren? Christ gathereth, and will
you scatter? he reconcileth and uniteth, and will you divide? he justifieth, and
will you be he that shall condemn? Even them that are in Christ Jesus? who walk
not after the Flesh, but after the Spirit: and all for want of delaying Baptism till your
time, when in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availabte nothing nor uncircumcision, but
the New Creature and Faith that worketh by Love. Have you mark'd how Unity and
Love is inculcated in the New Testament, and that as Omnipotency is most emi-
dently engraven upon the Creation, and Wildom on the Laws of God, so Good-
ness is most eminently engraven on the Redeemer, and that in this Glafs the Fa-
ther in his Love and Goodness must be known, and hereby the Impress and I-
mage of Love must be made upon our Souls. They that are leaft for Love and
holy Unity, are leaft like God, and leaft for him, and most like his Enemy and
ours.

18. Christ is both King, Prophet, and Priest, and no one is sincerely related
unto him in any of these respects, but is related to him in all: And Ergo, all
Christians are to be under his Church-Government and Protection in his Family,
as well as under his Teaching. If they are by your own confeffion Fellow Citizens
of the Saints, and of the household of God, do not disfranchise him, nor deny them
their Privileges.

19. Will not your Principles lead to narrowness of holy Charity in Communi-
cation of worldly Goods, and destroy Christian Communion in this? Those that
were in the Apothes Doctrine and Fellowship in breaking of Bread and Prayer,
( not through levelling, but charitable Community) had all things as commone
there will you refufe this when you refufe Communion in Sacrament: you will on
the
the fame ground think that tho' few only of your Opinion are to partake of this
special Communication: For the Reason is the fame.
20. Contrary to the Spirit and Scope of the Gospel, you lay greater stress up
on the very timing of a holy Ceremony, than under the Law was laid upon the
being of the Ceremomy itself. Women had Communion without Circumcision.
The Males in the Wilderness did hold all holy Communion, even in the Pafs-
over, without Circumcision. To all this, let me add these few Questions to
you.
1. Do you think, in the most humble frame of your Soul, that you have no fail-
ing as great as you suppose the mist-timing of our Baptism to be; and would you
be rejected for it?
2. Is this narrowness of special loving Communion answerable to the Principles
of Universal Redemption and Grace, wherein I suspect you go beyond me?
3. Have you well considered that God's Unity is the first of his Attributes next
to his Being? The Lord our God is one God. And so the Unity of the Church is
next the very Essence of it, so to be regarded and maintained: The Unity can-
not be destroyed without destroying the Essence; and therefore many Truths and
Duties must be put behind the Churches Unity, when accidentally the use of
them is made inconsistent with it.
4. It hath been the common frame of the Church since the Apostles' days, till of
late, to confist of a mixture: one half baptized at Age, (being converted at Age
from Infidelity, and their Baptism before neglected) and the other half that were
born of Christian Parents baptized in Infancy: And both forths lived in Peace and
Love: and no Church History, that ever I read, doth give us any the least inti-
mation that ever these two Sorts disagreed hereupon, or accused one another's way,
or made it any occasion of a Division. And will you advance Knowledge and
Holiness in the end of the World, by advancing Uncharitableness and Divi-
sion.
5. Bethink you with fobriety, as before the Lord, if you had lived in the
Church in the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and
tenth Century, or lower, in all which (though many were baptized at Age, be-
ning not Christian by any Infant Covenant yet) no Writer that ever I saw doth
tell us of one Church, or one Pastor, no nor one Man that was a Catholic
Christian, (no nor of one Heretic that I remember) that was against the law-
fulness of Infant Baptism: I say, if you had then lived, would you have separa-
ted from all the Churches on Earth? What! from the Universal Church in your
Communion? or would you have had all these Ages have laid by all instituted
Church Order and Worship? The confessions of this would rise so high, that
I will not name them to you. Only I would further ask you,
6. If you think their Baptism a Nullity? and confectly the instituted
Churches, Ministries, Orders, Sacraments, Nullities, that were used in all those A-
ges (the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, &c.) when almost none but such as were
baptized in Infancy were Church Members; how far then do you differ from the
Seekers that tell us, All these were left in the Apostasy? 2. And how easily will a
Papist trample you in the dirt, and laugh you to scorn, when he puts you to prove
Successive Church, and Ordinances, and Ministry? 3. And what advantage give
you the Infidels, and our own Remnants of Infidelity, to deny the Head by fo
far denying the Body?
7. Would you have a Unity, and do you ever expect such a thing or not?
If not— If you do, on what terms do you expect it? You can never with
the least Encouragement of Reason expect that all should deny Infant Baptism, and
come to you. These late years have given you as much advantage as you can
well expect, and yet you see the most of the Godly dare not come to you. If there-
fore you will neither come to them in Judgment, nor yet close in Communion
with Christians of different Judgment, what do you but give up Unity as delpe-
rate, and fix in your divided State.
8. And will you give the Papist Disputants so much Encouragement, as to con-
fess to them, that among us there is not any hopes of Unity, or loving Christi-
an Church Communion. I have been longer than I intended upon these Reafon-
ings: but it is because I would not neglect you, but some of one of them as least
may flick upon you, of which success (your lives declaring you so honestly, im-
partially, and happily disposed to Love and Peace) I make no doubt. And now
to your Objections, which should have been my whole Task, but that I would
make bare the Issue.

And
And 1. to your first Argument, I answer. 1. It is against you, and overthrows your Cause; for as ordinarily Women were admitted to the Passover, without Circumcision, but not without the Covenant: and as in extraordinary Cases offered (as of all four 40 years in the Wilderness) the Males also were admitted uncircumcised, so much more may it be now in case of Baptism.

2. Either the Ordinances and Examples of the Jews about Circumcision, afford us Arguments for regulating our Baptism and Communion, or not: If not, then you must condemn them in vain: If they do, then they prove the Duty, if not the Necessity of Infant Baptism.

3. Ceremonies have not so much laid on them under the Gospel, as under the Law. Mercy before Sacrifice is the Gospel Canon.

4. Ad 2°. 2. That Command Matt. 28. commandeth the baptizing of Disciples; I doubt not but it commandeth thereby the baptizing of Infants, who are Disciples, and made Disciples, while profelyted Parents enter them into the Covenant of God, according to his express unrepealed Law and Promise.

2. But suppose it did not command Infant-Baptism; nay, suppose it had consequentially forbidden it, it proves no more than that it is a sin, not a nullity.

3. But suppose it had made it a Nullity, how are you guilty of others omission of Baptism by holding Communion with them, when you may at your Enterance declare your dissent from them in that point. Your Argument would lead you to avoid Communion with all Churches in the World, even the re-baptized, that held not all that you take to be the Institutions of Christ: because you are bound to hold them. But when you have leave to do your own Duty, if you will shun all that you think do not theirs, you will abhor Catholickism.

Ad 3°. 1. As to John 3. 5. doubleth that Text speaks of more than the visible Church, even the Mystical and the Triumphant. And therefore if you will from thence exclude Infants from Baptism, and the visible Church, you must needs shunt them all out of Heaven, but Christo diffentientes, you shall have none of Christ's content.

2. It is both Water as the sign, and the holy Covenant and Cleansing of the Soul, as the thing signified, that are convincingly meant in the Text. But how? one only as a sign, and the other as the thing signified: and therefore not as equally necessary in point of means, though equally commanded. Also, how eafily understand we such Speeches among Men. If a General lay to the Rebels (I will spare none of you that will now come and lift himself under me) every Body will understand, that becoming a Soldier (and the Military Engagement or Sacrament, as the Oath was anciently called) is the thing here signified to absolutely necessary: and the Lifting or Colours, but as a sign for Order, and in Cases of Necessity indispensabile, and regarded but in order unto the thing signified.

Your Arguments from personal Inconveniences are none.

Ad 1°. 1. Do not you flatter to hear the Catholick Church called the World? and a retirement into its Communion, called a Returning to the World? I have read (Come out from among them) that is, the World; but not (Come out of the Catholick Church).

2. And do you not flatter to hear them call their way Strictness, and the other Loose? If they mean a finful strictness, to every Vice, or many, may have a strictness. Malice hath a strictness, and Covetousness and Oppression hath a strictness, and Superlition hath a strictness. But if they mean it of a holy strictness, are not they the strictest that are likest to Christ, and most conformable to his Will, and most accurate in their Obedience? And is not Love the new and great Commandment? Are not your People loole that are so far from holy Love and Catholick Communion. God is Love, and be that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God. They are strict then in opposing God, and the Unity or dear Communion of the Members of the Lord. Is it an honour to be strict Sinners and Destroyers of the Church and Holy Love? Let some take heed, leaft they be too strict to come into Heaven among so many Millions of Souls that never owned any but Infant Baptism (which is, I think, since Christ many hundred to one, that is there, that never were against Infant Baptism) whether do you think Christ or the Pharisees were the strictest, when they condemned him for eating with Publicans and Sinners, and his Disciples for breaking the ears of Corn, and him for Sabbath-breaking, &c. Sure he more accurately observed his Father's will, even the blessed Rule of Love and Mercy, though they were more superlitions and strict, was it the weak, or the strong Chriftians, Rom. 14. & 15. that were the strictest about meats, and drinks, and days? The weak superlittiously, but the strong did more strictly act.
IX.

here to the Law of Christ. Do you think that Man that shall lay Christ's Law, but for half the Saints themselves, to be ever the better for that strict Opinion? If you are for such forbidden strictness of Practice, why do you not answer it in your Opinions about Grace? &c.

2. You have cause to be much humbled before the Lord for bringing your People into this Snare and Misconceit; and ergo should not be guilty of continuing them in it, nor make the fruit of your Sin an Argument to go on impenitently.

3. So great a Truth and Duty as Christian Catholic Love and Communion, is not to be hawked for fear of danger. Tell you of it plainly, and truth God with the issue. It's doubt, those that will turn Quakers, that is Infidels, or near, rather than be reduced to Catholic Love and Communion, are never like to come to good, if you keep them where they are. It's a fearful thing that any Man should think the better of his Spiritual state, because he lieth farthest from the Catholic Love and Communion of Saints, that is, from the Church, from Christ, from God, from Heaven.

Ad 2°, Your Communion with differing Saints, is not a sinning against your Opinion about Baptism, nor a leaving your Nation. You may own your way, and yet own Catholic Communion.

Dear Brother, I think the Lord of Love and Peace is laying hands on you, and will have you away out of your dangerous Schisms into the Paths of Love and Peace. It is Uncharitableness and Separation that hath made the Reapbated so odious throughout the World. Love breedeth Love, as Heart breedeth Heart. The Christian Charity that appeareth in your Lives, I feebly feel draws out my own Heart in love to you. All God's Saints will love you, if you will but turn into the way of Love. I hear that the Reapbated in Ireland, that grew to the reputation of Turbulent in their height, begin now to be thought more peaceable and tolerable than some others there, that being lately in the Saddle, possesse their Prosperity and unquietness. O! if days of Perfection come, it will cut your hearts to think how you have refused Communion with your Brethren in days of Peace. If we all lay our Heads and Hearts and Hands together for God's Church and Cause, it will be too little. My motion to you is, That you will join with us for a Brotherly Agreement between the Men of your mind and ours:

The Articles shall be but these three.

1. That all that can, being satisfied in Conscience with their being Reapbated, shall continue loving Communion in the Church.

2. That those that cannot be brought to this, but will hold separated Churches, shall acknowledge us true Churches, and profess their Brotherly Love and distant Communion.

3. That we all agree on some Rules for the peaceable management of our Differences, without hardning the Wicked, enflaming the Weak, hindering the Gospel, and wronging the common Truths which we are agreed in. If this motion take with you, I will send you a Form of such Agreement; and get as many as you can of your way to Subscribe it; and the Associated Ministers of this County, I doubt not, will Subscribe it; and we will do our parts to lead the World to Peace. Seek God's direction, and return your Resolution to

Your faithful Brother,

Worthy Sir,

I received yours of the 9th.pst, wherein you are pleased to endeavour my Sa-
risfaction touching the Passages in your Key, which I wrote about, as if I
touched Offence at them. I do acknowledge I was a little troubled; but I
can truly say, so far as I know my own Mind, I was not troubled so much for
my own sake, as for the sake of others, who I was afraid would make worfe use
thereof, than ever I am like to do, and to receive more prejudice thereby: For I
am not thereby let back a Hair's breadth in my earnest desire to general Commu-
nion; but do fear the general Inclinations of some others thereto are weakened
thereby, and an Advantage taken by such who have a mind to oppose an Agree-
ment; and the Minds of many prejudiced against your worthy Proposals for Go-

government, and the reading of them. As for Example, I was within these five
Days, commending your wholly Common-wealth (and truly I define with all my
Heart a Government exactly calculated to your practical Model) and there was
one in Company, who is Author of a small Piece, called, A sober Word to a serions
People, that took occasion to give a dash to my Commandation, and to weaken the
Reputation of your Writings, as if you were easy in fuggling and afflicting
things upon Surmises, or very slender Information. Inflancing what you say of
himself, in p. 332. of your Key, as intimating him to be such an one as did not
think as he wrote, but to be a Designing Jesuit: When as all that know him,
and have known him a Tradefman here in London, and in pubick Employment
for many Years, would be ready to acquit him in their Thoughts, from any such thing;
which indeed I believe: And I am informed that one Stubbs of Oxford,
(who is said to have written Sir H. V. Vindication, &c. how true it is I know not)
is employed to scrape together such things out of your Writings, as may any wise
reflect Disparagement. The which things I still inform you of, for no worfe end
than that you might avoid occasion towards those that seek occasion, and that the
Devil may have no Opportunity given him to hinder the Propagation and Fruit
of your worthy Labours.

As for Sir H. V. I did not intend to interef my self in the Vindication of his
Principles by that touch of him in my Letter, for I do not know but that I am at
as great a distance from them as you may be, and am heartily glad to hear that his
Interell and way in the present House is much fallen. I am not without a deep
Sense of our Danger, and that the preventing of near approaching Confusion and
Blood, under God, depends much upon the speedy and well Settlement of the
Militia through the Nation, if it be not too late. I cannot but have a jealous Eye
upon the Quakers, as well as the C. and Popish Party, &c.

Sir, I suppose my Brother Lambe will suddenly be with you, if he be not al-
ready, and therefore I shall carfully intreat you to caution him against Extremes,
to which his temper doth much addict him. I hear Mr. Gunning (and what he is
I presume you know) giveth out that Mr. Lambe is come over to them. And
my Brother Lambe hath been too apt to let fall odd Expressions, shewing how far
his Thoughts incline him to hold Communion with Papists, as those that with
him well do affirm. And he hath oft been speaking to me, how hard a thing it is
to justify our Separation from Rome, and to condemn it among our selves. I
thought good to give you this hint, as being persuaded you may improve it for
his good, who I hope will much regard your Advice.

All against Infant Baptism, are not esteemed Anabaptists; for then Turks and
Jews would. Nor could you intend it in that Sense about King-killing; for then
there would have been no place for the Papists to have been another Party distinct
from them. Nor does an after owning of their Act who took off the King,
prove them to be Agents in it, that had no Hand in it when it was done.
These times have discovered as abundance of Wickedness in some, fo of Weak-
ness in all sorts of good Men in one kind or other. O that God would pardon
what's past, and reduce his People into right Order.

Pray, Sir, excuse the confused Lincs, the Fruit of Haste and Diversion of
Thoughts. I had left at my House this Day, a large Manuscrip, Intituled Ro-
manism Difcoursed; or, An Answer to the Nine first Articles of H. T. bu Manual of
Controversies, &c. Written by Mr. Jo. Tombs. The Printer that left it with my
Wife in my Absence told her, that Mr. Tombs desired me to write to you, to pre-
fix an Epistle to it; but I have not spoke with Mr. Tombs nor the Printer about it;
or
I take my self exceedingly beholden to you for your laft, it is fo plain and purely Friendly. And though I feem by my Reply to excuse thofe things, which I take it for a kindnels to be told of, I befech you believe, that I speak but my Heart, and the truth of my meaning. The Author of the Sober Word I commended: I never talk of his being a Jew: His Affertion forced me to conclude; that either he was of a very lamentable Understanding, or else he wrote not as he thought: One of the two muft needs be true. Judge you whether a Christian of good Understanding can believe that Chrift came at the end of Four Thoufand Years to gather him a Church, and fettle Miniftry and Ordinances for Eighty or a Hundred Years only, and fo to permit them to be extinguifhed! Is not this the next Step to Flat Infidelity? Is not a Chrift that comes on fo low a Design, and fettles a Church of fo narrow a Space and fohort Continuance next to no Church? I muft profefs, if I believed this to Day, I fhould be an Infidel to Morrow: Besides the plainnels of Scripture againft it. But that this Author is no Dullard, is apparent by his ingenious Writing: I meet with few that errofear, that write in fo clear and judicious a Stile; So that I muft profefs, be he what he will, I much value the clearnels of the Author. Being then in a neceffity of judging him either lamentably weak (and worse) or else to be one that thinks better than he writes, Reafon and Charity commanded me to judge the latter to be more likely: And that likelihood is all that I have affected. But if he had rather that I judged much worse of him (viz. that he hath as contemptible Thoughts of the Kingdom and Design of Chrift as he expreffeth) if I may know his Mind I fhall content. Will you do me the Favour as to tell me his Name?

1. To your other Objections: 1. Not Infidels, but yet all Christians with us, that deny Infant Baptifm are commonly called Anabaptifts, and in that Senfe I did intend it: But fo as that I diftinguifh between Anabaptifts and meer Anabaptifts; some are only Anabaptifts, and thofe I diftinguifh from other Parties of their Mind; some are Anabaptifts and more, and thofe are commonly denominated from the greateft Differences. The greater Error in the Denomination is to carry it before the left. And yet (E.G.) a Quaker pleading againft Infant-Baptifm, caufeth not to be an Anabaptift, becaufe he is a Quaker, but yet is to be entituled from the worfe. And this diftinguifhed from meer Anabaptifts: This all know is the common Cuftom of Speech, and a Man fhould not be well under flood that departs from it.

2. An after owning proveth guilty, though not Agents: But I know well of abundance in the Army (more than you mention that pleaded againft Infant Baptifm before, and I can easily prove that (even the belt that ever I knew of) the Anabaptift Churches petitioned for Juftice on the King, and laboured for Hands from others to it. I am loath to Name Men publicly, and for in this, leaff it occasion Offence: But I intreat you freely give me your Advice in it. I purpofed not to have anfwered Stubs’s Vindication, and the Minifters commonalty were the Caufe by diffluading me, faying none regarded it, and that I fhould exaperate Sir H.V. againft them all for my like. But now I am told that fome very honeft Anabaptifts take it for granted, that I have written Untruths of Sir H.V. and that I owe him a Recantation, and they question History that speaks againft them for my like. Hereupon I have changed my purpofe, and writ a plain Confutation of Stubs’s Vindication. Now I crave your Advice in Three Things, 1. Whether
APPENDIX. Numb. IV.

Whether indeed it be best publish the Answer I have prepared or not (supposing it true and satisfactory).
1. Whether I were bereft take any Notice of the Offence of
   the Author of the Sover Word, and say as much to him only as I have here done?
2. Whether I were bereft take notice of the Anabaptists Offence? I pray deal freely
   with me, and if it may be by the next Post; for I shall delay for your Advice,
   because you know the Minds of these People better than I. My own Thoughts
   are, 1. To publish that against Stubs, as necessary. 2. To say nothing about the
   Anabaptists because I must name Pullors and People that petitioned for the King's
   Death, and such things are utterly unallowable to me and unfeasable, and will
   increase Displeasure; and I had rather bear their Displeasure as it is, than increa
   ce it. 3. And as to the Sover Word, I am indifferent.

I received yours but a little before Mr. Lamb's Departure; but my own
Thoughts had led me to harp on the same String that you directed me to. I was
very glad to find you jealous of that Extreme (that is in it self much worse than
Anabaptism in our Thoughts that differ from both): But I hope yet that he hath
no liking of Popery or Formality, but only Charity for the Men. I told him not
of any thing concerning him in your Letters, but only afterwards I told him that
I heard Mr. Gunning judged him of his Mind, but told him nothing whence I
had it.

As to Mr. Tombes Book, I shall much refer it to your Advice. 1. I refused
not to meddle with it unless he signify his Desire (for it would be an abuse of him
to meddle with his Works without his Consent; I should not take it well my self);
nor unless I first fee the printed Sheets (which we ordinarily fee before we write
Epistles) but on these two Suppositions I should do it, not only willingly, but
 gladly: 1. Because I would further any Work against Popery that is folid; and
am troubled that no more turn their Studies and Labours that way. 2. Because I
would have the World fee that Mr. Tombes and I can agree against the common
Advertry, and for the common Truths. But one thing only a little scruples me
(which I charge you to conceal from him and all Men) A great Scandal hath
been long rais'd of him by Colonel Clive, who about two Years ago put it by
Letters into my Hands, and I caufed Mr. Tombes to have the Knowledge of it,
but otherwise stifled it as well as I fairly could. But now Colonel Clive hath
made it very public, and told it the Commissioners for Approbation, who great-
ly referit it, &c. If you know not of it, you shall know no more for me. Now
whether under the heat of this Scandal, the prefaceing to his Book will favour well,
and do more good or harm, is a thing that I am willing to be advised and ruled by
you in; (supposing that he desires the thing and hears not of this my Scruple;
which you should not have heard from me, but that it's public). My Confi-
dence of your Fidelity makes me thus free and bold with you.

O, Brother! Must we be all divided in this Day of Peril, when we are ready
to be assaulted by the common Enemy? O pray, and strive for Love and Unity;
and if my Ignorance and Rashness hath done any thing against it, pray that I may
have Pardon and more Grace. I rest

July 18.
1659.

Yours unsignified,


To my Loving Friend, Mr. William Allen in London.

Worthy Sir,

I received yours of the 18th Instant, and was very glad to see you took so well
that which I looked on as somewhat rude in my self, and was troubled after the
Letter was out of my Hands, that I should give you any occasion of Trouble,
by medling so far as in my Letter I had done. As to Advice in the Particulars
you mention; I count my self very incompetent for such Consultations, and do
know you are so well able to make Judgment in such Cases, that if I should under-
take to gratify your Desire, it would signify little. As for your answering the
Vindication, I do acknowledge Your Resolution herein is attended with Difficul-
ties on both Sides. If you do it not, you lye under some Imputation, and it will

be
be taken for granted you cannot vindicate yourself. If you attempt it and should not do it to the Satisfaction of Impartial Men, the latter Art would be thought worse than the first, unless you should do it only by way of Apology, shewing by what you were induced so to write, as in your Key you have done. But my thought is you had better never attempt it than not to carry it clearly; and if you do that, I confess it will be more than I did expect.

And on the other hand, whether your Conflagration be full or faint, when it comes abroad, it will provoke both the Principal and his Adherents, many of whom are honest Independents and Anabaptists, prizing him upon a Civil Account (at least in part) for his great Accomplishments for Civil Affairs, and to indispose them to consider and receive your many worthy Proposals and Directions, tending to gather such as were too much scattered. And how far you may by such a thing exasperate him and his Confederates against not only you, but other Godly Ministers for your sake (the thing you mention) is considerable.

But then again if it shall be supplanted that he is that way displeased and in Resolution ingaged to the length of his aim already, and whether he be or no I cannot say, I would hope otherwise then it will be considerable whether it will not be a good piece of Service to weaken his Interest so far as relateth to his Counsell about Church Affairs, by discovering his weaknesses and unfoundness in things of that Nature. And how far your intermeddling this way (I mean in relation to his unfoundness) in your own Vindication, may draw on you a Sufpicion of Unchastitableness (if you should do it) is hard to say. He is now in place of Power (whether upon better Terms than Nere or those under him will not be the Question;) but how far it would have been deemed a Minifter of the Gospel, and publickly to have discovered the then Rulers Unfoundness, would be a Question. I do acknowledge also that a great deal of Care and Tenderness of due belongs to the Reputation of your Person and Name in relation to your place and Office in the Church, as well as it does to another in respect of his place in the Commonwealth. So that if you could heal the Wound which the Author of the Vindication hath endeavoured to make, without wounding the Name, or touching the publick Authority now vested in him (Sir H. F.) I think the case would be clear.

But then this I think would be without dispute, that if you find cauds to print, that then you can carry things with all Christian Sweetness, evidencing your Tenderness to the Names of Men so far as may possibly confit with your Faithfulness to a greater and better Interest. And I have heard the Author of the Vindication blamed by several of Sir H. F.'s Friends, for his Edge and Bitternes. The less of that appeared, the more is gained in any Personal Counsell: I shall pray the Lord to direct your Thoughts, but do not think my self wise enough to be positive in this Advice. As for that which concerns the Anabaptists Offence, I incline much to think the falfety will be not to meddle in it for the present: And if you think good to Communicate your Knowledge of the Churches of the Anabaptists; their petitioning for Justice to be done upon the late King, I shall as I have Opportunity, acquaint them what you have in readiness to make good your quarrelled Affection, but that tenderness to them, and Christian Peace, hath for the present bound your Hands.

As for the Author of the Sober Word, whose Name is Mr. John Jackson, formerly Grand Treasurer for the Excise, I think from the beginning of it to the Change of Government, and now in Commiffion for bringing in all Arrears of Excise, &c. you will not need, I think to do any thing publickly, I meeting him last Night at the Militia (where he and I had occasion to be) I thought good to acquaint him with so much of your Letter as concerned him: And in return he hath promised me a piece of his, which he will desire me to lend you for your further Satisfaction touching him as to be no Jefuitical Designe: I think it's made against the Quakers.

For that which concerns Mr. Tomes his Name, I had heard of it more particularly than you express; and am troubled that so little hath been done by himself towards his own Vindication, unless more hath been done than hath come to my Ear. I question whether he will make it known to as to be communicated to you to be his design that you should write an Epistle, &c. If he should, a Work of that nature may receive your Countenance and Attention, if it delire it, without concerning your self in his Morals. You have (if my Intelligence be right) in your County, and in the County of Gloucefer, armed Designes brought almost to the Birth, and are like to put you suddenly into Trouble, if not made Aborizzare.

Endeavours are on foot for Prevention; some Reserve of Horsf and new Arms have
To the Reverend and his worthy good Friend Mr. Rich. Baxter in Kidderminster.

Sir,

Thank you for yours of the 13th currant, which I have: and I do confess that the several Tempers and Interests of Professors of different Perversions considered, a wife Man can have no great hopes (whatever his desires be) of any General Accord. And to answer your desire in some account of the progress of the Meeting on foot for Agreement. Be pleased to understand, that however the Work went on merrily whilst Generals only were dwelt on, yet it's almost put to a stand when we come to some Particulars which were thought necessary to be defended to. That which hath troubled us most, hath been about sending forth, or furnishing the Nation with Preachers of the Gospel. Though we all agree, 1. That it's all our Duties to promote such a work: And 2. That the Persons employed in it, must be godly, found in the Faith, and apt to teach: And 3. that they ought to pass under some trial for Approbation; And 4. that a convenient Maintenance for them should by all meet means be procured; yet by whom and how they should be so approved, as to be made capable of holding the Parili places, we cannot hitherto agree. It was propounded at the Meeting this Afternoon, as an Expedient to issue this business, that considering that Patrons of Parili Livings claim a Right of Presentation, the People of Election, the Magistrate of Approbation, and the Eldership of Churches, or Churches themselves by them, and Power of Million and Ordination: And that since the Magistrate hath been still wont to betray his Claim of Approbation in the Hands of Presbyters of one kind or other; and Presbyters of all Perversions hold themselves obliged to further the propagation of the Gospel abroad, and claim a share in sending Preachers for that end; I say, these Things considered, and to satisfy all Claims, and yet to make a competent Provision for the spreading of the Gospel in all the Parishes, it was proposed, 1. That the Magistrate might be desired to betray his Claim of Approbation in the Hands of a convenient Number of Presbyters of the three denominations indifferently, in several places of the Commonwealth, that none might be bound up by the Power being ingrossed by one or two Parties. 2. That no Person presented by a Patron, or chosen by the People, should officiate as a publick Preacher, in any Parili, without an Instrument of Approbation first obtained under the Hand and Seal of at least three or more of the Presbyters aforefaid. 3. That such an Instrument obtained should invest the Preacher with power to receive such Maintenance as is or shall be settled by the State, or raised by voluntary Contribution of the People. But alas, it was thought by some, that to interest the Magistrate in such a Claim, will not be found in the Scriptures; and to have a Hand in the inventing of a Preacher with power to sue for Tithes (whether it were known, whether he would to like it or no) is a thing not to be endured. And I doubt the Party that propounded this Expedient, is like to be looked on by his Brethren the Anabaptists for his labour, as fit rather to be ranked among the Presbyterians, as hath been hinted to him.

The
The business of Maintenance was moved by the Presbyterians again and again, to be laid aside, they would trust the Providence of God with that, and that something might be resolved on about the Magistrates' Approbation, in which we might agree, without which it was not thought probable to procure so much as opportunity of a fixed abode to preach in most places, nor if there could, would the Churches be able to supply the want of the Magistrates' Countenance or Power, in procuring Maintenance. I may not enlarge to acquaint you what was offered on the by for the Magistrates' Power (the Dispute of it hath hitherto been declined) only something was hinted. That if Christ is King of Nations, as well as of Saints, then those that rule the Nations for him are as much charged with the care of his Interest, and so with his Ministers as those in special, by whom it is to be promoted. There were some pretty large Concessions at last made by some of the Anabaptists, who I confess were not so steady in their Debate, as would have been wished, unless it were in too much friendship of granting too much. And the unhappiness is, that some not leafly crochetical among the Anabaptists, nor most peaceable, do interests themselves most in the management of this Treaty. Indeed this Meeting was almost brought to a period this Night without any good Conclusion; but my Lord Geoff (as some call him) and some others, did earnestly move that that wherein they had agreed, might be improved for common benefit; and (which was agreed to) that three or four of each Perilusation should meet privately, to see what could further be done, and that there should be no further Publick Meetings, till they were in a readiness to call them. I must acknowledge to you that I am many times sadly affected, to bear and see the strange Confusions that swarm in this City about things both Civil and Divine; and the height and confidence of many is wonderful, that I am ready to with him for the wings of a Dove to flee into the Wilderness to be at rest. And truly, by several hints which I have picked up, I cannot but expect the acting of some further force to some Alteration or other, and what will be the end of these things! It will become such as have any true fence of the Interest of Religion, to be encouraging and stirring up one another to stand together, and to bear up against the several Assaults which on every hand almost are made against it, that if it be possible to prevent that no Man take our Crown.

Sir, I was desired several Weeks since by Mr. Jackson, Author of The Serious Word, to send you a couple of his Books against the Quakers, that you might see (I think) how Orthodox he is, and far from Jesuitism. I have now performed his desire by the hand of Mr. Pearse, by whom also I have sent you Mr. Rogers and Needham's piece; and a Copy of my Retraction, which I must thankfully acknowledge was helped on much by your hand, and therefore if any good redound by his Publication, you are like to have a large share in the reward. You will, Sir, I hope, excuse my prolifexns; I shall now put you to no further trouble, but beg your Prayers for Wildom how to carry it towards thee, that at least at first will be somewhat provoked against me, for attempting the raising of the Wall of Separation, though I have done it with as much moderation and care to prevent offence, as I well knew how, and have very much Peace and Satisfaction in my own Spirit in what I have done.

SIR,

Sept. 30. 1659.

I am entirely yours,

Will. Allen.

To the Reverend and his worthy good Friend, Mr. Richard Baxter, Minister of the Gospel in Kidderminster.
SIR,

1. Since I saw you, I have perused Mr. Rutherford's Piece upon the Covenant; which ministers yet further occasion, as I apprehend, to second my former motion to you of handling the Doctrine of the Cov enants in a more distinct manner, then hath been done by any I have yet met withal. For if that which is proper to each Covenant were handled apart by itself, and the appropriate design, end and use of each of them respectively, were but plainly set forth so far as the Scripture will guide therein; I cannot but think it would be of as great use as any one thing you can undertake; and it is not my opinion alone. For want of which it hath happened, that Men have interwoven and confounded one Covenant with another, and great Mistakes have thereby been committed by many, in relating the Terms of the New Covenant, and the true Notion of Justification by Faith: and through such Mistakes a great part of the Apollies Epistles have been obscured, instead of being expounded. As for instance; Whereas there may be a sixfold opposition easily observed in the Apollies Writings, in reference to the Doctrine of Justification, (which being attended to the scope and meaning of them, will plainly appear,) there hath been a seventh most insinuated on; which is not, I think, there to be found. And this hath come to pass want of understanding the difference between the two Cov enants, and for want of a distinct consideration of the several false Opinions of the then present Jews about Justification, which the Apollies in their Writings engage against. The Opinions I mean, are these:

1. As the promise of Justification and Eternal Life upon condition of Faith in the Promise relating to the Messiah before he came, is opposed to the Promise of Temporal Felicity upon condition of a due Observation of the Law of Moses,

Gal. 3. 11. 12.

2. As the Promises of Justification and Life upon condition of Faith in the Promises to Abraham, is opposed to the Error of the Jews, who held that Promises to be made to Abraham upon condition of Circumcision, and to them as his Seed upon condition of a Literal Observation of the Law of Moses, Rom. 2. 3. and 4th Chapters, Gal. 2. 3. and 4th Chapters.

3. As the Promises of Justification and Life upon condition of Faith in Christ as crucified, is opposed to the Error of the Unbelieving Jews, who held it promised to their Literal Observation of the Law of Moses, without Faith in the Death of Christ, Heb. 8. 9. and 10th Chapters.

4. As the Promises of Justification and Life upon condition of Faith and Gospel Obedience only, is opposed to the Opinion of some Judaizing Christians, who held the same to be promised upon condition of Faith in Christ, and a Literal Observation of the Law of Moses, jointly, Gal. 5. Acts 15. 1. 5.

5. As the Promises made to Abraham's Spiritual Seed, is opposed to the Opinion of the unbelieving Jews, who held it made to his Natural Seed as such: Or which is much the same; as the Promises made to Perfons so and so qualified, is opposed to the Jewish Opinion of an absolute and unconditional Promise made to them in Perfon, as they were the Offspring of Abraham, Rom. 9. 6. 7. 8. Rom. 2. 28. 29.

6. As Justification by Faith, accompanied with Gospel Obedience, is opposed to the Opinion of some Professors of Chrifhianity, Gnotlicks or other Sodians, who held Justification by Faith alone, without reference to or necessity of a holy Life, James 2. 1 Epift. John, Jude 1. 4. 8. These are the things to which the Controversial Part of the Apollies Writings in reference to the Point of Justification, do relate.

But beside those, there is another insinuated on, as if it were still included and intended in the Apollies reasonings against Justification by Works of the Law, and that is an Opposition between Faith and all Works in reference to Justification, as well such as consist in Gospel Obedience as the effect of Faith strictly taken, as those which are properly Works of the Mofaical Law. Whereas such an Opposition seems to be not only without, but against Scripture Evidence. For Gospel Obedience, as an inapparable effect of Saving Faith, is as well as Faith, and together with Faith, opposed to the Works of Moses's Law in point of Justification. For so I take it to be, where it is said, Circumcision (which by a Synecdoche is put for the Works of the Law) availab nothing, but faith which worketh by love:

which is as much as to say, which worketh by keeping the Commandments of God,
God, and by fulfilling the Law: for so Love is said to be. Yet, Evangelical Obedience (as comprehending Faith, no doubt) is by the same figure of Speech as before, opposed to the Works of Moses's Law; where it is said that Circumcision is nothing, and Uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping the Commandments of God. The like Opposition again is made between the Works of the Law and the New Creature; which consists in a new frame of Spirit, and cannot be considered without new Obedience, in will and resolution at least, Gal. 6. 15. This Opposition which some make between Faith and Gospel Obedience in the Point of Justification, seems like unto that (if not the same in Jude) which was made by the Gnosticks, and which James opposeth in his Epistle, rather than any which the Scripture any where maketh. And truly this Opinion, together with another as groundless as this, hath, I fear, been a great Underminner of the Power of Religion in the Hearts and Lives of Men, and a Betrayer of the Souls of many; and that is, that by Faith without Works the Righteousness or Obedience of Christ is not only virtually, (which we all hold) but formally imputed to us for righteousness: so that we are reckoned to have obeyed in his Obedience. Which, I think, hath not been the Doctrine of a few called Antinomians only, but of so many, that not long since he could hardly be counted Orthodox, that did not hold to too. And it is to be feared that many that have been of these Opinions, have thought themselves good Chriftians, and in a justified state, though otherwise of ill Tempers and of bad Lives. Whereas did they understand that the design of the New Covenant is to restore the Humane Nature gradually to that rectitude and perfection from which it fell, and that the terms of it are so laid, that no Man can have any ground of confidence of enjoying the Saving Benefits of it, further then he knows that he sincerely endeavours in the use of means to recover that rectitude, and to be perfecting holiness in the fear of God; they would be delivered from that delusive Confidence, and consequently be put upon such sincere endeavours, or be deprived of the comfort of that delusive Confidence, by which while they are under it, they support themselves. All which considered, (if really true as I apprehend them to be,) what I have humbly moved to you, cannot but be a most worthy Work, and of great acceptance to very many, as well as of general and of most important use unto all. And in case you resolve on it, I think to you as much brevity as will consist with plainness, and as much plainness as the nature of the thing will bear, will be generally most acceptable and most profitable, and the more inviting to be read.

I have made bold herewith to send you some Papers, which sometime since were written for private use, and for trial of what might fairly be made out touching the Subject Matter of them. To the end you may by them see some of the things more fully express'd, which are but hinted in this Letter: as also to desire your Judgment, Whether the main Scope of them be Matter of Truth, or Matter of Error? And in particular I desire your Thoughts, Whether that perfect Obedience which Mr. Truman infilts on, or that sincere Obedience mentioned in these Papers, was the Condition of the first Covenant? And whether the first Covenant, as such, did threaten Eternal Punishment to the Transgressors of it; and the Curse of what Covenant it was that Christ redeemed us from, in being made a Curse for us? For touching these things, I confess my self not well resolved. The hanging on the Tree was but a Temporal Curse, and was not all that Christ redeemed us from. And when you have a fitting Opportunity, I pray you return them to London, May 27. 1671.

Your obliged Servant,

Will. Allen.

Those of the Separation that are more moderate do blame Mr. Bagshaw, and think you need not answer him; and his Temper is to have the last word. If you think otherwise, a calm Answer will be best.
Dear Sir,

I received your Preface, by which you have been pleased to add unto all former Obligations wherein I stand bound. I have moved Mr. Symmery about printing the Copy, acquainting him with your Preface, but not with the Author of the Papers: but I perceive he hath no mind to undertake it; since when I have not spoken to any other. Sir, It hath been sometimes on my thoughts to draw up some thing against Separation more than what is in my Retraction, at least to be published after my death, if surviving Friends should think fit, but have forborn to publish any thing of that nature hitherto, partly to avoid fulness of strengthening the hand of severity against the Separatists, to the doing of harm to whom I would not be in the least accessory: and likewise to avoid the fulness of being acted therein by Carnal Motives. However something I have now prepared, and herewith sent you, prefuming yet once more to give you the trouble at your leisure of casting your eye upon it. And do pray that you will please to correct, or direct me to correct what needs correction: and to give me advice, whether it will be best to make it publick, or to forbear. I confess, I have been induced to do what I have done at this time, upon occasion of the Indulgence, as conceiving it not less necessary nor less reasonable (to say no more) than it was before. And your motion of reprinting my Retraction, had its share in inclining me to this present Undertaking. As I have been taken in the Snare of Separation for a time, so I was in that of Antinomianism, about 37 or 38 years ago, not long after my first coming to London; as not being able to withstand the Infinities of it, and yet to retain the Opinion of the Imputation of Christ's Righteousness in that Notion of it, in which I had been instructed; and never fully recovered my self till I heard Mr. John Goodwin. The Experience of what I suffered my self, and occasioned others to suffer by my running into those Errors, hath put me upon doing more to warn others against them, or recover them out of them, then otherwise I should have thought fit for me to have done. You may perceive in part how frail my memory was, by my often blottings and interlinings. Excuse me for this time, and you are never like to be troubled with any of my Papers more, whether I live or die. The good God that hath, out of good will to the World, made you fo meet to be serviceable to it, continue you long in it, and still strengthen you to succeed, and prosper you in his Word: So prays

London, June 29.
1672.

Your very much obliged,

Servant,

Will. Allen.

I live next the Green-Man in Prince's-Street by Stocks-Market, and not at the Battle in the Poultrey.

---

Dear Friend,

I this Day received and read your Book and knowing so well the Author's Experience, Judgment, and Sincerity, it hath made a great change upon my Judgment; and Whereas I once thought that some Men's Usage of this poor Kingdom and Chrift's Miniflers, and the false Reports and Representations made of them, did give not only Charity, but common Honesty and Humanity, by which the civil differ from others, to be with such Men very low; I find now, my better Thoughts of those Men much revived, by finding that to good Men, as you, can in any Measure in such a time and place so far mistake the cale as you have done. But long Experience hath acquainted me with more of the Caufe than perhaps you have observed your self: That is, all Mens Capacities are narrow, and we cannot look every way at once: Our thoughts are like a Stream of Water which will run but one way at once, and carry down all that's moveable in that Stream. When you were for Anabaptiflry and Separation, it's like the Stream
Sream of your Thoughts, run all that way, and you studied more what was for you, than what was against you: and now the Sense of your Error hath turned your Thoughts the contrary way, I may judge by the Effects, that you think more what may be said against Nonconformity than what may be said for it.

2. And Experience makes me take it for granted, that to judge hastily before they fully understand or hear the Cause, is the common Dilect of Man's depraved Intellech, which few are cured of in any great Degree. I would not be guilty of it while I blame it, if my Frailty can avoid it, and therefore I will suppose that you have more Reasons for what you say, than I yet understand, and shall only as a Learner, desire you to help me to understand them.

And 1. Seeing almost all your Book is against Anabaptistry and Separation, I desire you to acquaint me why you entituled it, An Address to the Nonconformists?

when it is certain that the ignorant Multitude, who have some such Thoughts already, will hence be more perplexed that the Nonconformists are commonly for Separation; which being aCalumny, I suppose you thus indirectly propagat it for some Reason which I know not. Fallhood and Hatred are to befriend by common corrupted Nature, that they need no Books to be written to encourage them. If a Philosopher wrote against Manicheism and called it An Address to the Christians; Or a Papist wrote against Anabaptistry and Separation, and called it An Address to the Protestants, the Intimation was unjust.

Quest 2. Will not the Conformists think that you prevariate, in pretending to plead for a National Church, p. 101. and when you explain your self speak but of a [Church Inorganical] that is equivocally and ineptly so called: seeing forms denominat, and the Word Church in the common Controversy about [National Provincial, Diocesan, Diss^el Association], is taken for an Ecclesiastical Polity and Society, and not for a meer Community: A Family without a Master, a School without a Schoolmaster, a Kingdom without a King, and a Church without a Pastorat Regiment, are equivocal improper Denominations a materia: when you knew that the Nonconformists have long asked which is the true constitutive Ecclesiastical Head of this National Church? When you were upon the Subject it would have done well to have told them; for an accidental Head (the King) they confess as much as others.

Quest 3. When you plead so much for Parish-Churches, are you therein a Nonconformist, and is your Address to your self? or do you take the Word [Church] there also equivocally and improperly? If so, you should have said so. The Prelates grant with Oppian, that abs Episcopus isti Ecclesia; and weh ignorant, that to every church there is one Bishop with his Presbyters, &c. No King, no Kingdom; no Master, no School nor Family; no Bishop, no Church: Therefore the Prelates hold that we have no true proper Church below a Diocesan, and that Parishes are not Churches but Chapells, or parts of a Church, and this is not the least part of our Nonconformity, who hold that Parishes are, or should be true Churches, and not only parts of a Church in fensi ordinis, without any proper Bishop. Tell me better I pray, which side you here intend to take.

Quest 4. Seeing p. 111. &c. you very well plead for the Power of Kings in Determination of Parish-Bounds, and Church Orders, as under the Jewish Polity, and the new way of the Conformists is so far contrary, as that they hold that if a Bishop command one Time, one Place, one Translation, Metre, Ceremony, Utensil, &c. and the King another; that the Bishop is to be obeyed before the King, because it belongs not to him, but to the Church. Is it the New Conformity in this that you are for, or for the old, and the Nonconformists who in this Agree.

Quest 5. Some Words p. 124. 125. move me to ask you, whether such Anabaptists as you formerly taught and joined with, or the ignorant irrereligious vulgar, as you then accounted them, were the better People? If the Religion of them that mind little of God or Life Eternal, further than to join with the Church, be the true State of Regeneration and Holiness, were it not more worth your Labour to write a Book against that which now we take for Holiness (seeking first God's Kingdom and Righteousnes): But if other Wife and Pious Sectaries be better than impious Churchmen, were those times so much better than these as you describe them, in which there was not one counted Religious (e.g. from 1625. till 1637.) for Three that, I say not for Ten or Twenty, that are now in most places that I have known.

Quest 6. And I add, hath not Scotland kept out Sects without our Conformity, more effectually than Conformity here kept them out?
APPENDIX. Numb.IV.

Queft. 7. P. 129. Had you nothing but [Suspicion] and [Opinion] to oppugn, and muft that begranted you; and yet have lived fo long where you live.

Queft. 8. Because you talk fo much of [Sinful sinful in it self] without ever telling us exactly how to know it, I pray tell me if Mr. Sangar, Dr. Manton, and such others fhould fay to thofe Pariftioners [we are in the Relations which we were truly and juftly flared in, and becaufe the Magiftrate hath given others the Parifh-Churches and the Tythes you defparre from us, and come not to our Affemblies; therefore you fett up a finful Schifm, as fome did in the Churches of the Roman Empire, who adhered to Paftors put in by the Emperors, while the People adhered to their former Paftors] How fhall I anfwerv them better than they do you.

Queft. 9. Your Queftion p. 157. moveth me to put you to think it over again, whether you think indeed as your Words import, if all the People of England thefe fourteen Years past had heard no Sermon but in the Parifh-Churches, and fo had heard none of the 2000 Nonconformifts (or near) that were fidden even in all thofe Parifhes, where the reading of the Liturgy is the far beft and likeliest means of the Peoples Good, and in all thofe Parifhes, where not one of very many hath any Church to hear in; I fay, do you think that there would have been more Perfons truly converted and faved by this means? If you think that all thefe 1500, or 2000 Mens Preaching hath done, and both more harm than good, had it not been a direcfr way to have written to them to convince them of it, that they might ceafe: of which more anon.

Pag. 161. You Ly, [if instead of this each Chriftian of you had kept to Parchorial Communion, and each owned Minifter had kept their Refidence among them, and Communion with them as private Members in the Parifi way, and had also in a private Capacity joined with thofe Minifters which have fucceeded them in doing all the Good they could in the Parifh, as by a private Application and Improvement of the publick Labours of their Minifter, together with Catechizing and other personal Infradction and Exhortation privately administered to the feveral Families in the Parifh, &c.]

Queft. 10. Will you do us the Favour to anfwerv firft thofe Books that are writen to prove our Obligation to Preach fuch as [ft. Allen's Call to Archippus, and my Sacrifical Diflortion, &c. was not that to have gone before fuch Advifes as this? If you fay Dr. Fullwood hath done it, I beg of you to tell me what Arguments of his you think have done it (while he yields the contrary).

Queft. 11. Would you have all thofe Minifters take this courfe that muft lie in the Common Goal if they come within five Miles of the Place? can they do it in Newgate? If you fay that the Act of Confinement had not been made but for Conventicles, we have no Proof of that, nor is the Occafion now any Remedy for the future.

Queft. 12. Do you not know that Nonconformifts will not endure us in this private Dilligence which you speake of? I will give you in the end an Instance from the Parifi where I live.

Queft. 13. Do you well know what fort of Minifters are in too many Parifhes of England? I will not imitate the Gofefter Cobler in gathering up their Faults; but only ask you if for Instance Mr. Corbet that was turned out of Bromfut, had itayed there where Mr. Hook the Patron hath often told me, that their Preacher was formerly an Ale-feller, and was fo common a Drunkard that he would be drunk in the Pulpit, could you have advised him to do nothing but apply this Man's Sermons as you fay? When I was young the firft place I lived in had four Readers fucceffively, fome Drunkards, all my Malters; the next place had in my time an old Reader that never preached, (as had molt of the Churches round about us) his Curates were fucceffively three Readers, of which one never Preached, one Preached and was a Stage-Player, another (my Mafter alfo) a common Drunkard, never preached but once, and then he was stark drunk: when the Old Man's Eyesight failed (that was the chief Incumbent) he faid Common-Pray yer by rote, and one Year a Day Labourer, and another Year a Taylor read the Scriptures, and we had no more. What Mr. Dance and Mr. Turner were at Kidderminster and Mitten Chappel, I fuppofe you know.

Queft. 14. Would you have thofe Minifters take the Courfe which you decribe,in the Parifhes, where the generality of the People muft be then untaught? You know, I fuppofe, that a Man that muft go but from Houfe to Houfe can fpake but to few Perfons in a Year: 1. If all Families were ready and willing, how little a part of great Parifhes would be taught? 2. People are commonly poor, and from Morning to Night about their hard Labour, and cannot hear us. 3. They are unwilling that
we should come into their Houses, and see their Disorder, and Poverty and Unclean-
ness. 4. Many Ministers are so Vaietudinary that their cold Houses would deftro
ty their Health to talk with them there but an Hour. By this way we must be almost
continually speaking, and be that can preach once or twice a Week cannot preach
four or five times every Day, without which it would be next to nothing: One
may preach to Two Thousand at once in Publick, when to lay the same to those
Two Thousand by one or by Four at a time, must take Five Hundred Sermons.
6. By this means Ministers (were there Bodies able) must do nothing else: and
whereas most have little or no maintenance of their own, what time will you al-
low them to labour with their Hands to get Bread for their Families? how shall
their Rents and Charges be paid? Or if they must beg or live on others' Charity,
where shall they have it, if they take your Court? If they teach but few, few
will relieve them; if they stay from Cities and Corporations in poor Country Vil-
lages, few are able, if willing to relieve them. Some that have done so, and
Preached too, have yet been put to keep Wife and Children upon little besides
brown Rye Bread and Water. By what Law is both Silence and Famine made their
due? 8. You know doublesthat in such Parishes as Stepney, White-chappel, Al-
gate, Giles Crimplegate, Sepulchres, Giles in the Fields, Andrews Holbourn, Clement Danes,
Martins, &c. it is but a small part of the People that can hear in publick: I sup-
pose there may be Twenty or Thirty Thouand untaught in the Parith whence
Mr. Read is gone to Goale for teaching. The People say that this Parith hath
Fourthour Thouand Souls; suppose it be less, when scarce Two Thouand can
hear well in the Church. Are you risen up now so near the Silencers Opinion as
that you would have all these Souls untaught and America transplanted into Lon-
don? Is the Gospel grown so indifferent to you, in Comparison of your things
indifferent? can they believe without hearing, and hear without preaching? I
am not yet grown so desperate a Gamester, as to cast away so many thouand
Souls to the Devil at hap hazard, for fear of hearing [Schism, Schism]. Why
should Preachers be sent to the Americans rather than to St. Martins, St. Giles, and
such like places?

Queft. 14. How will you absolve us from our Ordination Vow? even Papifts
say the Character is indelible: we were not ordained pro tempore, or on Tryal: If
a Man may forbid us preaching to all, fave four among a Thouand, or Forty
Thouand, or Fourthour Thouand, why not alfo to those Four? If to all Corpo-
rations and Cities (where Churches only were planted at firft) why not alfo to the
Villages? If where Souls need the Number of Twenty or Ten Teachers, all may
be forbidden fave one, why not that one alfo? How many hundred Years did
prohibited Paffors teach and guide the Churches? I beleefhe you clearly fatisfy
what it is that difobligeth us all from God's dreadful Charge, 2 Tim. 4. 1. 2. Before
God and the Lord Jefus Chrift, who fhall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing
and his Kingdom to preach the Word, be infant in feafon, out of feafon, &c. And
why we may not as well be difobliged by Man's Prohibition from relieving the
Poor that elfe will perih? Yea, our own Children?

Queft. 16. Might not Daniel then have forborn Praying, and may not, yea,
ought you not if you forbidden, forbear praying in your Houfe, reading the Scrip-
ture, or exhorting, and admonifying, and teaching others in your place and
Converse?

Queft. 17. Is it likely to be of God which is fo pleating to the Flesh, the Papifts:
and the Devil, as our ceasing to preach the Gospel would be?

Queft. 18. Is it not the great Mark to know all falle See's and Seelmatfers by
that they are still for that which hindereth the Gospel, and hurreth Souls. The
grievous Wolves, though in Sheeps Cloathing, devour the Flocks: the Thorns and
Thistles have Pricks instead of Grapes and Figs: And if the filencing one faith-
ful Minifher in the Churches Necessity be a heinous Crime, what are you turned
to, if you would have near Two Thouand silence themfelves? They that silence
us by a Prifon, caufe not our fin, becaufe it is not voluntary but forced; but you
would make us the fishful Deers of it our felves, which is far worse.

Queft. 19. Is it the way to prevent our threatened Judgments to call us all to Re-
pentance for preaching the Gospel thefe Fourteen Years, and to call us all off from
preaching it for the Future, that we might not call Sinners to Repentance for their
Sins? (how glad would the Papifts be if you could prevail but with a few that
moff molest them?) what a Life have I to repent of if this mutt be my Repen-
tance? and at how cheap and easy a rate, might I have prevented it? mutt I the
have
have hazarded my Life for many a single Sermon now repent of all? what then

Queft. 20. Is it not as sinful to Write and Counsel when prohibited, as to Preach?

and must we repent of all our prohibited Writings to? if God blefs our Preach-
ing and Writing to the good of many Souls, doth it not forbid us to repent, or

at least make it very hard to us? can I honestly with all undone again?

I pray you halfe your convincing Reasons to keep me out of Prifon, and fur-
ther Guilt if this be criminal.

Pag. 197, 198, &c. You speak principally to me, which bids me further ask
you, Queft. 21. Whether we did provefs that our private catechizing alone did all
that Good, without our publick preaching or rather with it? If not, whether you
did not unhappily hence collect our Unhappiness?

Queft. 22. If I were able in this Parifh, or the laft I lived in (or the effected
Pallor who liveth near me) to go from Houfe to Houfe, it would be many Years
before he or I could go over half the Parifh. And do you think that to be taught
once a Year, or in many Years, is enough to counterwork Sin, the Devil and his In-
struments? Would you have no more, except for Two or Three Thousand of all
the Parifh.

Queft. 23. But are you not too fulpicious when you talk of firezdsuy soppefting
(p. 198, 199.) those that support the Minifters, unless they would do it to them
that ceafe Preaching? You muft needs know that in most Country Parifhes the
People cannot support them; and others far off are left apt to feel the Wants of
diftant Perfons; and Charity would have gathered but this: It is their Supporters
Judgment and their own, that not the Loyterer, but the Labourer is worthy
of his Meat (at leaft); and that to ceafe Preaching till Mens necelity ceafe is a
heinous Sin: and a Man may forbear rewarding and encouraging heinous Sins,
without the Guilt that you feem to fulpeft.

Queft. 24. Why do you think that the Minifters do not do their beft in private
(as well as in publick) to thofe that will receive them! Read Job: Allen's Life, en-
quire better in London whether Mr. Sangar, Mr. Caghten, Mr. RED, Mr. Doftilltst,
Mr. Turner, Dr. Anefy, Mr. Vincent, and fuch others, do not labour as well in Pri-
vate as in Publick? for my part, I am not now able, muft Therefore do nothing?

is it a Sin to speak to Two Thoufand at once, and a Duty to fpeak to them one
by one, doing that a whole Year, which I can do in an Hour?

You fay, p. 205. you fpeak not to all alike, but to all in their feveral meafe you
fpeak: And you'll fay all Parifhes be not fo great, nor all Minifters to bad as foue
in publick, nor fo unable, &c. I anfwer, 1. Nor do we behave our felves in all
places alike: Not only I, but other more eminent Minifters of London (many)
go to the Parifh-Churches, efpecially in the Country, and countenance honelt
publick Minifters to the umolf, and communicate ordinarily with them. And
many Minifters in the Country do as you advise, in living in great Love and
Communion with the Parifh-Minifters, fay that they ceafe not Preaching as you
would have them, and they gather not diftinct Congregations; but muft the fame
courfe be taken in London, where the Fire hath burnt the Churches, and half and
more of the People have no Churches to go to, through the greatnefs of the Pa-
rifhes: Should fuch a famous City be Paganified by the Persuafions of Godly Men,
ve for the promoting of Unity and Godlinefs? If you fay, that muft Minifters
little where the Churches are not full, and not in the great Parifhes. I an-
fwer, 1. That is becaufe they are driven out of the great Parifhes by force. 2.
And People cannot come out of the great Parifhes to them, where they are, or
efles to the publick Churches the better when their Abfence makes them.

Pag. 182. You fay If thofe formerly or more lately who defired fome Altera-
tion in the external Form of Administration ufed in our Church had not run fo
high as to affert things unlawful, which by all their Mediums they could never
prove to be fo, &c. Queft. 25. Why then did not their Charity or yours flew
the weaknefs of what we took for Proofs, nor ever anfwer our three laft large
Writings given in to them?

Queft. 26. You (truly) contradict many Writings of the (unanswerable) Con-
formifts, who fay that at Worefter Houfe, or in that Treaty we profeffed all that
we oppofed to be lawful, and only inconvenient? which of you hall the ignorant
believe?

Queft. 27. Know you not how much is added fince? Will you join with them
that build up a double Wall of Separation, and will by no intryate take down
one Stone of it, and then cry [Schifm, and Separation].
Numb. IV. APPENDIX 103

Ques. 28. Did you ever see or hear our Reasons to prove that unlawful which we took for such? If not, how can you judge so preeminently of them? If yea, of the eight Points that at the Savoy we undertook to prove great Sins, and of thirty that I take for heinous Sins (should I commit them) which are, in my Thoughts, I will only beg the Charity of your Arguments to prove the Lawfulness of these few following, least by the number I discourage you.

Ques. 1. How prove you it lawful to Affent and Consent to a doubled certainty that infants baptized and dying before actual Sin, are saved; not excepting any infant of Pagans, Turks, or Atheists, or Infidels? Were you certain of this by God's Word heretofore? Are you certain now? O then help us to certainty by your Proofs. May not a Man be baptized that is not certain that the Gospel is true, if he believe it so far as to venture Life and Soul, and all upon it?

Ques. 2. How prove you that I may affent and consent that no Parent shall be Godfather for his Child, nor enter him at all into God's Covenant, by speaking one Word of Promise or undertaking (not faith the Canons may he be urged robe present) but that the only covenanting Undertakers or Promisers shall be our Godfathers and Godmothers, who perfidiously promise what not one of thousands (that adopt not the Child) ever make any Man believe that they have any intention to perform, and remit Anabaptists to take us all to be unbaptized, as not being covenanted for by any that had Authority to do it by God's Law.

Ques. 3. How prove you it lawful to Affent and Consent, to deny Chriftendom to all Infants, whose Parents will not have them dedicated to God by the Transient Image of the Cross; or will not have such God-fathers, the sole undertaking Covenanters, but will openly enter their own Children into that Covenant themselves especially when the Liturgy faith, 1. That these Infants are certainly and undoubtedly saved, if baptized. 2. And denyeth them Chriftian Burial if they dye unbaptized. Prove that a Minister may Affent and Consent to deny them Chriftendom and certain Salvation, because of this Judgment of Godly Parents.

Ques. 4. Prove it lawful to deny Chriftian Communion to all Chriftians that dare not receive Kneeling, or that are Excommunicate for not paying the Fees of the Court, or all that a lay-Chancellor using the Power of the Keys doth Excommunicate; and to affent and consent to do (to the first at least).

Ques. 5. How prove you it lawful to affent and consent to deny Chriftian Communion to all that are not Confirmed by the Bishop, or willing to be so? though he were never so willing to own his Baptismal Covenant, and do all that a Chriftian Man should do. When the Reformed Churches have written so much again the necessity of such Confirmation.

Ques. 6. How prove you it lawful to affent and consent that all the Atheists, Infidels, Hereticks, and Wicked Men, yea, every individual Person in England, except the Unbaptized, Excommunicate and Self-murderers shall at their Burial be Ministerially pronounced Saved; viz. That God of his Mercy hath taken unto himself the Soul of this our dear Brother out of the Miseries, &c. as you read. And when we are tied in a Goale our selves as Schismatics, unless a Man (usually) excommunicate us, they will pronounce us fated.

Ques. 7. How prove you it lawful deliberately to publish your Affent and Consent to that little gross Fallacy, the Rule to find out Easter-day.

I will trouble you with none of the many greater things. If you say that you mean not to justify all these and such like. 1. Will not common Reason think so by your Words, do they not imply it? 2. If you think our Nonconformity our Duty, what meaneth your Address to us as such, and your Counsels aforementioned and how cometh our Silence and forsaking the Preaching of the Gospel to be our Duty during the need of so many Thousand Souls?

As for unwarrantable Separation and Accusation of the Parith-Churches and Liturgy, we are many of us as truly (though not as far) from them as you.

If what I have written displeases you, it will but tell you that I prefer Truth and Conference and the Churches Good before my very dear and much valued Friends Opinion or Will; and the Welfare and Peace of his own Soul, before the pleasing of him: I am past doubt that you do in Sincerity seek the same thing that I and others do, that is, the healing of a divided People, and the Cure of those Distempers which have drawn many to sinful Separations. Three sorts of Schism we dichotomy as well as you; 1. Making Factions and Parties in a Church to the Hindrance of Love, Peace, and Concord. 2. Separating from a Church on the Account that its Communion is unlawful, when it is not so. 3. Much more fa-
parating from a Church as no Church, and a Minifttry as none, when it is not so.
In none of these respects do we separate or divide from the Church or Churches that we should hold Communion with. 1. We separate from the Catholic Church; 2. Nor from the Church of England, as accidentally headed by the King. 3. Nor as a number of Churches associated for Concord; 4. Nor as a meer Community, part of the Church Universal; 5. We separate not from the Parifh Churches that have true Palfors, either as no Churches, or as holding Communion with them in ordinary publick Worship to be finely or commonly finful: 6. Nor would we make any Division in the Churches by unjust contention; but that there are Separatifs that do so, and deferve all your reproof, and need all your Admonitions we doubt not: But by overdoing (the ordinary way of undoing) I doubt you have loft your labour, and much worfe. Not but that all of us have great caufe to thank you, if truly you do detect any guilt of ours, as well as others: but if you have done much to increafe the Schift, and made your felf guilty of it, you have croft your own end, notwithstanding your good meaning.
1. We are not for building up any Walls of Separation; some Malters of Schift are.
2. We think that no Humane Churches have power to abrogate the Priviledges or Duties of the Churches of Chrift's own infitution. Some Schiftmaticks think otherwife.
3. We hold that Chriftians should live in holy Love and Peace, when tolerable Differences of Opinion placeth them in divers Congregations: but some Schiftmaticks think otherwife, and make such a peevifh unreasonable noise againft all that do not meet with them, and fubjeft themselves to them, as that their Clamour is the scandal to the Infidels, Atheifts, and Papifts, making them believe that we are mad, or all in pieces, when we differ but in little things: and fo they reproach the Fraelity of Humane Nature and the common Imperfection of Believers with culminating Centuries and Accufations, as if they were a greater evil than they are.
4. We hold that Love and Tendernefs and Self-denial fhould pardon honofh Chriftians, for choosing fuch Palfors, as are really moft loveable to their Salvation, and their own Experience find to be fo, rather than unufuitable Men (to fay no worfe) that are thrust on them againft their wills: and that other Miniitrs fhould be glad, if they will live peaceably under others, and profite by them, though they choose not them: but fome turbulent Self-seekers are of another mind and way.
5. We think (as is faid) that the Parifhes are or fhould be true Churches, and we hold Communion with them as fuch: but fome Confomills un-Church them, and make them but parts of a Church, and hold no Communion with them otherwife.
6. We go upon certain and plain grounds in determining what Schift is (as the three forts e. g. aforefaid) but fo do not many Schiftmaticks that yet cry down Schift.
1. Some of them make it Schift not to obey the Pope as Universal Monarch.
2. Some make it Schift not to be fubjedt to a true Universal Council, as the Colleuitive Head of the Church, when there neither was, is, or ever will be fuch a thing in the World; much lefs the rightful Head of the Church.
3. Some (with Bilhop Brownehall and his Advocates, and others) would have the Pope to be Principium Unius, and Patriarch of the Welt, and to it fhall be Schift not thus to fubmit to him.
4. Some (as Mr. Thorndike) would have thefe Councils and Canons to rule us for Concord which were till the time of Charles the Great.
5. Some are for Concord on the reception of the four first Councils, some of fix, some of eight, Grotius of all well expounded.
6. Some hold that its Schift to disobey the King's Church Orders, and to refuse any Bilhop or Minifter that the King or a Patron choofe for us.
7. Some hold that it's Schift to obey the King in the circa faecre, as aforefaid (in choice of Palfors, Time, Place, Translation, Mefle, &c. if the Bishops or Bilhop be againft it, and command the contrary; and that these muft rather be obeyed.
8. Shame hold that it's Schift to separate from a Parifh Church as no Church others think it none.
9. If the Archbifhop command one thing, and the Bilhop another, and the Parifh Palfor another, and a Parent another, (as when to Communicate, and in what
105

Numb.IV. APPENDIX.

10. Some take it for Schism if a prohibited Minister speak to God in Prayers, or to the People in teaching them, in any words but what a Bishop or Bishops write them down; or if he obey not a Bishop never truly chosen by the Clergy or the People even in every commanded Form and Ceremony.

11. Some think it Schism if we hold Communion with those whom a Lay-Chancellor Excommunicateth, or if we deny our Communion to those that he abolveth, yea if we publish not his Sentence as in the Bishop's name,that perhaps never knew of it.

12. Some say it is Schism if we preach in another Man's Parish, be there never so great need, without his consent.

13. Some say it is Schism if we preach without the Bishops licence, though we have the King's, or at least be ordained even by the Bishops.

14. Some say, that if we be licenced, it's Schism to preach to above four in an unlicensed place.

15. Some say, if Person and Place be licenced, it is Schism to preach without the Common Prayer.

16. Some say, that if the Bishop command us rob us for blasphemy to preach or meet only at midnight, or twenty miles off, or but once a month, or if they forbid all God's Publick Worship (which yet Mahometans offer him some) it is Schism not to obey.

But if the Bishop do say the word, we may meet daily without Schism: and the Place, Person, Exercise that before was Schismatical, if he do but license them, are presently lawful. So that the Bishop's word against the King's (yea, against God's command to preach in fons and out) can make a thing Schism, and his word can make it none again in a moment.

17. Whether it be Schism to send a better Minister in another Parish in the name Dioces, though we septract from no Church (in their sense, the Diocesan being the lowest proper Church) is not well agreed on.

18. Forging Schismus is making Schism by turbulent noise and false Accusations.

We that impose on no Man, and that obey them in lawful things that we for Universal Love and Peace, even with that meet in different Affembles, and in different Forms; we that hold Communion with all true Churches as aforesaid, and yet because we can be but in one place,at once do choife thebelf, obeying God's Command, [Let all things be done to edification] and knowing how it edifieth our felves, we suppose are farther from Schism, than thoaff that as from the Throne of Authority pronounce Schism, and never help us to underfire and the fense and reafon of their words; but use it as for the advantage of their Cause: And as one lately writeth, Have lett that Bear so long about the freets, till the Boys lay by fear, and do but laugh at it. Nor are there many more effectual Caufes of Schism, and that harder true Schismaticks against all Contention, then when it is seen, that Men of Contention, Pride, and Worldly Interest, first make the Schism by sinful or impossible terms of Unity, and next fallacy the moft Innocent, that obey not their Domination, Schismaticks, and the greflest Duties (even Preaching where many and many thousands have no Preaching, nor no Publick Worship of God) by the Name of Schism, as if we must let London turn Heathens for fear of being Schismaticks. Dear Friend, though thefe things have thefe forty years had my deep, and I hope impartial thoughts, and I dare not for a thousand Worlds think to do otherwife than I do in the main, yet I fhall heartily thank you if by true light you help me to fee any Error which I yet perceive not.

And feeing Experience hath justly taught you to dread Anabaptiftry and Separation, think further, 1. Whether they that forbid Parents to enter their Children into Covenant with God in Baptism, and lay all that Office on those that have no power to covenant in their names, nor shew any purpose to perform what they promise, and deny Baptism, as aforesaid, to the Children of fuch as fubmit not to this and the Crofs, be not quantum in fe Destroyers of Infant Baptism (which is no Baptism if there be no Covenant).

2. (Again) Whether they be not Separatifs that both un-Church all the Parish-Churches quantum in fe, and also deny Communion with the Nonconformifs Churches, as null or unlawful, even when they had his Majefties Licence? Be impartial againft Antipedobaptifs and Separatifs. I confantly heard and communiated with the Parish-Church where I lived; but the Conformifs usually fly from the
The Instances promised you.

I. When I was call out at Kidderminster, (and you know what a Minifter was there) I offered, while the Indulgence of the King's Declaration continued, to have been the Reading Vicar's Curate, and to have preached for nothing, and could not prevail: I was by the Bishop forbidden to preach in his Diocefs; and when I offered him to preach only Catechifical Principles to some poor Congregation that else must have none, he told me, It was better they had none than me. My preference at Kidderminster was thought so dangerous, that Force was affigned to have apprehended me, and I stayed it must have been in the Jail, and many another for my fake. When I was forced away, at Venner's Rising I wrote but a Letter to my Mother-in-Law, and it was way-laid, intercepted, opened, and sent up to the Court, though there was nothing concerning them in it, but some sharp Intelligences against the Rebellion, which my Lord Chancellor acknowledging, caufed my Lord Woffor personally to bring me back my Letter: fo that I durft not write to them of many years. My Neighbours I had perfwaded to do as you advise, to joyn in the Publick Church, and help each other as private Men, and for doing, (repeating Sermons, and praying and singing a Psalm) many of them lay long among Rogues in the Common Jail, and others of them impoverished by Fines.

II. When I came to live at Aston, I drew all the People constantly to Church that were afore; sometime I repeated the Parfons Sermon, and sometimes taught such as came to my Houfe, between the Sermons. When the Reverend Parfon law them come into Church, he would fall upon them, &c. — And not being able to bear my little Endeavours for their Infruotion, he caufed me to be sent to the Common Jail, (not one Witness or Perfon being fuffered to come into the Room while I was examined and committed.)

III. I am now in a Parifh where some Neighbours fay that there are Fourfcore thousand Souls; fuppose they be fewer: Not above Two thousand of all thofe can hear in the Parifh Church: fo that it's like above Sixty thousand have no Church to go to, no not fo much as to hear the Scripture or the Common-Prayer. Here I need not tell you what Prohibitions I have had, and what my Endeavours to teach a few Publickly, have left me and others: And lately, becaufe one that preached for me did (without my knowledge) at the importunity of a Parent, Baptize a poor man's Child, when they told him it was in danger of death, the Curate of the Parifh came to my Houfe to expouflate the matter: when yet many are baptized by Papift Priefs, for want of others to do it, as they fay. I never my felf Baptized a Child, or adminiftered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper thefe fifteen years, but ordinarily received it in the Parifh Church at Tottoridge, and elfwhere, (one of the first times that I received it in private, a Bullet was shot into the Room among us, and came near to the Heads of divers of us). I never gathered any Church from among them; and yet have been ufually the firft fought after to be imprifon'd or ruined in every affault: and was put to fell my Goods and Books to fave them from Diffrefs. Near me, in the fame Parifh, liveth Mr. Gabriel Sanger, the late Incumbent Parfon of the Parifh, a Man of Age and Gravity, great Moderation and Peaceablenefs, and far from Faction or Turbulency; who preached but to a few in his own Houfe: And where should he use his Miniftiy, if not in fo vaft a Parifh where fo many Thoufands are untaught, and where he is not fure that his old relation is difolved, though the Tythes and Temple be given to another? One Mr. Grove (that
In what Parili of England should a Man expect leave to visit the Sick, when sent for, rather than in St. Martin's? From what Minister in England should one rather expect leave than from Dr. Lempley, who hath so many Thousands more than he and his Curate and Lecturer can suffice to teach and visit? and who, I hear, is a very worthy Man, and a Teacher of more than ordinary diligence, and especially excelleth almost all that I hear of in Confinacy in the needful Work of Catechizing, for which, though I know him not, I do much honour him. And what Minister in England may expect leave to visit the Sick, or privately help the People, if not Mr. Sanger, who was lately the Publick Incumbent himself, and is a man as unjekely to flir up any Man to Envy or Wrath, as most that ever I knew: I will not parallel my own Cale with his: If I be unworthy of such liberty, might not such as he be tolerated so far?

This being our Cale, will you be the Man that shall tell us and the world, that we should have kept our Residence, and joined with the succeeding Ministers in private helps, and how well we and Religion had then fped, as if you had not lived in England? to make Men think that the Parili Ministers are will of this. Yet I will again fay, Necessity is laid upon me, and we be to me if I preach not the Gospel, though Men forbid it. And if I either give but to one poor Man, when I might give to a thousand, or teach but one ignorant Sinner, when I might teach a thousand, how shall I look my Judge in the Face, who gave me that terrible warning, 2 Tim. 4. 1, 2. as well as Matth. 25. And I think that ever you would have been one that should publicly have perfwaded us to this. When it is the grand Work of Satan to Silence the Preachers of the Gospel, and the great Character of all forts of his Agents (one way or other, on their various pretences) to effect it: Papifts would silence me: Prelatifts would silence me: Quakers, Anabaptifts, Antinomians and Separatifts would silence me! and would my dear and judicious and experienced Friends silence me also? Alas, how many Difficulties have we to overcome! while our weary Flesh, and too cold Love, and the Relicks of Sloth and Selfifhness, which love not a laborious Suffering Life, doth hinder us more than all the rest. But the Judge is at the Door.

To Mr. W. Allen.
Number V.

SIR,

I find that in a Book of yours, defending Schism against Mr. Halli, on pretence of opposing it, you were pleased to think many Passages in my Writings worthy of your Recital to your ends: I thank you that you choose any Words for Peace, which some may make a better use of than your self: But I think if you had referred Men to my own Books to read them with what goeth before and after, they would have been more easily understood. I understand by your Book that you think that you are in the Right; which is the most that I have yet learned out of it, unless it be also that you think the Nonconformists be not yet hated and afflicted enough; or that he that beareth must ascend by treading upon him that feareth an Oath. I am in some doubt least you have wronged our Prelacy by so openly proclaiming the Enmity of a great Man as Hales against them, and by enticing Men by your Noife to read his Book which you contradict; which if they do, I doubt your Confutation will not save them from the Light. But the Reason of my troubling you with these Lines, is only to crave some Satisfaction about two or three Matters of Fact in your Book, which would seem strange to me, did I not find such things too common in Inventions against the silenced Ministers, and did I not know that is part of Satan's Work to pervert the World that no History hath any certainty of Truth, that so fated History may be disavantaged.

1. One is in these Words, p. 101. When they had in the grand Debate given in their Objections to the Liturgy, some of the Brotherhood had prepared another Form, but a great part of their Brethren objected many things against that; and never as yet did (as I hear of) agree upon any other, nor I think even will. I crave the Justice of you to tell us, which was that you call the Grand Debate, and who those were that dissented: or what Proof you have of any such thing: Either you knew what you say, or not: If not; and publish it in such a manner, while you are accusing others of Sin? What is this to be called if you did; it is yet far worse; either you speak of the Woffington Assembly, which made the Directory, or of the Commissioners in 1660. Not the first time, for none, I think, was yet ever vain enough to pretend that they thus drew up another Liturgy. It must needs then be the latter: Of which this is part denial by any but the

1. That the King's Commission under the Broad-Seal authorizing to make some [Additional Forms].

2. The late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Sheldon, when we came according to appointment, to try by Friendly Conference, what Alterations each Party might yield to for our desired Concord; without any injury to their Conferences, began with a Declaration, that we being the Plaintiff, they would no further proceed or treat with us, till we had given them in entirely in Writing, 1. What we blamed in the Liturgy, and our Reasons of it. 2. And what we desired as better. Mr. Calamy and others said, [This was plainly to deny the Conference which we were commisioned for] and they would there have broke off, had it not been for me who requested them rather to yield and undertake it, than give them occasion to charge us with Tergiveration and Refusal of any lawful thing; though I easily saw that the Motioner thought thereby to break us as disagreeing when we came to perform the Undertaking: While others drew up their Exceptions against the Liturgy, they appointed me to draw up the Additional Forms. But remembering the Bishops Words [What we desired instead] I drew up a Liturgy. It must needs be the very imperfect, being done (in necessary haste) in Eight Days: Dr. Reigoldi only thought that we should be blamed for offering a whole Liturgy instead of Additional forms. I told him, 1. It was but to be added to the old if reformed.

2. And they might cut off all that they thought superfluous upon debates, even all that the Bishops should except jutly against; for we did but offer it to them, professing we were ready to alter any thing upon their Reasons: Hereupon Dr. Reigolds yielded, and it was at last read over among us, only the Prayer for the King being thought too long. Dr. Walker was appointed to draw up a shorter; which he did, all the rest standing as I wrote it: It was agreed to without one differing Vote; nor had we one Objection sent us in by any other. I was appointed at a meeting with the Bishops at the Savoy, at once to deliver them.
them this Liturgy, A Reply to their Answer to our Exceptions, and A Petition for Peace and Concord, all which they had appointed me to draw up, and had examined and confessed to. We waited for an Answer to all, and never had an Answer to any one of them; but they kept them and said nothing of them: I was especially desirous to have heard their Exceptions against our Liturgy (when they thought we would have disagreed among our selves) and urged some of them to it, and could never get a Word of Answer, or Exception, which made me wonder, as well knowing 1. How very willing some were to have found it faulty. 2. And how hard it is in necessitated haste to write such a thing that shall not be liable to many Exceptions: Yea, when Roger L’Strange after wrote against us, he faith little at all against the Liturgy, save that we left Men at too much Liberty; to which we then said, That imposing and restraining was not our work, but the Bishops, who we supposed upon Debate, would have too much done it. Now if this full Concord, and no Answer or Exceptions from them that extorted this Work from us, be agreeable to the Report you make, or if you have dealt here like a Minifier of Truth, I pray you help me to discern it. The Book with the rest was printed long ago, most of them by some poor Scriviners, that being used in transcribing, had got a Copy, and did it for Gain.

II. Another Passage is P. 293. No sinful Act being required to make ministerial Conformity unlawful, [which if there had been, they or some others would and ought to have discovered it, and then, I doubt not, it would by Authority have been taken away, but that being not done].

Here I desire you to satisfy me in a few things: 1. When even our Publick Reply and forefaid Petition, against the old Conformity were never answered to this Day, is it ingenious to take this for a Conllutation, barely thus to say [it is not done] should I say [it was yet never discovered that Episcopacy is lawful] would you not have called me—— as long as Savania, Biflon, Hooker, &c. are unanswered? 2. Do you not now what abundance of old have thought they discovered the sinfulness of Conformity (Bradshaw, Nicolas, Anns, Parker, Jacob, Cartwright, &c.) and what Alumdel, Salmasius, Germon, Bucer, Didelowe, &c. have written against Prelacy, and some of late against our Conformity, (Cawdry, Hickman, and others, yet unanswered): And is this your dry Denyal a rational Conllutation?

3. Would not your Words make the ignorant believe that we have the Liberty of the Preb, and may do it if we will? and do not the Act of Parliament, and the sever Search of the Pref, and the Printers Refulfil show how false such an Intimation is: It may be some small Pamphlet may with much a do creep out; but I cannot any thing that is full and satisfactoy: Our Caufe is a meer Stranger to our Accusers; (it seems even to such as you) because we cannot have leave to print it: A few have herefofore when the watch was left strait got somewhat out, to little purpole (Mr. Hickman’s was beyond Sea): But nothing that may make us well understood. And is it fit work for a Minifter to blame Men thus Publickly for not doing Impossibilitys.

4. It must be supposed that you know these things, 1. That the Law forbids us to deprave or speak against the Liturgy upon grievous Penaltys. 2. That the Canon excomunicateth us impo facto, that is, fine Sententia Judicis, if we do but say that there is any thing that a Man may not with a good Conllence conform to. 3. And that our present Governors are against it. 4. And that for doing it we are sure by Conformitys to be called disobedient to Authority, and Seditionous. 5. And that we are so accused by you commonly for Preaching when forbidden, which is as much our vowed Duty sure as Writing. And do you now tell us that we ought to discover it if there be any sinful Act Commanded: Will you warrant us against the Charge of Disobedience, or do you drive us on that, which if we do, you know we are already judged to excomunicated Jailes and Ruine. We have long beg’d of Parliament men that we might but have leave to speak, for our selves (which we never yet had as to the new Conformity to this Day); and yet we might petition for such leave; and they tell us these Fifteen Years almost, there is no hope, it will but ruine you. I have offered two of the most eminent Bishops to beg it of them or any on my Knees, that we might but once publish the Cife and Reasons of our diffent. And is it not enough to be Fifteen or Sixteen Years ejected, silenced, scorned, accused, as unworthy to be endured, and to be silently Patient, and never answer for our selves, nor have the common Justice of being heard, but we must have the additional Abuse, to be told that
APPENDIX. Numb. V.

we ought to do it: Yes, many of the Conformists (O, with what a Face!) have published to the World, that we take not the things which we refuse for Sins, or dare not lay so of them; when even the far calsier Conformity 1660. We did by Word and Writing declare to be sinful, and in our Petition for Peace (Printed) protested that did we not take it to be sinful, and hazarding our Souls, &c. We should never have stuck at Conformity to them. And it is no small Number of Sins fo heinous which we suppose since imposed, that we dare not so much as name them, least we displease you, and make you say that we render the Conformists such heinous Sinners! But I will alledge your Authority when any of us are next blamed for discovering the heinous Sinfulness of Conformity, as we yet believe it would be to us.

If you say that the Licencers would licence our Writings, if we did it with Sobriety: 1. You know that the Canon and Law is against it. 2. I shall then in Justice challenge you to make it good, and here promise you an account of my Nonconformity whenever you will procure it licensed.

6. And which way got you so strong a Faith as to be past doubt that did we discover any foulnefs, it would by Authority have been taken away.] Make this true yet (after near Two Thouand Ministers have been near Sixteen Years ejected and flencsed, and many killed by Imprisonment, and the People of the Land divided and distracted by the training Engines) and you shall have the Honour of being the greatest healer of our Breaches, that ever rofe in the Days of my Remembrance: But if it be not true——

III. The Third Paffage is p. 69, 70. throughout; These are great things to be spoken so boldly: 1. Do you suppose your Reader one that never read Church History? What Work the Bishops made for Arrianism, for Neophyrites, for the Eutychians, and Acpelhitis, against Nazianzen, Chryfam, &c. for the Monothelites, about the tira Capitula for Images, against Emperors and Kings, setting up the Pope, and decreed the Deposition of all Princes that obey him not, and making Loyalty to be Heresi Henriciana: How the River Orante at Antioch hath been coloured with the Blood, and the Graves of the Monks and People that fought it out in the Streets for the Seueral Bishops, what work they made at the firft Council at Conflance, the firft and the second of Ephefus, the Council at Caledon, and many another? How many Ages they were, and yet are the Army of the Pope, to subdue Princes and Nations, Truth and Justice, and set up the Evil that now reigneth in the Christian World. How even against the Popes Will, they made the beft King and Emperor, Ludovicus Pius, as a Penance, reign his Crown and Scepter on the Altar, to a Rebel Son, and lent him to Prifon. He that ever read but Baronius, Binnius, or other Episcopal History will pity you, can you name one Presbyter for very many Bishops that have been the Heads or Pomerets of Herefie, Schift, or Rebellion? and yet Presbyters were more in Number than Bishops? Immumerable Bishops with Binnius, were in the Monothelitie Council under Ptolomies. Of all things that ever befel the Christian Church, I scarce know any thing comparable in Shame and Mischievous Effects, to the horrid perrefoulns, Contention, Schift and Pride of Bishops; Curfing one Year by Hundreds all that were of one Opinion, and another Year all that were of the contrary, as the times and Interett, and Emperor changed. And if Arian or Novatus, Arius and Donatus (which are all you name were the Beginners of any Schift, how many hundred Bishops were the Promoters of them all, false of that of Arian against themfelves. And is it any honour to Epifcopacy that Arian, and Arian (an Arian) were not Bishops when they were laid to be Seekers of Bichopricks, and to divide because they could not obtain them. Sure they were Prelatical Presbyters: what honour were it to Epifcopacy that you are no Bifhop, if all thefe, and fuch things, were vended by you in hope of a Bichoprick or fome Preferment. I will never whofe I breathe truf a Presbyter that fets himself to get Preferment, no more than I will truf a—— But did you know, or did you not, that as for Novatus and Novatian, one of them was an ill-chofen Bifhop of Rome, and the other a Promoter of his Prelacy? and that as for Donatus there were two of them, one of them a Bishop; and that the Donatifs Schift was meere and basely Prelatical, even whether their Bifhop or Ccefsiam should carry it? and that their Re-baptizing and Re-ordinating and Schift was because they took none to have power that had it not from their Bishop, as being their right, (like our Re-ordinaters). And are these influences to prove what you affect?

were
Numb. VI.  APPENDIX.  

1 Were it not for entering upon an unpleasing and unprofitable Task, I would ask you, 1. Who that Juncto of Presbyers was that dethroned the King? was it they that petitioned and prosecuted against it? 2. Whether it was not an Episcopal Parliament (forty to one, if not an hundred) that began the War against the King? 3. Whether the General and Commanders of the Army, twenty to one, were not Conformists? 4. Whether the Major Generals in the Countries were not almost all Episcopall Conformists? (The Earl of Stamford was over your Country.) 5. Whether the Admiral and Sea-Captains, were not almost all Episcopall Conformists? (As Heylin dilligentlyth them of Archiphibo Abbotts mind, disliking Arminianism, Monopolies, etc.) 6. Whether the Arch-bishop of York were not the Parliaments Major General? 7. Whether the Epis- copal Gentry did not more of them take the Engagement (and many Epis coopall Ministers) than the Presbyterians? 8. Whether if this Parliament, which made the Acts of Uniformity and Conventicles, should quartrel with the King, it would prove them to be Presbyterians and Nonconformists? 9. Whether the Presbyte- rian Ministers of London and Lancashire did not write more against the Regicides and Ulurpers, and declare against them, than all the Conformists, or as much? And the Long Parliament was forced, and most of them cast out before the King could be destroyed: And when they were restored, it made way for his Restora- tion. And Sir Thomas Allen, Lord Mayor, and the City of London inviting Gene- ral Monk from the Rump into the City, and joining with him, was the very Day that turned the Scales for the King. But all these are Matters fitter for your better Consideration than our Debate. I ref

July 26. 1678. 

Your Servant

To Mr. Long of Exeter.


Numb. VI. A Resolution of this Case; What's to be done when the Law of the Land commands Persons to go to their Parish-Church, and Parents require to go to private Meetings.

Quot. T HE Law of the Land commanded me to go to the Publick Churches; the Canon commanded me to go to my own Parish-Church, and not to another Parish: Both forbid me to go to Conventicles and silenced Preachers. My Father and Mother forbid me to go to the Publick Churches, and command me to go conformably to a silenced Mi- nister in Meetings forbidden by the Law! But specially not to go to my Parish Priest, (saying be is an insufficient and drunken Railer) but to a Neighbour Parish, if I will not obey their first Command! Am I now bound to obey my Parents, or the Law, and Canon?

Answ. It is an hard Task to a Minister of Christ, either so to practice or so to speak, as shall seem to accuse his Rulers and the Laws; but when the saving of our own or other Men's Souls requireth it, there is no remedy. Our own silence, if we ceased Preaching, and our practice contrary to the Law in Preaching or Praying, which is forbidden, do against our wills unavoidably intimate that we suppute great sins to be commanded us: And whether we preach or be silent, while we Subscribe not, Declare not, Covenant not, and Swear not, and Practice not, all that is required of us, this cannot be hid: Though our cautious, and fear of accussing our Govern- nours or the Conforming Ministers, have given some Men occasion to affirm, That we take not Conformity for a sin: or that no considerable persons among us dare say so (we Ipare the Authors, whose published Names are dishonoured by themselves, when prefixed to such words, as he that will but read our Petition for Peace, and our Reply (unanswer'd) delivered to the commissioned Bishops 1660. will say'd all ill before a Doctor, a Preacher, a Christian, or a Man). We profess from the first to this day, that it is a great sin in us to forbear our Ministry, or to exercise it in a forbidden manner, especially when such doleful Divisions and Calamities follow it, if it be not sin, that is required of us: and if it be not, many and beinous sins, our peace in suffering will have some less reason to that, than we have thought it had. 

There-
APPENDIX. Numb. VI.

Therefore being urged, I cannot in Conscience deny a plain Answer to this Question. But I depair of satisfying those Men that must have that which Auguftine said he hated, viz. A plain Answer to a long and hard Question; and that cannot away with distinction, when distinct Matters must be spoken to. Let such Readers call this An-
swer aside, as being not suited to their Wits and Dispositions.

1. We must distinguish between an Infant or Child in the Parents Family, and
one that is at Age, or gone out of the Family.

2. Between a thing that is either Duty or Sin or Indifferent, in it self by the Law of
God, and Men thinking it to be fo, or not fo.

3. And particularly between a Minifter unjustly silenced, and People unjustly prohibited
to meet, and those that are unjustly silenced and forbidden.

4. Between the Prohibition or Command of the Civil Magistrate, and of the Bi-
shop.

5. Between the Command of Laws or Parents, to hear such and such Minifters,
and their Prohibition not to hear others, nor joyn in such Assemblies.

6. Between an Act of Formal Obedience to a Command, and an Act of Prudence
moved by the good or hurt that will follow.


I make use of all these distinctions in resolving your Doubt by these following
Propositions.

I. There is no Power but of God, and none above God, nor against him, or an-
y of his Laws. All Laws are null to Conscience, as being no Acts of true Au-
thority thereto, that are against the Laws of God, in Nature or Scripture.

II. Though only Rulers be Judges publicly to decide Controversies, and punish
Offenders, every rational Man must judge discerningly of his Duty, what God's
Law and Man's require: else we were not governed at Men but as Beasts, nor were
accountable for our Actions to God, any further than whether we obeyed Men:
And else all under Heathens, Mahometans, Papifts, Heretics, must be of the Kings
Religion. And then if the King and a Ulanner strive for the Crown, we must
not be Judges whose part we must take: All which are intolerable Consequences.

III. Every true Minifter of Christ is in his Ordination devoted and consecrated
to that Sacred Office during Ability and Life: And it is from the Law of Christ
that their Authority immediately ariseth; as the Lord Mayor's from the King's
Charter; though Men elect, and the Ordainers invest them in it by delivery. And
as he that crowneth the King cannot depose him, or he that marrieth Perfons can-
not marry them, no more can any depose a Pastor, and dissolve his Obligations
to his Office, but in case of such Crimes as God's Law depose him for, and ena-
bleth them to do it: Of which Bishop Bilson of Obedience speaketh soundly, too large
to be here recited.

IV. For a Minifter of Christ to forfake his Calling or Work, while his Vow and
the true necessity of Souls continue his Obligation, and this meerly because he is unjust-
ly forbidden by Man, is to be odiously perfidious and sacrilegious, and a Deforger of his
great Lord and Master's Work, and a Murderer of the Souls which he neglecteth, as
verily as Parents murder their Children whom they give not food to. And no Mur-
derer hath Eternal Life, were it but of the Body or Temporal Life; such being as
Cain, of him that was a Murderer from the beginning; and contrary to Christ, who
came to seek and save the lost.

V. The unjust forbidding Christ's Minifters to preach his Gospel, is a sin so ex-
ceeding heinous, as that no Christian should either concur in the Guilt, or be fo
scandalous as to seem to do it. Had I lived in Germany when many hundred Mini-
fisters were ejected, and the Churches cast into division and confusion, and
Protestant Preachers turned against each other, about the Form or Book called the
Interim, while Melanchthon and some good Men partly conformed to save the Chur-
ches from ruine, and Hyrcan and more were Nonconformists, I would not for all the
Riches of the World appear before God in the Guilt of these three Men that
did Compile that Book (Julius Pflug, Sidenius, and 6lebin Agricola) or of those that
for it silenced or banished Christ's Minifters. 2 Tim. 4. 1. 2. I charge thee before God
and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead, at his appearing and
his Kingdom, Preach the word, be instant, in season, out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort,
with all long-suffering and doctrine. 1 Thess. 2. 15, 16. Who both killed the Lord Jesus and their own Prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men, forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles that they might be saved, to fill up their sins always for the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost. When they persecute you in one City flee to another. —Shake off the dust of your feet against them. It shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the Day of Judgment than for that City. Matt. 10. 11, 12.

VI. God hath set up more Governments in the World than one; and each hath its proper works and bounds; and one may not destroy the other. There is princes, Self-Government, Family Government, Church-Government, and Civil- Government: each hath its proper Ends also, though all have one common End, the pleasing of God. The King in his manner and measure and to his Ends (the Publick Good) is the Ruler of all Pedigions, all Families, all Parents and Churches, all Physicians, School-masters, &c. that is to see all these do their own duty; but not to take their Work from them upon himself: not to take all Men from Self-government of their Tongues, Parents, Actions: not to take on him the part of Parents, Parents, &c. and no Prince’s Laws will acquit a Man before God in any of these Relations while he is in them.

VI. God hath much conjoin’d Interest and Duty: No Man is so much concerned, whether I be saved or damned, as I am myself. And therefore my own Choice and Self-government is first and chiefly to be used in the safety of my own Soul, without which no Man else can save me. Therefore I am more concerned than any Magistrate, is to the Counsel and Conduct of what I put in my Soul, and I have the nearest and first power in the Choice. There is great Controversy in the World, Whether Subjects have a Property in their Estates, which is not at the will of Princes? And it is commonly affirmed, that Property is antecedent to Regiments, which is but to order it for common good, and not to destroy it. But I had rather quit my Claim to Property in all my Worldly Estate, than of my Salvation, or the necessary means thereunto. If the Law commanded me but to use a Physician that I thought unskilful in my Disease; and his Medicines pernicious, I would choose a better if I could, though the King and Laws forbid me; and I would refuse the obtruded Physician and his Medicines: so I would do if they commanded me to marry an utterly unsuitable Wife: And I should judge that as these matters are more my Interest than theirs, so they belong to my Self-government power, and not to their Civil Government. And next my self, while I am young, my Parents being naturally indued with stronger love to me, than Magistrates are, the Choice in such Cases more belongeth to their power than to the Magistrates.

VII. Accordingly it was for Seven hundred, if not a Thousand years, the current Judgment of the Chriffian Churches, that a Bishop mutt beft over a particular Churcb, by the Election or Consent of all the Clergy and all the People, and that he was no juftly called Bishop that came not in by the common Consent of the flock: This is not only proved in the ancientest Writers, even Clemens ad Corinth, and others commonly; but by many Canons, and even the Popes Decretals, for many hundred years, and the contrary is an undoubted Innovation.

VIII. It is certain that neither Civil nor Ecclesiastical Rulers have their Power for destruction, but for education, 2 Cor. 10. 8. and 13. 10. Rom. 13. 1, 2, 3, 4. Even Parents that give life and being to their Children, are jufly destroyed if they destroy them. It is no singularity of Mr. Humphrey, that hath lately written, That Laws against the Common Good bind not in Confiunce to Obedience: It is the Judgment of the greatest Cafuiffs; Greg. Sayn, Pragiaf, &c. in whom you may fee many others: The terminus entereith the definition of relations. It is not Authority (Vas regendi) which is not for the Ends of Government, the Common Good. The Magistrate may order the preaching of the Gospel, and other means of Salvation; but not forbid them, and destroy them. If he do this, it is not by Authority received from God; as Bishop Bilfon afore-cited often heweth, and Bishop Andrews in Tortwir Terti. I have more power from God to use needful means of my own Salvation, than any Man hath to forbid me the using of them.
IX. It is not another Man's saying, [That much preaching or praying is not needful to me,] that will make or prove it so, or excuse me from it. And there is so vast a difference between a found, skillful, and experienced livel Teacher, and one that is ignorant, heretical, a mere artif, dead or dull, that readeth a Cento as a Boy faith his Leffon, that no Man can make it my Duty to commit the Pastoral Care of my Soul to the latter, when the former may be had without a greater hurt than the benefit will compensate. Nor will other Mens Crosses, Opinions, or Appetite herein, suffice to satisfie me against my Senfe, Reafon, and my own and other Mens Experience.

X. Yet a tolerable loft must be born rather than publick Order violated. And feeing our Laws and Church-Cannons allow any Man when he will to change his Bishop or Paftor or Congregation, if he will but change his Dwelling, the loffes of this muft rather be born, than any greater real detriment to our Souls or to the Publick Good. But Wives, Children, and some others, cannot remove their Habitations.

XI. An Infant or Child in minority in his Parents Houfe, as he is not to be supposed to underfind the Laws, so ceteris paribus he feemeth to me to be more obliged to hear the Teacher that his Parents choo[le for him, than one that is chosen by the Magiftrates. As in his Diet, and the choice of a Physician when he is sick, so here. The Magiftrate is an Officer of Power, Wisdom, and Love, but principally of Power. The Paftor is an Officer of Power, Wisdom, and Love, but eminently of Wisdom. The Parent is an Officer of Power, Wisdom, and Love, but eminently of Love: And the works of Love to his Children eminently belong to his Care and Government.

XII. Yet when Children have the true use of Reafon, to difcern what God and Man command them, they muft obey neither Parents nor Princes againft God.

XIII. In the circa sacra or Circumftantials of Religion, so much as should be commonly agreed on by all or molt Churches for the Common Good, the Prince by the Counfel of the Paftors, is the Judge of, and is to be obeyed before the Bishops; unles he leave it only to the Paftors own Consent, and then their Consent in Synods muft be much regarded: ( of which Grenius de Imperio Sum. Potiiff. hath written excellently, notwithstanding Bishop Bumballs difcommendation). But in the Circumftances that are not to be universally agreed on, but belong to the Pastoral Office to vary pro re natâ, the preffent officiating Paftor is the Judge, and to be followed.

XIV. Rules are to be obeyed in all lawfull things belonging to their Office to command: but all lawfull things belong not to their Office. Whether I shall eat once or twice a day, or once in two days? what Meat I shall eat, and how much? what Horfe I shall ride on? what Wife I shall marry? what Physician, or Teacher I shall truft, and what Medicine I shall take, &c. belongeth more to my feif, as is faid.

XV. Intolerable Minifters juftly forbidden to preach are bound to obey, and the People forbidden to hear them, should forbear: But it no more follows that the Cafe is the fame to all others, than that a true Man may be hang'd because a Thief may: If we be unjustly forbidden to Preach while Ability and Mens need continueth, we muft neither obey, nor rebel.

XVI. A Man may go further in obeying the Civil Power that only sets up Publck Teachers or Catechizizers, if they be unworthy, than those that set up Church Paftors, to whom we muft commit the Pastoral Care of our Souls, (if they he unfit,) and receive the Sacraments from them: Of which Mr. Philip Nye's Papers now printed may satisfie you.

XVII. On some occasions it is lawfull to hear an unmeet Miniftcr; and his Sacramental Administrations may not be Nullities, or invalid to the Innocent Receiver: We lobe not our right, when he lochets his reward: But it is not lawfull to encourage any intolerable Perfon in his usurping of the Minifttry, either by ordinary attending
attending him, or by committing the Care of our Souls to him: that is, 1. To such as are intolerably unable in Knowledge or Utterance or Practice; 2. Or to such as are Atheists, Infidels, or true Hereticks; 3. Or to notorious Malignants, that do more harm than good.

XVIII. Though its a hard Question how far other Vices disoblige us from submitting to such a Ministry, e. g. Perjury, Renouncing, Reformation and Repentance, great Errors, Drunkenness, Idleness, and such like; yet I see that can without greater mischief than benefit, have a better, should undoubtedly prefer him. 2. And a Man that feeleth the need of a better to his own Soul, and knoweth how much a Scandalous Ministry wrongeth Christ and the Church, is very unfit to be perfecuted or troubled for preferring his Souls benefit before a Humane Parish Order: For Cyprian and an African Council, in the Case of two Portuguese Bishops, have laboured to prove out of Scripture, That A Libellatike, and so such like scandalous Sinner, is incapable of being a Bishop or Pastor, and ought to be forlaken by the People, though the Neighbour Bishops own him. 2. Pope Nicholas, and the Canons of some Councils, Command that no one hear Mass of a Priest that liveth in known Forseination. And may not a Christian be tolerated in being but as strict against Vice as the Papists and Councils are; and being of the opinion of lo holy a Martyr as Cyprian: and erring (if he err) but as he and that African Council did.

XIX. All this is but Preparatory: To the Case, I say, you must distinguih between the Command and the Prohibition of your Rulers and your Parents.

1. The Command of your Prince is the Command of a lawful Power; and to hear honest tolerable Ministers (such as we have many) in the Publick Assemblies, is a lawful Command (whatever some fay without profit against it) and therefore you ought to obey it. And your Parents are a lawful Power (for the many Reasons which I publickly named) expressly mentioned rather than Princes, in the fourth Commandment: And to Hear and Communicate in the Assemblies of Orthodox godly Christians unlawfully prohibited by Man, is a lawful Command, and ought to be obeyed. Both the Powers are lawful, and both the Commands lawful, and both must be obeyed as far as you can, at several feasons: But you cannot be in two places at once.

2. Intending no dishonour to Authority, I must not betray Truth and Souls, while it is my Office to resolve their Doubts proposed; with submission to better Information, I am paff doubt, that both the Prohibitions in your Case here are lawful, and neither of them to be formally obeyed. That is, in general to take any true Ministers of Christ for no Ministers, or Christians for no Christians, and Churches for no Churches, and so to avoid them, or to take their Communion for sinful when it is not, is a heinous sin: He that thus avoids lawful Communion as unlawful, reproaches the People and Worship of the Lord, and in a degree doth as it were Excommunicate all those Churches, judging them unworthy of Communion. And if it be a great sin rashly to Excommunicate one Christian, what is it fo to Excommunicate whole Parishes, Cities, Counties, or Congregations? Your Parents forbid you to hear in Publick: It is an unlawful Prohibition of a lawful thing commanded by the King and Laws, and you are not to obey it. You fay the Laws forbid you to join with any Nonconformable Ministers and Christians in other Assemblies than the Parish Churches: If they do fo, I humbly conceive that it is an unlawful Prohibition of a thing that God to fome commended, and therefore is not to be formally obeyed. God commandeth us not to fo:like the aflembling of our selves, Hebr. 10. He chargeh all true Ministers, to preach his Word, and be inf tant, in season and out of season; and were be to them that are truly called, and not lawfully defepzed, if they preach not the Gospel, when there is need. He that shall fly, That now in England there is not true need of the joynt Labours of all faithful Ministers of Christ, Conformists and Nonconformists, will but fhew that ignorance or unconfeonable indifference in the Matters of Salvation, as will warrant all wife Men to fuppref their Counsel, and all that know the Fallhood to reject it. Christ requireth al his Servants to live in purity, love and peace; and consequently not to reject Communion with each other as unlawful, when it is not fo, nor to go any further from each other than they needs mufl; nor unjustly to judge one Man, much less Christian Societies. He that in the days of the Emperours of various Opinions (Canonflus, Valens, TheofalusJunior, Zeno, Anastasius, the Lees and others, that were forne for Images, and fome againft them, would have called the Paffors and Assemblies unlawful and mufl for Communion, because they were forbidden, would have been a guilty Separatift. And fo may he be that separates from forbidden Assemblies, P 2
bliss, as well as he that separateth from commanded ones (by men). And if God command Love and Communion of all Christians, as they have occasion, as being one Bread and one Body, what God commandeth and conjoineth, no Man may forbid or put afinder. Therefore I conceive you owe Obedience to both the positive Commands, but to neither of the general Prohibitions of Communion.

XX. But you cannot obey both at once: I answer; Obey both as far as you can; and obey neither when it tendeth to your destruction. If Parents bid you joyne with Hereticks or Rebels, obey them not. If others bid you commit the Paltoral Care of your Souls to intolerable Men, obey them not. But where formal Obedience ceaseth, Prudence must direct you about material Obedience. It is Obedience when we do it in Confidence to the Authority: It is Prudence when we gather our Duty from the End. Avoid that mist that bringeth the most intolerable Conquents, and prefer that which tendeth to the greatest Good. Some dwell where there is no Competition, all the Miniflers being only of one way: Some when the ill Conquents are more on one fide, and some where they are more on the other. And Rituals give place to Morals: Go learn what that meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice. You shall anwer for your own Souls: Neither Parents nor Princes have an abolute or a destroying Power over them, nor any that divinefth you of the Charge or Government of your felves. Prudence therefore in fuch Cases must look to Order, to Publick Good, and to your own Edification, and preferre all as far as you are able; and God will accept you if you do your best, though interest'd Factions be offended with you.

XXI. It is a great Doubt among Capifts, Whether and when the Breach of Hume Laws oblige Men to any other than Hume Penalties? So far as God is offended and his Law broken by the breach of Mans, to far Punishment from God alfo is deferved; but no further. And a Council at Tetenum hath an express Canon, that left Subjects by the Churches Laws should have their Souls enflained in Guilt towards God, it is declared that their Provincial Canons bind only ad paenam, non ad culpam, to bear the Penalty, but not to conclude men Sinners. The Expreffions want skill, but the Meaning is manifeft.

XXII. The Perfon's belief that an evil Course is lawful, maketh it not lawful to him: The effe is before the fire: If God's Law have forbidden or commanded; Man's Error may enflaine himfelf in fin, but cannot change the Law of God.

XXIII. Some that I love and honour, that have heretofore been enflained in A- nabafprity and Separation, in the fene of their Error (as is ufual) warp to the contrary Extremity, and fear not the dreadful guilt of perfuading Chrift's faithful Minifters to lay by the Sacred Office which they are devoted to; yea, and would bind us to believe there is no need, save only to speak to particular persons privately; whereby they should be a year in speaking to those whom they may speak to in an hour, and few be able to do it, and perhaps be thrust out with wrath by the Parish Minifters, as creeping into Holes to seduce filly women, or reproached and fufpected for it. They lay truly, that he that hath gone their former way of unjuft Separation, is like one that in travel feeth here a Log and there an Arm lyce in his way, and therefore should fear to go on in danger. But I tell them further, he that readeth Church History and Councils, what work Church Tyranny and strving to be greater, hath made with Kings and Kingdoms, Churches and Families, and the Blood of an hundred thousand Chriftians, for about a thousand years at leaft, is like one that in traveleth here a hundred Carrifles, and there an hundred, and there a fream of Blood, and there a City ruined, and there a good King furrendering his Crown as an Act of Penance (as Ludovicus Pius did), and there the Streets covered with the Blood and Carrifles of Monks and others, and then caft into the Rivers, by the wars and broils of contending Bifhops (as at Antioch, &c.) and if this Man will go on, he overcometh another kind of warming that [here a Log and there an Arm]. Read but the History throughly, and judge. But what will not Ignorance make men fea?"
Numb. VII. A P P E N D I X.

Drench: I mean, to none against their wills: none but Volunteers or Conten

ners being capable of so great Benefits according to Christ the Donor’s mind: But

this requireth many Cautions, and belongeth not to the Case in hand.

Numb. VII. A Letter of Mr. Baxter’s about the
Case of Nevil Symmons.

SIR,

I Think not the Confuting of any of the Calumnyes that are cast upon me by
Backbiters (whether from Ignorance or Envy) worth any great care or labou

bour, were it not for the sake of the Guilty themselves, and others whom they
may draw into the same Guilt, or hinder from profiting by my Labours, in the
Calling that God hath placed me in. But I will not despise all these so much, as
not to think them worthy the labour of a few Lines.

It is not long since some Gentlemen at a Coffee-House affirmed, That I had
killed a Man in cold Blood with my own Hand, that is, a Tinker beating his
Kettle at my Door, and disturbing me in my Studies, I pittold him, and was
tried at Worcester for my Life. But these Gentlemen were so ingenuous as to ask
Forgivenes, and confess their Fault, and one of them openly to my Vindication.
Though Dr. Boreman, Parson of St. Giles’s in the Fields, that in a printed Pampl
phlet let the way, never did so. (Yet lived three or four years Suspended, or
fupposing himself Suspended, and so died). Another (caractrerized James 3.)
reporteth that I am so hot a Disputant, that at a Gentleman’s Table, I threw the
Plate at him that I disputed with. The whole Story feigned; nor did I ever
know the least occasion for the Report. The greatest Reproach that’s laid on me,
is by Conformists for not Conforming, or not giving over my Preaching and
Ministry: And if they accuse me for not turning Papist, and for not giving o
ver Prayer as they did Daniel, it would have the same effect with me.

But now comes a new one (my Sufferings are my Crimes) my Bookseller,
Nevil Symmons, is broken, and it is reported that I am the Cause, by the excelf
five Rates that I took for my Books of him; and a great Dean (whom I much
value) foretold that I would undo him. Of all Crimes in the World I least ex
pected to be accused of Covetousnes. Satan being the Master of this Design, to
hinder the Success of my Writings when I am dead, it is part of my warfare un
der Christ to reftit him. I tell you therefore truly all my Covenants and Deal
ings with Bookellers to this day.

When I first ventured upon the publication of my Thoughts, I knew nothing
of the Art of Bookellers. I did as an act of meek kindness, offer my Book cal
led The Saints Rest to Thomas Underhill and Francis Tyton to print, leaving the
Matter of Profit without any Covenants to their Ingenuity. They gave me Ten
pounds for the first Impression, and Ten pounds apiece, that is, Twenty pounds
for every after Impression till 1665. I had in the mean time altered the Book by
the Addition of divers Sheets: Mr. Underhill dieth; his Wife is poor: Mr Tyton
hath Lollis by the Fire 1666. They never gave me nor offered me a Farthing
for any Impression after, nor so much as one of the Books, but I was fain, out
of my own Purse, to buy all that I gave to any Friend or poor Perfon that ask
ed it.

This loosening me from Mr. Tyton, Mr. Symmons flept in, and told me, That
Mr. Tyton said he had never got Three pence by me; and brought witness:
Hereupon I used Mr. Symmons only. When I lived at Kidderminster, some had
defamed me of a covetous getting many hundred pounds by the Bookellers.
I had till then taken of Mr. Underhill, Mr. Tyton and Mr. Symmons (for all save
the Saints Rest) the fifteenth Book, which usually I gave away; but if any thing
for Second Impressions were due, I had little in Money from them, but in such
Books as I wanted at their Rates. But when this Report of my great Gain came
abroad,
abroad, and took notice of it in print, and told the World that I intended to
take more hereafter; and ever since, I took the fifteenth Book (for my Friends
and fal) and Eighteen pence more for every Rheim of the other fourteen;
which I defirated to the Poor. With this, while I was at Kidderminster, I
bought Bibles to give to all the poor Families: And I got Three hundred or Four
hundred pounds, which I defirated all to Charitable Uses: At last, at London,
it increafed to Eight hundred and thirty pounds, which delivering to a worthy
Friend, he put it into the Hands of Sir Robert Viner (with an Hundred pounds
of my Wives) where it lyeth fetled on a Charitable Use after my Death, as from
the firft I resolved: If it fails I cannot help it. I never received more of any
Bookfeller than the fifteenth Book, and this Eighteen pence a Rheim. And if
for after Impressions I had more of thefe Fifteenths than I gave away, I took
about two third parts of the common price of the Bookfeller (or little more) and
oft left: And sometimes I paid my felf for the printing many Hundreds to give
away, andsometimes I bought them of the Bookfeller, above my number, and
and sometimes the Gain was my own neceffary Maintenance; but I resolved ne-
ver to lay up a Groat of it for any but the Poor.
Now, Sir, my own Condition is this: Of my Patrimony or small Inheritance,
ever took a Penny to my felf, my poor Kindred needing much more. I am
fifteen or 16 years divifed of all Ecclefiaftical Maintenance: I never had any
Church or Lecture that I received Wages from: But within thefe three or four
years, much againft my Dispofition, I am put to take Money of the Bounty of
fpecial particular Friends; my Wives Eftate being never my Propriety, nor
much more than half our yearly Expenfe. If then it be any way unfit for me
to receive fuch a Proportion as aforefaid, as the Fruit of my own long and hard
Labour, for my Neceffary and Charitable Uses; and if they that never took
pains for it, have more right than I, when every Labourer is Mafter of his
own, or if I may not take some part with them, I know not the reafon of any
of this. Men grudge not at a Cobler, or a Tailor, or any Day-labourer, for
living on his Labours: Why an ejefted Minifter of Chrift, giving freely
five parts to a Bookfeller, may not take the fixth to himfelf, or to the Poor, I know
not. But what is the Thought or Word of Man?
Dr. Bates now tells me, that for his Book called the Divine Harmony, he had
above an hundred pounds, (yet referring the Power for the future to himfelf:)
for divers Impressions of the Saints Reft, almost twice as big, I have not had a
Farthing: For no Book have I had more than the fifteenth Book to my felf and
Friends, and the Eighteen pence a Rheim for the Poor and Works of Charity,
which the Devil fo hateh, that I find it a matter paft my power, to give my
own to any Good Use; he fo robs me of it, or maketh Men call it a Scandalous
Thing. Verily, since I devoted all to God, I have found it harder to Give it
(when I do my best) than to get it: Though I submit of late to him partly upon
Charity, and am fo far from laying up a Groat, that (though I hate Debt) I am
log in Debt, &c. &c. &c.

S I R,

Yours,

R. B.

Numb.
Numb. VIII: The general defence of my Accused Writings, called Seditious and Schismatical.

1. Matter of Right cannot be determined without foreknowing the following Matter of Fact.

I. There is an Enmity and War, through all the Earth, between Christ and Satan: Christ and his Soldiers strive for Light, Love and Mercy or Benevolence. Satan fightheth for Darkness against Light, and for Hatred against Love, and for Hurting and Destroying against Mercy and Good Works. All Christians in Baptism are Vowed and Laid in this Warfare to Christ against Satan: All Ministers are vowed in their Ordination to be Leaders in Christ's Army, and to preach the Gospel according to the Holy Scriptures. In all Ages and Nations Satan hath wofully prevailed against this Light, Love and Mercy, by hindering Preachers, partly by Persecution, and moffy by Corrupting them. Till Christ came as-the Light of the World, the Darkness of Ignorance and Idolatry overspread the Earth. Three hundred years all Princes were against the Gospel: when Constantine owned it, the belt of the Empires of the World long refillet; and to this day, all that receive it are but a sixth part of the World. And in the Christian Empire and Churches, the erroneous and corrupt Princes and Bishops took up Satan's Silenceing Work: Constaninus and Valens and the Arabian Bishops almost extinguished the Orthodox Light: The Gates did the like. The Macedomians, Nestorians, Eutychians, and the Parties for and against the Council of Ephesus, of Council, the Tris Capsula, the Monothelites, the Adoration and Use of Images, and the Councils for and against Photius and Ignatius, &c. left but few Bishops of Nore in the Eastern Empire that were not by turns Condemned and Deposed by the contrary side when it was uppermost. The Pope himself was an hundred years at once, renounced by a great part of Italy.

II. But the corrupt For of Popes out-did all others: They Silenced the Christians that reproved their Crimes, and murdered (lay Historians) above a Million, calling them Heretics. humourous and the Guts Richardson's had before kill'd many, and cut the Tongues of some that after spake by miracle: but the Pope made more general Defolation. In the Wars between many Emperors and Popes, Bishops that were for the Emperours were damned as Heretican Heretics, and decreed by Councils to be burnt when dead. General Councils decreed to Excommunicate and Depose all Temporal Lords that would not Exterminate as Heretics, all that were against Tranubfubftantiation, and such like. Divers Popes did fo notoriously do Satan's Work, that they interdicted the Preaching of the Gospel, and all Publick Worship of God, to England, France, and other whole Nations, for a Quarr with the King. Robert Grosbead, the holy Bishop of Lincoln, wrote to Innocent the Fourth, That the bintering of the preaching of the Gospel was next the Sin of Lucifer and Antichrift, the greatest in the World, and not to be obeyed by any Christian, whoever commanded it. As Reforming Light arose, Papal Silenceing and Cruelty increased, till Inquisitions, Flammes, Mafsmaces, in Spain, Low Countries, Bohemia, Germany, France, Ireland, and England, had made thise Murders and Devastations, which no true Christian dare own.

III. At this day, the Light of clear found Doctrine is obscured, and such Preaching silenced or ceased in most of the Christian Churches on Earth: Besides the bloody Persecutions which met thofe honest Jesuits and Fryars that preached in Congo, Japan, China, and other Heathen Lands: In Africa, Egypt, Syria, Assyria, Armenia, there is very little Preaching at all; yea, want of Printing keeps them without the holy Scripture, which is rare and in few hands. Turkish oppression hath fo defiled the Greek Church, that found Preaching is rare among them. In all the Empire of Muscovy Preaching is long ago put down, left Men should preach Sedition. Among most Papists and Protestants beyond Sea, it is turned too much into Inquifitives against one another. This is the Success of Satan's War.

IV. Being
IV. Being vowed doubly to Christ (in my Baptism and Ordination) I had been a perjured Traytor against him, if I had not hated this Sin, and done my part in my place against it. There is no Age or Land so good, where Christ and Satan, Light and Darkness have not this War; and Secular Interests or Quarrels are made Satan's Advantages, who pretendth to great Power in Disposing of the Riches and Honours of the World. This War ended not in England with Queen Mary's Reign. The unhappy Differences of Frankford came over with the Exiles: One Party running into Extremes against Episcopacy and the Liturgy, and the other forbidding not only them, but all Ordained Ministers, to preach or expound any Doctrine or Matter in the Church or elsewhere, without further Licence. I lived to see so much of the Effects of these Differences as grieved my Soul: Excellent Preachers, and of Holy Lives, maltakingly cenfurous against some lawful Things, and Silenced for it; some flying to America, and some abfconding here. I saw the divided Passions and Divisions thus caufed; and how much it exiguous-ed Christian Love: At last we all saw it break out into the Flames of an odious War. And even the Ulurpers, that by Silencers pretend their Propriation fell into the Crime which they Accused; and call'd out many Learned Bishops, Doctors and Preachers, for refuing their Covenant, and their Engagement, and their Way of Worship, and for being against their War. Thus Satan's Silencing work went on.

When Experience and Smart brought most Men to their Wits, and they had found that a divided Kingdom cannot stand, and that returning to Love and Unity must be our Recovery; I laboured with Ministers of each Side with all my power for Agreement, on such Terms as we were then capable of: and that was to join in the amicable practice of all that they were agreed in, and to bear with one another in the rest (which were no necessary things): On these Terms War, ceteris paribus and seven or eight other Counties quickly agreed: Ireland profest content: More were closing: But the Divisions of the Ulurpers, and the begun Reconciliation of the Peace-makers (or Pretenders) presently restored the King.

Men were then variously affected, between hope of Unity and fear of Discord, and of the old Silencing dividing Work. That we had one lawful King to Unite in who promised his help hereunto, and declared his Judgment for necessary Indulgence, and that Lords and Knights printed their professed Renunciation of Revenge, and Doctors professed Moderation, did greatly rale Men hopes that there would be no more such Divisions, as should Silence faithful Ministers. But they that knew how hardly Love and Moderation are restored, after the Exasperations of so odious a War, and how few conquer Worldly Interest and old Opinions, and do as they would be done by, feared that still the Silencing Work would be carried on. I was certain that good Men would not be united by coming all over to the Opinions of each other: which Party sever was in the right in all the Points called indifferent by some, and Sinful by others, I knew the Difference would continue: And it doth so. I knew that those that were most obedient to God, would not do that which they judged he forbid them. I knew that if for this they were forbidden to Worship God in Church-Worship, they would not forbear, till Suffering disabled them. I knew that there were so many fuch, and the Suffering that disabled them must be so great, that the Land thereby must needs be divided into the Affiliating and Affiliated Parties: And the more confonable the more confiant would they be: It were well if most understood all things necessary: But that all should understand all indifferent things (that might be commanded) to be indifferent, I knew would never be, if all the Land were Doctors. It was easy to know what Exasperations of Mind all this would caufe, and what a Conquell Satan would make here, against Light, Love and Mercy, that is against Christ.

In the deep Sense of this Danger I set my self to try, whether Terms of Possible Concord might be obtained: The London Ministers joined: The King greatly encouraged us; First by his Declaration at Broday, and that against Debauchery. Next by Personnel Engaging us in a Treaty with the Bishops, and his Promise that he would draw them to meet us, if we would come as near them as we could. Then by his gracious Declaration, and the Testimony there given of our Loyalty and Moderation. Then by his Commission to treat for Alterations of the Liturgy; But the Bishops denied the Need of any Alterations, and daft all our Hopes: And the Convocation and Parliament call by the King's Indulgence; and iftied all in the Act of Uniformity.
I was the more earnest to have prevented this, because I knew not but that most of the whole Ministry of the Kingdom might have been Silenced on one day: I knew what was said against much that is imposed: And I knew that near Ten thousand Ministers had Conformed to what the Parliament had imposed, and molt taken the Covenant, and used the Directory and not the Common Prayer. And how knew I that only Two thousand would stick at the New Imposthions, and Seven thousand obey them (and Affent and Conform to the New Book which they (mostly) never saw, it coming not out of the Press till too late).

V. While I was engaged in this Treaty by the King, the Bishops denied all further Debates with us, till we had given them in Writing all the Faults that we found in the Liturgy, and all that we deemed in Head, or as Additions: So that we did by Authority and Demand, write and deliver (as our Proposal before, fo) our Defires and Reasons of the mentioned Alterations, and a long and humble Petition to prevent the foreseen Breach, and our Reformed Liturgy, and Reply to their contrary Reasons: which some Scribes for gain after printed; I knew not who, with abundance of Errata.

VI. After this 1663. the King revived our hope in part by a Declaration of his Judgment and Purposle for our Leave to Preach and Worship God.

VII. In this Case I continued Silent as to any further Suit or Plea, keeping constantly in the Communion of the Parifh Churches where I lived, till in 1668. I was imprisoned for Teaching a few ignorant Neighbours, whom thereby I drew with me into the Church, and was delivered by righteous Judges.

VIII. The Lord Keeper Bridgman near that time, called some of us as by the King's pleasure, to Receive and Treat of some Proposals offered for Comprehension and Indulgence; and appointed Bishph Wilkinson and Dr. Burton, to Treat with Dr. Manton, and Dr. Bates and me, which required that we opened to them our Cafe. We came to a full Agreement, which Judge Hale, then Lord Chief Baron, greatly approving it, drew up in an Act to be offered the Commons; who Voted to receive no such Act: and defeated the King's Offer and our Hopes.

IX. In 1672. the King again declared not only his Judgment, but Resolution for our Leave to Preach, and gave us actually Licences: But many Church-men opposed it, and called it Schism, and diffwaded us from using our granted Liberty, and said we were bringing in Popery by it: And the Parliament was against it, and caused the King to reverse his Licences. And in this time I wrote my Books against our Silencing in Defence of the Liberty granted by the King, though they were after printed.

X. After this, Bishop Gunning of Ely urged me to declare the Reasons of our Nonconformity; and said, He would Petition the King to force us to it, that we might be Answered, and not keep up a Schism, and not tell for what. I told him, I would beg leave to do it on my knees, but durst not, left they that called for it could not bear it.

XI. And the Right Reverend Bishop of London urged me to the fame; and said, That the King took us as not Sincere, because we fo long forbore Conforming, and declared not our Reasons. To whom I gave the same Answer.

XII. The Earl of Orrery told me Bishop Morley proposed some Terms for Concord to keep out Popery, and urged me to draw up for the said Bishop what we must have granted: which I did, and had the Bishops frustrating Answer.

XIII. An other time Dean Tilley and Dr. Stillingfleet moved us to a Treaty for Concord, as encouraged by Bishop Morley and others: And we gave them all our Defires in terms: which they seem'd to content to, if the Bishop had not reject

e it.

XIV. After this I wrote a Book of the True way of Universal Concord, and directed it to Bishop Morley and Bishop Gunning, as the Men that I meant that had fru...
strated our hopes. On which Bishop Gunning sent Dr. Crouther to invite me to a Conference; and our Debate three days was, Which is the true way of Universal Concord? which he maintained to be by Obedience to the Legislative and Judicial Governing of the College of Bishops. I drew up the Sum in three Letters to him, maintaining Universal Communion, but denying all Foreign Jurisdiction, and the possibility of one Humane Sovereignty, Monarchical or Arbitrational, over all Kings and Churches and all the World.

XV. After and under all this Discourse, Pulpits and Prebs, by Men not to be defpised, openly accused us as Contriving and Designing a Rebellion, by continuing Nonconformists when we had nothing to say for it. So that now our Silence pail almost into a seeming Confession of an intended Rebellion.

Now I appeal to Reason and Conscience, to Christianity and Humanity, Whether all these Calls of Kings and Bishops, Friends and Accusers, justify not a Serious Account of our Case, after Fourteen or Seventeen Years accused Silence.

XVI. Yet after all this I durst not, I did not write either any Justification of our Scruples, or any Reasons to prove the Impositions sinful (till that I gave the Reasons for our not ceasing to preach, and against a spurious sort of Diocesan of some Innovators Description) But only barely named de facto, what it was that we feared as sin, professing over and over not to accuse the Law or the Conformists.

XVII. And that which on all these Provocations I have done in many Books, is but these two things:

1. To beg for Concord, and prove, and it never was nor will be had, by forcing all to profess content to numerous, doubtful, unnecessary Things, but only on Terms few, plain, and necessary, in which all found Christians are agreed.

2. To beg for mercy (not of so much to many hundred suffering Ministers, and many Thousands dissenting godly Christians (such as no Nation under Heaven, out of his Majesty’s Dominion, hath better that I can hear of), but specially for many more thousand needy, ignorant, untaught Souls: For I wrote with respect, 1. To the Case of the whole Land, before I knew that Seven thousand of the former Incumbents would stay in. 2. To the Case of London in the dreadful Plague, when infected Men cried for help, and had no Teachers, the Padres being fled, and the Nonconformists prohibited: And about a dozen that ventured (and as Grofshep spake, obediently disfobey’d) few wondrous Success of their Labours in the Penitence of the afflicted humbled Crowds. 3. To the Case of the Fire that the next year burnt City and Churches, and many years but few Capacious Tabernacles were built, so that Publick Worship mostly ceased: And hundred Thousands of undone Persons should then have had special Comfort and Counsel: But the Nonconformists were forbidden till. 4. I had special respect to the Case of Great Parishes, such as Martins, Giles, Stepney, and many more, where Ten, Twenty, Forty thousand persons have no room in their Parish Churches, and Mahometans use some Publick Worship. And what shall all these Persons do? who by Custom excused by Necessity, grow to live willingly like Atheists. In my Poverty I built a Tabernacle in Martins Parish, and though I have the Bishops Licence to preach in London Dioceses, I could not be suffer’d to use it, though I would have had the Liturgy thee said: And I thankfully and gladly accepted of Dr. Lloyd’s Conscient to take it for the Parish use. 5. I never beg’d leave for any to preach, but loyal, found, peaceable Men; and that only where there was plain Necessity, and for nothing of Salary, and only under Government and Laws of Peace. And I thank God that all the Passions, Provocations, Temptations and Trials that have riven, have drawn to Plots, or Rebellion, or Difloyalty, no one Person that I can hear of, of all those that I was acquainted with, and for whom I then begg’d for Liberty and Mercy. And most of them are gone out of a Malignant World, to their Everlasting Rest.

XVIII. The contrary-minded, while they cried down Division as well as I, left us but these three impossible ways to cure them.

1. To make all Men and Women so much wiser than themselves, as to know all their Things called Lawful to be so indeed: (when we can get too few to understand their Catechism).
2. Or else to get all that fear God to obey Men in doing what they think God forbidden, and leaving undone what they think he commandeth.

3. Or else to punish those that will not do this, to utter Disableness, Extirpation, or Death. The two first ways I was sure would never prevail: And I knew that the third would cost so dear, as that no Ceremonies, Forms, or unnecessary Oaths or Covenants, would finally bear the Charges of it: The Blood of the faithful is of hard digestion, and Jude his Confession hath an awakening Day, when his Companions in Guilt will call him off: And God eterneth such Blood precious: And when the Jobb is done by it, it leaveth an Everlasting Odium on the Doers, and Shame upon their Caufe: And their own Succeffors dillow it, and say, If we had lived in the days of our Fathers, we would not have been Partakers with them in this Blood: And they build their Sepulchres whom their Fathers flew, and Saint them that were defpiled (as Martin, &c.) And the Moderate must come after to heal all, by crying Shame on the Cruelty of their Predecessors, as Salvian, Clemangis, Erasmus, Epenetus, Cajander, Grotius, and such others do; and lay as Tertullian, Solutidinum faciunt & pacem vocant. But the final Reckoning will pay for all.

Some day, We and other Countries have lived in Peace on the Terms that you call immoveable.

Anf. It's true, of some kind of Peace: So they do in Spain, Italy, Turkey, Mofcovy, &c. keep Men so ignorant, that they hall not now know Duty from Sin, nor trouble their Heads about God's Law, and in Satan's Darknesse you may keep Men in his Peace; and they will venture their Souls on the Opinion of them that can hurt their Bodies. But when Christ bateareth this Garrison of Satan, he breaks this Peace. And I knew that in England many score Thousands would never return to this ignorant Peace.

XIX. As I was sure that there was no hopes of Peace, in any but the way of plain Christianitie, so I found that all the wifest, and famoufleft Lights of the Church, and greatest Peace-makers, had still been of the fame mind. The Primitive Churches for Three hundred years did lay their Unity on this ground; and by Degrees Divisions grew up as needless Impositions grew. Nazianzen, Hilary, Vincentius Lerin, &c. and since Erasmus, Ferus, Cajander, Grotius, Acottius, Bergius, Junius, Uher, Hall, Davenant, Chillingworth, Hale, &c. go all this necelTary way. And when my dearest Friend, the Lord Chief Justice Hale, was not far from death, I wrote to him to leave his Judgment in Writing to the World, of the true way to Heal out present Breaches; And he left for me that ufe three finall Tractates before written, which I published: Preaching that all our Divisions and Calamities come, by making that to feem part of Religion which is none, and that to be necelTary which is not so.

XX. But left any racked words of mine should be interpreted to be for Sedition or Schism, thefe being the things that my Soul abhorreth, I wrote near Twenty Books almoft wholly against Schism and Sedition, and all the Principles and Reasonings that favour them; on all Extremes: I was discouraged a while to find that the Stream of Philofophies, Politics, Canonifls, Calufifls, Papifls and Proteffants, and the greatest Lawyers that I could meet with, agreed that the People are the Fountain of Civil Power, and give the Soveraigne what he hath; and many such Notions: I feared to contradict fuch a stream as this. But being satisfied, I firft confuted it in Harrington 1619, and then punctually in Richard Hooker (though dedicated by a Bilhop to the King) and then in many others of all forts. And for Church-Concord, no Man living hath written half fo much as I. And now after all, I am tingled out as accused for that which I have written near Twenty Books purposely against, and above an Hundred in which this Doctrine of Love, Unity and Subjection hath its due part.

XXI. The words which are misinterpreted as Seditious, by feigning me to mean worse than I speak, leave me and all Writers to the mercy of Miftakers, which are moft that have ignorance and ill-will. I mean no more than I speak: If other Men fa'y that my words dignifie more, they thereby make them theirs, and not mine: God only is the Judge of secret Thoughts. Humane Converfe hath made these Rules of Expofition: Firft, That words be taken in the usual fence of Men that Treat on the Subject that they handle, unlefs the Speaker otherwise ex- pounded them. Secondly, That the whole Scope and Context must expound par-

Q. 2

icular
ticular words. Thirdly, That an odd strained word is not to be taken contrary to the Author's Declaration of his Judgment in many whole Copious Volumes; such as I have written against Diloyalty and Schifm.

XXII. Almost all the most approved Writers speak far more sharply without Se-
dition. The words of Næcianzen, Euclibus, Chryfotom, Hilary, Sabian, and many Fathers: the words of Petarach, Clemericus, Alvaro Pelagius, Erasmius, Johanfienfis, Glenod. Grotius, Jewel, Bilfon, I am ready to cite, far more sharply speaking of the Sins of Civil and Church Rulers than ever I did: besides such as Gildas, Groß-
head, &c.

XXIII. By such Accusers measures I am condemnable if I say but the Lord's Prayer, or the Common Prayer when I am comnanded. ' They may say that I ace-
cute the Church, when I say, that [ we have left undone the things that we ought to have done, and done the things that we ought not to have done; and there is no health in us. ] And that I mean Rulers, when I say [ Deliver us from Evil ] and [ Forgive our Enemies, Persecutors, and Slanderers, and turn their Hearts ] and [ From our Enemies defend us, O Christ; Graciously look upon our Af-
fictions: That we thy Servants being hurt by no Persecution, may evermore &c. That God will defend us in all the Affaults of Our Enemies; That the E-
vis which the Craft or Subtilty of the Devil or Man worketh against us be brought to nought. ] If at the Sacrament a Minifter say, [ If any be a hinderer of God's Word—Repent, or come not to this Holy Table, left the Devil en-
ter into you as he did into Judas, and fill you full of all Iniquities, and bring you to Destruction of Body and Soul. ] What Remedy have I, if any will say that I mean Rulers by these words as Slencers and Persecutors? Yea, or when I read all the dreadful Paffages against Persecutors in the Gospel. There is bound up with our Bibles and Liturgies a Prayer for Families, which faith, [ Confound Satan and Antichrift, with all Hirlings and Papifts whom thou hast already call'd off into a reproueable fcape, that they may not by Seets, Schifms, herefies, and Errors diquift thy little Flock. ] And because, O Lord, we be fall'n into the latter days and dangerous times, wherein Ignorance hath got the upper hand, and Satan by his Minifters feeks by all means to quench the Light of thy Gospel, we beseech thee to maintain thy Caufe against thofe raving Wolves, and fhrengthen all thy Servants whom they keep in Prifon and Bondage. Let not thy Long fuffering be an occasion to increase their Tyranny, or to discourage thy Children, &c. ] The Homilies have many Paffages liable to hard Interpretation. The use of none of these is Seftion.

XXIV. From 1650. to 1660. I had Controversies by Manuscript with some great Doctors that took up with Dr. Hammond's and Petarach's new fingular way of Pleadings for Epifcopacy, which utterly betrayed it. They held that in Scripture time all called Prefters were Diocefn Bifhops, and that there was no fuch thing as our Subject Prefters, and yet that every Congregation had a Diocefn Bifhop, and that it was no Church that had not fuch a Bifhop, and that there are no more Churches than there are fuch Bifhops: And fo when Diocelfes were enlarged as ours, the Parifhes were no Churches, for no Bifhop had more than one: And that Subject Prefters are fince made, and are but Curatès that have no more power than the Bifhop pleafeth to give them. Dr. Hammond in his Vin-
dication faith, That as far as he knoweth, all that owned the fame Caufe with him against the Prefters, were come to be of his mind herein. And we know not of four Bifhops then in England. And the Et cetera Oath and Canons of 1640. and the Writers that nullified the Reformed Churches Ordination and Mi-
niftry, and pleaded for a Foreign Ecclefaftical Jurifdiction, and for our Re-or-
dration, all looking the fame way, I thought they knew the Judgment of the few remaining Bifhops better than I did, and sometime called it, The Judgment of the preftent Church here, that is, of these Church-men, and the English Diocefans: but proved that the Laws and Doctrine still owned as the Churches was contrary to them, and took the Parifhes for true Churches, and the Incumbents true Pastors, and the Diocefans to be over many Churches, and not one alone: whereas the Men that I gainfayed overthrow the whole Sacred Miniftry among us, and all our Churches as of Divine Inflitution: for our Prefters, they fay, were not in Scripture times: Our Parifhes are no Churches for want of Bifhops: our Diocefans are no Successors of fuch Apoftollick Men as were over many Churches, ours ha-
ving
ving but one: And they are not like those that they call the Scripture Diocesans, for they (say these Doctors) had but finge Assemblies. These Men I confident in my Treatise of Episcopacy and other Books. But the Scribe or Printer omitting my Direction, to put still [The fore-said Prelacy and Church] instead of [The English Prelacy and Church] I was put to number it with the Errata, and give the Reader notice of it in the Preface and Title Page, and have since vindicated the Church of England hercrom.

XXV. I hear the angry Protestant Recusants say, [It is just with God that he that hath done more than all others to draw Men to the Parish-Churches, and hath thee Thirty years been Reconciling us to the Papists in Doctrinals, and is now called Bellarminus junior for his Arguments for Liturgies and Forms; and in his Pansophia hath so largely and earnestly pleaded for Charity to Papists, as not Babylonish or Antichristian, should be the first that should suffer by them, and that for this very Book that extraordinarily doth serve their Interest.]

To which, I say, take heed of mis-exposing Providence: that Error hath sof England dear. If I be put to death by them, I shall not repent of any of those Conciliatory Doctrines and Endeavours; I have reviewed my Writings, and am greatly satisfied that I suffer not for running into either Extremum, nor for any false Doctrine, Rebellion, Treason, or gross Sin; but that I have spent my Labour and Life against both Perfecting and caulefs Separating: And that I shall leave my Testimony against both to Posterity; and for what could I more comfortably suffer? It is by decrying their Persecution and Cruelty that I have angered the hurtful Papists, and by confuting their gross undoubted Crimes, more effectually than you do by the Name of Antichrist, Babylon, and the Where: And if their Cruelty on me should prove my Charge against them true, I shall not be guilty of it. Nor will their Sin abrogate God's great Law of Love, even to Enemies, and if it be possible, as much as in you lyeth live peaceably with all men; fellow peace with all men: blessed are the peace-makers, 8c.

The disorderly tumultuous Cries and Petitions of such ignorant Zealots for Extremums under the Name of Reformations, and crying down all moderate Motions about Episcopacy and Liturgies, and running fiercely into a War, and young Lads and Apprentices and their like, pricking forward Parliament Men, had to great a part in our Sin and Mifery from 1641 till 1660. as I must give warning to Posterity to avoid the like, and love Moderation. I repent that I no more discouraged ignorant Rachnefs, in 1662. and 1663. but I repent not of any of my Motions for Peace.

XXVI. I am sure that my Writings (besides Humane Imperfection) have no guilt of what they are accused, unless other Men put their fene on my words, and call it mine: and say, I mean the Rulers when I spake of Popish Interdicts, Silencings and Persecutions. And by that measure no Minifter must speak against any Sin, till be be sure that the Rulers are neither guilty, nor defamed of it, left he be thought to mean them: and so our Office is at an end. If the Text and the general Corruption of the World lead me to speak against Fornication, Perjury, Calumny, Lying, Murder, Cruelty, or any Vice, must I tell Men whom I mean by Name? I mean all in the World that are guilty: And why must my meaning be any more confined when I with the Text speak against Persecution, and unjust Silencing the faithful Minifters of Christ, while I say, that Rulers may justly Silence all that forfeit their Commission, and do more hurt than good.

XXVII. Can any Man that hath read Church-History, Fathers and Councils, be ignorant how dolefully Satan hath corrupted and torn the Church, by the Ambition and Tyranny of many Popes, Patriarchs and Metropolitans, while the humble fort of Bishops and Pastors have kept up the Life and Power of Christifinity? Or can any Man that maketh not Christ and his Church a meer Servant to Worldly Interethyl, think that this should not by all true Chriftians be lamented? Let such read Nazzianzen's fad Description of the Bishops of his time, in striving for the highest Seats, and his with that they were equal: And the fame with of fide ro Pefolosa: and the sharp Reproof hereof by Chriftophom: Great Gratius expoundeth Math. 24. 29. of the Powers of Heaven shaken, thus, [It is the Christian Laity, who after the Apolites times began to be marvellously shaken, by the Tyranny of the Prelates who loved Pre-eminence, and to Lord it over the Clergy by rath]
XXVIII. And had not these Vices conquered Common Reason with Christianness in such men, it were a Wonder that so unprofitable and caufeless a thing, as forcing all Chriflians to Unite on the profefs Approval and Practice of all the needless Things which Chrift impofe, and denying them Communion and Peace on the Terms that Chrift prefcribed, for all his Servants to own and love each other on, should be thought a fufficient Justification of all that Dividing Cruelty of which it hath been guilty. And that Church-Grandees fhould make fuch Schifms, as are yet in East and Weft, and then hate and persecute the Sufferers as Schifticks: Saith Gratton in Luke 6. 22. Scipion f3 Viterum Judaeorum ejus Maimonides neminis, fiquis Innocentem à Communione arcuerit, ipsum excidere jure Communioius: And Dr. Stillingfleet on Archbishop Land, and before him Chillingworth, conclude, That if a Church deny Communion to her Members, on thofe Terms that give them Right to Communion with the Church Univerfal, that Church is guilty of the Schift. Were it not more Chriftian-like, cafe and sweet, to joyn all in the practice of the Laws of Chrift, by which we fhall be judged, with the needful use of edifying Order and Circumftances, that all Sizes and Ages of Chrifiains might live in Unity and Love, than to call out all that cannot Unite on Terms fo far beyond meer Chriftianity, as moft Churches on Earth require. When the Volume of Councils and Canons were unknown, and plain Familiar Difcipline was ufed in the open Church-Meetings, Chriflians were lefs divided: (Saith Gratton in Luc. 6. 22. [Apud Chriftianos Viteres præsidentes gudem Epifcopos & Senioribus, f6d Confeia & Contentione Fratrum multitudo morum judicia exercerantur.) If Chriflians be partial hear an impartial Heathen, Ammianus Marcellinus, who, scandalized with the murder of Men kill’d in the Church for the Election of Pope Damafus, confideth how well it would have gone with Chriftianity, if thofe great Roman Prelates, had lived like the poor, humble, inferior Bishops: See his words. But if Paul’s full Decision on Romans 14. will not bring us to necessary forbearance, no Plainness nor Authority will suffice.
Numb. IX. An Act for Concord by Reforming Parish Churches, and Regulating Toleration of Dissenters.

I.

The Qualification requisite to Baptism in the Adult for themselves, and in one Parent at least or Pro-Parents for Infants, is, Their understanding Confent to the Baptismal Covenant, in which they are solemnly devoted to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as their God and Father, Saviour and Sanctifier, Renouncing the World, the Flesh and the Devil, so far as they are adverse: And the requisite Qualification of the Adult for proper Church Privileges, and Communion in the Lord's Supper, is, That they forfake not the said Covenant or Christianness, but publickly own it, not rendering their Profession invalid by any Doctrine or Practice inconsistenttherewith. And that they understandingly define the said Communion.

II. The Chriftian Churches have universally taken the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, as delivered by Christ, for the Summary of the Christian Belief, Defire and Practice, expounding the Matter of the Baptismal Covenant: Therefore all Pastorsshall Exhord all Houseloders to learn themselves, and teach their Families, the words and meaning of the Baptismal Covenant, and of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments: And shall also thus Catechize such themselves as need their help, as far as they (or their Affiliates) can do it.

III. No Minister shall Baptize any Person, Adult or Infant, till the Adult for themselves, and the Parent, or Pro-Parent, (who undertaketh the Education of the Child as his own) have there professed their Belief of the Christian Faith, and their fore-described Confent to the Christian Covenant, in which they are to be solemnly devoted to God: And such they shall not refuse. Nor shall the Pastors admit any to the proper Privileges of Church Communion and partaking of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chrift, but those who have made Profession that they legally stand to their Baptismal Covenant, in the foresaid Belief of the Christian Faith, and Defire, and Obedience to Christ. Which Profession shall be made in the Church, or to the Pastor before sufficient Witnesses, or to the Diocesan or some other Pastor, who shall give Testimonial of it. And if any shall go from the Parish-Church Pastor to be Confirmed by the Bishop, or received by any other Minister, without the Certificate or Confent of his own Parish Pastor, the said Pastor shall not be obliged to admit him to Communion, till to him also, before Witnesses, he have made the said Profession.

IV. Because in great Parishes, and Cities, where Persons live unknown, and as Lodgers are transient, and too great a Number define nor Communion, and many Communicate only with other Churches, and it is needful for Order that all Pastors know their Communicating Flock from the rest, the Pastor may, for his memory, keep a Register of the stated Communicants of his Parish; and put out the Names of those that deny or remove, or are lawfully Excommunicate, or that willfully forbear Communion above six Months, not rendering to the Pastor a Satisfactory Excuse. But occasionally he ought not to refuse any Stranger who hath Testimony of his Communion with any other approved Christian Church.

V. If by the Pastor's knowledge, or by just accusation or fame, any Communicant be strongly suspected of Atheism, Infidelity, or denying any Essential part of Christian Faith, Hope, or Practice, or to live in any heinous Sin, the Pastor shall fend for him, and enquire of the Truth; and if he be proved Guilty, gently instruct him and admonish him, and skilfully labour to bring him to Repentance: And if he prevail not, shall again rend for him, and do the same before some Witnesses: And if he yet prevail not, or if he willfully refuse to come, or to answer him, shall Open his Cafe before the Church Vitory, or Neighbours Pastors; and if he be present there, admonish him, and pray for his Repentance. And if yet he prevail not to bring
VI. Ordination to the Priesthood shall be a valid Licence to Preach: And every just Incumbent being the Pastor, Overseer, or Rector of his Parish Church, shall as such have power to Preach to them without any further Licence, and to judge according to God's Word, to whom and how to perform the proper Work of his Office; on what Text and Subject to Preach, in what Words and Order to Teach and Pray. But if Canons also be made a Rule, they shall not oblige him against the Word of God: And if for Uniformity or some Men's disability, he be tyed to use the Words of prescribed Forms, called a Liturgy, he shall not be so servilely tyed to them, as to be punishable for every Omission of any Collect, Sentence or Word, while at least the greatest part of the Service appointed for the Day is there read; and the Substance and Necessary Parts of the Offices be there performed; no, though he omit the Cross in Baptism, and the Surplice, and deny not Communion to those that dare not receive it kneeling. And if any worthy Minister scruple to use the Liturgy, but will be present, and not Preach against it, he shall be capable notwithstanding of preaching as a Lecturer or Assistant, if the Incumbent Pastor do Consent.

VII. No Oath, Subscription, Covenant, Profession or Promise shall be made Necessary to Ministers or Candidates for the Ministry, besides the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, and Subscribing to the Sacred Canonical Scriptures, and to the ancient Creeds, or at the most to the Articles of the Church (excepting to them that scruple the Twentieth, Thirty fourth and Thirty sixth, as they speak only of Ceremonies, Traditions, and Bishops), and the necessary Renunciation of Herefie, Popery, Rebellion and Usurpation: and the Promise of Ministerial Fidelity according to the Word of God: Or at least none but what the Reformed Churches are commonly agreed in.

And let none be capable of Benefices and Church-Dignities, or Government in the Universities, or Free-Schools, who hath not taken the said Oaths, Subscriptions and Renunciations.

VIII. Let none have any Benefice with Cure of Souls, who is not Ordained to the Sacred Ministry by such Bishops or Pastors as the Law shall thereto appoint for the time to come: But those that already are otherwise Ordained by other Pastors, shall not be disabled, or required to be Ordained again. And let no Pastor, by Patrons or others, he imposed on any Parish Church, without the consent of the greater number of the stated Communicants. And at his Entrance, let some Neighbour Ministers in that Congregation declare him their Pastor so Confented to and Ordained, and preach to them the Duty of the Pastor and Flock, and pray for his Success.

IX. If any Pastor be accused of Tyranny, Injury, or Mal-administration, he shall be responsible to the next Synod of Neighbour Pastors, or to the Diocesan and his Synod, or to the Magistrate, or whomsoever the Law shall appoint; and if guilty and unreformed after a first and second Admonition, shall be punished as his Offence deserveth; but only in a Course of Justice according to the Laws, and not Arbitrarily: Nor so as to be forbidden his Ministerial Labours, till he be proved to do more hurt than good. And if the supposed Injury to any who is denied Communion be doubtful, or but to one, or few, let not, for their sake, the Church be deprived of their Pastor; but let the Person, if proved, injured, have power to forbear all his Payments and Tythes, to the Pastor, and to Communicate elsewhere.

X. Because Patrons, who choose Pastors for all the Churches, are of so different Minds and Dispositions, that there is no certainty that none shall be by them Prevented, and by Bishops Instituted and Inducted, to whom godly Persons may justly scruple to commit the Pastoral Conduct of their Souls, whose Safety is more to them than all the World: And because there may be some things left in the Liturgy,
Liturgy, Church Government and Orders, which after their best search may be judged sinful, by such godly and peaceable Christians, as yet conform to the Word of God, and all that the Apostles and their Churches practised: And Humanity and Christianitv abhor Perfection; and Human Darknes and great Difference of Apprehensions is such, as leaves us in Despair of Variety and Concord in doubtful and unnecessary Things; Let such Persons be allowed to assemble for Communion and the Worship of God, under such Pastors and in such Order as they judge best; Provided

1. That their Pastors and Teachers do take all the aforesaid Oaths, Professions and Subscriptions, before some Court of Judicature, or Justices at Seffions, or the Diocesan, as shall be by Law appointed; who thereupon shall give them a Tertimonial thereof, or a written License of Toleration.

2. That they be responsible for their Doctrine and Ministration, and punishable according to the Laws, if they preach or practice any thing inconsistent with their foresaid Professio of Faith, and Obedience, or of Christian Love and Peace.

3. That their Communicants pay all Dues to the Paroch Ministers and Churches where they live.

And if such People as live where the Incumbent is judged by them unfit for the Trust and Conduct of their Souls, shall hold Communion with a Neighbour Parish Church, they shall not be punishable for it; They paying their Parish Dues at home: Nor shall private Persons be forbidden peaceably to pray or edict each other in their Houses.

XI. Christian Priviledges and Church Communion being unvaluable Benefits, and just Excommunication a dreadful Punishment, no unwilling Person hath right to the said Benefits; Therefore none shall be driven by Penalties to say that he is a Christian, or to be Baptized, or to have Communion in the Lord's Supper: Nor shall any be fined, Imprisoned, or Corporally and Potively punished by the Sword, meery as a Non-Communicant, or Excommunicate and Reconciled, but as the Magistrate shall judge the Crimes of themselves deserve.

But if Non-Communicants be denied all Publick Trust in Churches, Universities or Civil Government, it is more properly the Securing of the Kingdom; Church and Souls, then a punishing of them.

But all Parishioners at Age shall be obliged to forbear reproaching Religion, and profaning the Lord's Day, and shall hear publick Preaching in some allowed or tolerated Church; and shall not refuse to be Catechized, or to concur for their Instruction, with the Paroch Minister; and shall pay him all his Tythes and Church Dues.

XII. The Church Power above Parish Churches, Diocesan, Synodical, Chancellor, Officials, Commiaries, &c. we presume not to meddle with: But were it reduced to the Primitive State, or to Archbishop Usher's Model of the Primitive Government; yea, or but to the King's Description in his Declaration 1660. about Ecclesiastical Affairs, and if also the Bishops were chosen as of old (for six hundred years and more) it would be a Reformation of great Benefit to the Kingdom, and the Churches of Christ therein: But if we have but Parish Reformation, Religion will be preferred without any wrong or hurt to either the Diocesan or the Tolerated: And if Diocesans be good Men, promoting serious Godliness, and the Sword or Force used only by the Magistrate, Different will turn to Love and Concord.

But if they may Suspend, Silence, or Excommunicate, Arbitrarily, or according to their present Canons (which Excommunicate ipso facto, all Men, Magistrates, Ministers, and People, who do but affirm that the Book of Common Prayer containeth any thing repugnant to the Scriptures, or that there is any thing unlawful to be Subscribed in the Thirty nine Articles; or Ceremonies, or that there is any thing repugnant to the Word of God in the Church Government, by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Arch-Deacons, and THE REST THAT BEAR OFFICE IN THE SAME) without excepting so much as Lay-Chancellor's use of the Keys) And if Men Excommunicate mutlu, as continuing such, be undone and laid in Prison, we must be content with our Peace with God and Conscience, and good Men, and that we did our best for more, and mourn under the calamitous Effects of the Publick Enemies of Peace, whom the God of Peace will shortly judge.
To the Right Worshipful Sir E. H.

SIR,

THE Healing of Christians endangered as we are by our own Diseases, is one of the greatest Works in this World, and therefore not to be marred by halfe, or for want of due Consultation and Advice. Three ways are now pleaded for among us: Of which two are Extremes, and much of our Disease.

I. One is by the forcing Prelates, who would have all forced to full Conformity to their Canons, and other Impositions; and none endured, be they never so wise, or godly, or peaceable, who think any thing in them to be sinful. This way was long tried heretofore; and these last Twenty years, it hath shewed us what it will effect: The Shepherds have been finneth, and the Flocks scattered, about Two thousand godly Ministers Silenced, adjudged to lye in Jail with Rogues, and to utter Ruine by paying Twenty and Forty pound a Sermon, &c. The People hereby imbittered against the Prelates, and alienated from their Party as malignant Persecutors, and as Gnephes and Gibelines, all in discontent and dangerous contention, and on both sides growing worse and worse. And is this the only healing way?

II. The other Extrem is those that are too far alienated into unlawful Separations; whose talk is earnest against that which is called a Comprehension, that is, such a Reformation of the Parish Churches as may there unite the main Body of the faithful Ministers: And they had rather the things which we cannot there confent to, were continued unreformed, that so the best People might be still alienated from them, and driven all into their Tolerated Churches. Concerning this way, I offer to your Consideration,

1. Is it the part of good Men thus to be guilty of that which themselves account intolerable Sin, and that in many Hundred thousand, desiring it might not be reformed, and this on pretence of promoting Godliness; when once their Leaders drew it up as a Fundamental, That [be that alloweth others in known sin cannot be saved].

2. It is certain that there is no way so orderly and advantageous to the common Interest of Christiannity, as Reformed Parish Churches.

3. The most of the People that most need the MinistrY, will come to the Parish Churches, and will grow worse and worse if they have not faithful Teachers; and we shall please a few good People till they are worn out, and for want of a serious believing converting MinistrY, a Generation of ignorant Malignants will succeed them. And we shall come short of the main end of the Ministry.

4. So many good and scrupulous People will leave the Parish Churches, as will fret the Nation (or rather London) in an even balance, and increase the envy of the other part, and one side will talk more contemptuously of the Parish Churches, and the Parish Pulpits will daily ring with Reproach against them, so that the Common People, who will be in the Parish Churches, will increase their hatred against the Tolerated, and they will live in a mutual and warm War.

5. The violent Prelatifs will by this have their ends, and will triumph over them in these Contentions, and say, Did not we tell you what would be the Effect of Alteration and Tolerations?

6. When it is intended that this be but the Introduction of a better Settlement, the next Attempt will by this be disabled, and they will say, You see that they are never satisfied, but are still changing, and know not where to rest.

7. The next Parliament having Experience of these Confusions will recall and abrogate all their Tolerations. These things are easily foreseen. And you that were One of the Eleven excluded Members, know what such Hands have formerly done.

III. The middle true way therefore is Parochial Reformation. This is necessary in it self: This is consistent with the Interest of those that justly desire Tolerations. In a well constituted Christiann Nation, tolerated Churches should be but as Houfes
of Charity, Zenodochia; Hospitals for the Aged, Weak, lame, Blind and Sick. It is consistent with the just Episcopal Interest, and indeed is most necessary support, for want of which a Succession of worldly Adversaries will be against it to the end.

Let us have Christ's true Doctrine, Worship and Church-Communion, and let General Bishops over us keep their Baronies, Lordships, Wealth, and Honour. And we will be responsible to them or any Rulers for our Mal-Administration. But let them have no Power as Bishops, but of the Church-Keys, Et vales quantum vulnere porreft: Let them teach and reprove us, and if they do injuriously pronounce us, Excommunicate, we will bear it: But keep the Sword only in the hand of Magistrates, and be not the Lictors of Anathematizers and Horners by your Writs de Excommunio capienda. The Truth is, Civil and Church Government will be well done, if we knew how to get still very good Men to use it. And the chief Point of Political Wisdom is to secure a Succession of such Men. Give us but such Dioscufans as Grindal, Jewel, Usher, &c. and let them be but Pastors, and not armed with the Sword, and who will expect that they should hurt us? If Kings, that choose Bishops, and Patrons, that choose Incumbents, should be always certainly wise and holy Men, and lovers of all such, they would choose us such: But if they be not (and Christ tells you how hardly the Rich are faved) they will most ly choose such as are of their mind, or as Favourites obtrude; and bad Bishops and Bishops and Priests are the mortal Disease of the Church: And if I tell King and Patrons that the Clergy and Communicants should have a Confecting or Diverting Vote, and to the Door should have three Locks, (the Confect of the Ordinaries, Communicants, and Magistrates) I cannot hope that they should regard me. But I will repeat what Mr. Thoroildike faith, (a Man as far as molt from the Nonconformists) Treatise of Forbearance, There is no purpose to talk of Reformation in the Church unto Regular Government, without restoring the Liberty of choosing Bishops, and the Privilege of enjoying them in the Synods, Clergy and People of each Diocese: so evident is the right of Synods, Clergy and People in the making of these of whom they confit, and by whom they are to be Governed, that I need make no other reason of the neglect of Episcopacy than the neglect of it.

As for them that must needs have all our Cure dispacthed in fewer words than this half sheet of Paper containeth, they are unfit Men to do great a Work, and will do it accordingly, if at all: Statute Books and Councils are much greater. Sir, though Experience deprec my Hopes, the Cafe excite my Desires, which I here offer you; not for my self, who am not capable of any Kindness from King, Parliament, or Prelates that I know of, unless it be to do me no harm, (and much I am sure they cannot do me) but for Publick Good, which is the great Desire of

Nov. 9. 1680.

Your Servant,

Richard Baxter.

The Reasons of these several Articles.

I. W e cannot treat of the Government and Concord of Christians, till we agree what a Christian is, and who they are who are the Subjects. So for the II.

III. 1. If Ministers be commanded to Baptize those Children who are brought by no Parent, or Pro-parent, who taketh the Child as his own, and undertaketh his Education, it will cast out Multitudes of faithful Ministers, who know no right that the Children of Atheists and Infidels, as such, have no Baptism.

2. This Article for owning the Baptismal Covenant is but what the Liturgy pleads for: But when it is laid [We shall admit none to the Sacrament but those that are Confirmed, or desire it] it supposeth that they must give us notice of it.

IV. This is only for a liberty to help memory in great Parishes, where it is impossible to remember all the Communicants; and avoid confusion by the unknown.

V. With-
APPENDIX. Numb. IX.

V. Without this much power in the Parish Ministers, the thing must be undone, it being impossible for the Diocesan alone to do it; and the ancient Discipline will be unavoidably call out of the Church: But if the Bishops will not yield to this much, that will instead of an Appeal from the Incumbent, take the whole Work of Publick Admonition and Censure on themselves. We shall submit to the Obliteration of all those underlined Words, and thankfully use the Power of Suspending our own Acts, and that also under the Government and Correction after mentioned.

VI. 1. How is he by Office a Teacher, who hath not Authority to Teach? 2. We ask none of the Bishop's Office for him, but his own: We leave him under Government, and responsible for his Mal-administration. 3. No Man's Ministry is safe, if he may be Suspended for not laying his Lesion as prescribed just to a Sentence. 4. This will make no Alteration in the Publick Offices of the Churches.

VII. Christ hath made the Symbols of Christianity and Communion: And he that in these Things serveth Christ is acceptable to God, and approved of (we are) Men, Rom. 14.18. 2. Needless Oaths and Covenants and Professions are more useful to Satan, as Engines to tear, than to the Church as means to Concord. 3. But if under the Pretences of Renouncing Hereof, Popery, Rebellion and Ulurpation, Men will draw up enfaring words, against the Law of Nature or Scripture, it is no such Snares that will heal the Churches. To say I renounce all contrary to this Profession is enough. To the Renunciation of Popery there needs no more than the Oath of Supremacy it self, if to the renunciation of [Foreign Jurisdiction] were but added [Civil or Ecclesiastical]. 4. If the Church Articles were more exact it were better.

VIII. 1. Those that cannot submit to a Legal Ordination, must he content with Toleration. 2. The questioning of those already Ordained, need not make a breach, as long as no Patron is forced to preient such, nor the major part of Communicants forced to accept them; nor the minor, if they dissent, forbidden their Communion elsewhere. And this quarrelling at each others Ordination is needless. As the Bishops say on one side, [None shoula be Ordained without a Bishop]; so they say on the other side, [1. The chief Minister of every Church is a Bishop: specially of a City Church. 2. That Ordination is valid which is better than the Papists; (For 1. we Re-ordain them not; 2. Our Bishops claim Succession from them;) But the Ordination used here after 1646. is better than the Papists: For 1. Theirs is to an unlawful Office, to be Mafi-Priests: 2. It is into a false Church (that is, as headed by a pretended Universal Head). 3. And it is from the Pope, who as such hath no power: They profess themselves his Subjects. 4. And the Roman Seat hath had off and long Intercipions. 5. They say that Ordination is valid which is better than the English Diocesans: But, &c. 1. The English Diocesans is derived from Rome, which wanted power, and was as afoeaid, false and interrupted. 2. They have neither the Election or known Convent of the Clergy or People, but are chosen by the King. And the old Canons for many Hundred years null such Bishops. 3. It is meet that the Temples, Tythes, and Pastoral Office go together to the same Men: and therefore that the Patron, Communicants, and Ordainers do all agree: But if they cannot agree, the Patron or Magistrates Judge who shall have the Temples and Tythes.

Memorandum. Here wants the Reasons of the rest of the Articles: if not something more to the Eighth Article.

FINIS.
ELISHA'S CRY
AFTER
ELIJAH's GOD
Consider'd and Apply'd,
With Reference to the DECEASE of the late Reverend
Mr. Richard Baxter.
Who left this Life Decemb. 8th, 1691.
And Preach'd in Part on Decemb. 18th, An. Eod.
Being the LORD's-DAY,
At Rutland-House in Charter-house-Yard, LONDON.

By Matthew Sylvester, His unworthy Fellow-Labourer in
the Gospel there, for near Four of the last Years of His
Life and Labours.

And there was much Murmuring among the People concerning him: for
some said, He is a Good Man. Others said, nay; but he deceiveth the People.
Joh. vii. 12.
But thou hast fully known my Doctrine, Manner of Life, Purpose, Faith,
Long-suffering, Charity, Patience, Persecutions, Afflictions, 2 Tim. iii. 10, 11.
The Law of Truth was in his Mouth, and Iniquity was not found in his Lips:
He walked with me in Peace and Equity, and did turn many away from Iniqui-
ty. Mal. ii. 6.
My Father! my Father! the Chariot of Israel, and the Horsemen thereof!
And he saw him no more: 2 King. ii. 14.
Quis cohortari ad virtutem ardentius; quis a vitii acris revocare; Quis
vituperare Improbos aperius, Quis Laudare bonos ornatus, Quis
cupiditatem vehementius frangere accufando potefit? Quis mortorem

LONDON,
Printed for T. Parkhurst, J. Robinson, J. Lawrence, and
J. Dunton. 1696.
ELISHA'S CRY

AFTER

Elijah's GOD.

2 King. ii. 14.

Where is the Lord God of Elijah?

THIS Day is a great and Solemn Day indeed, made such by Positive Instation, and by Providential Dispensation. Finished Creation: Completed redemption by the Resurrection of our Lord: To which we may add, the Effusion of God's Blessed Spirit in those Gifts and Graces, the Fruits whereof, we see and reap in the Stated Assemblies of such days, are now to have their Solemn Celebrations. And the Execution of a broken Law exemplified in the Dissolution of our deceased Prophet, the Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter, is this day to be considered and improved, by this great and mournful Assembly. Nature, through Man's Apostasy, is labouring and groaning under its heavy Curse: and, in its Aspects, Uses and Effects, it bears the Characters and clear Intimations of God's displeasure towards Revoluted us. Man (once Lord of all) by his Apostacy from God, finds all in Arms against himself. He falls by Death, and is resolved into his Original Dust: His Countenance is changed, and he is sent away: the body dies, and rots, and must be buried out of sight, and his Soul goes to its eternal State: Either to Heaven or Hell; even to which it shall be found most attempted by its disposition and deportment, whilst it was in this World and Body. The Death was penal; and nothing but completed misery had been the certain consequence thereof, had not Grace interposed. But Christ has redeemed us from the Curse of the Law, by being made himself a Curse for us: and by his Mediation he opens our way to Heaven, through Faith, Hope in him, and Holiness before him. And God, for Christ's sake, gave very early discoveries, and comfortable tastes of Grace; and early influences and pledges of our entire Translation in Soul and Body to the Heavenly State. Jonah and Elias escaped Death by a peculiar Indulgence, through the Arbitrary and Undeferred Grace of God. Christ undergoes and Conquers Death: Rises some from the Dead before he Dies, and, by his Personal Resurrection, affur'd us of his Power and Purpose, to Raise his Favorites and Members to an Immortal State of Bliss and Glory: And (having a desire to see his own in their Compleated State) he makes all the haste that the Occumency of Affairs will bear, to complete the purpose of his heart, in bringing us gloriously to our Eternal Rest. Man must be Disciplin'd by God for Heaven: and trained up by manifold Providences for those most blessed Regions whereunto he is consecrated by God. And, as the Providence of this day concerns us all, and reaches you and me, with all imaginable aggravations; so considering my Relations to God, to You, and to Him that's now retired within the Vail) whilst I was reading what part of Sacred Writ I should form some pertinent Discourse up-
on for you and me; this Text arose with a considerable Sprightfulness and Vigour: affecting so much my own heart, as to fix my purpose to infall upon it. And the Lord assist me to discover such Truths, to draw such Parallels, to make such Inferences, and enter such Memorials, as may both reach and serve the truly useful ends and purposes of this Day's Providence and Text, in their best References, to the benefit of you, my self, and others, (a.)

The Clause now read is so impregnated with Sense and Reach, as that to form it into a Doctrinal Proposition, would be prejudicial to my thoughts and purpose: there being so much weight, and such a παράσις even in every word. Whether you consider (1.) the God enquired after; or (2.) the Person, to whom God was so evidently, so eminently, so avouchedly related: Or (3.) the WJagINmative Prophet, so sensible of the absolute necessity of the Presence of Elijah's God with him: Or (4.) The Time and Cause of this Pathetical Inquiry after God: Or (5.) the Parallel which this day's Providence hath drawn herewith: Or (6.) the Memorials which God thus enters as things of great importance to us; and requiring our answerable notice of them: Or (7.) the fit Improvement to be made hereof, by (1.) all in General: (for it is a Publick Stroke and Loi$, and hath its General Voice and Call:) And (2.) by this Congregation and my Self more closely and particularly.

Now seeing the Text it self lies as the Heart and Central Point of the whole Context; we must accordingly consider it. And while we infall upon it, the things to be delivered to you, shall be reduced and confined to the following Heads.

I. The Translated Prophet.

I. It was Elijah, 2 King, ii. 1. one of the Inhabitants (Hebr. Sejuourners) of Gilead. A Man of God, as to his place and work. A period of Eminent Function and Employment. A Man that was to speak from God, and for God, to deliver the mind of God to Men, and to present their Case and Hearts to him. A Man Conferred to extraordinary work, and to acquaint the people with what related to them, as to their Duty and Concerns. He had his Commission from on high, his Office and Function did import both his Authority and his Obligation to Special work and Service. He was a Man also after God, as to the genuine temper and propensions of his heart. He was impracticable for God, and moved in his most delightfull Element, when bated about the things of God. He was a truly person, and, like a Faithfull Steward, he naturally minded the affairs and Interest of that God that lent him. And he was a Man for God, as to his Resolutions, Endeavours, and Deligences. A Man he was of a Prophetick Spirit, acquainted with his Master's Mind and Purpose, as to several Events, concerning them with whom he had to do, of which he had no indications or probable preferable from Second Causes. And he was one of wonderfully prevailing power with his God by Prayer; Witnesses that

(a.) There is one difficulty in the Text not easily to be resolved. And that is the import of the Words, Νεκρο v. which the 70 Render άνθρωπον, or άνθρώπων: The 70 Render άνθρώπος, άνθρώπων. It seems hereby that he and others took it to import something hidden, or occult. The Interlittery render is, Eximia ipsis, Even ipsis: See. Herinicus, Prolog. in Athaliae. The Accent Athala, under the Word Νεκροι, seems to put a period to that clause, Where is the Lord God of Elijah? And there 1 in the 70, being not Copulative, but Converive, refers those dark words to the following Clause; and so Read them. Even he smote the Waters, 1. c. Elijah. They that judge otherwise, think, Νεκρο v. to be Emphatically expressive of a Solicitous and Concerned Mind, in Thoughtful Agonies: Cur non dixitur aqua, cur non dixit, sed Deum as Elias? Vias. The 70, by their Translating άνθρώπον, were either ignorant of the figurative sense of which they rendered thus; or apprehensive of some Mystery therein, or of some Sense and reach thereof, which they either were unable, or thought not fit to tell; Ab, Domine Deus, comiti met Ego. Syr. Subita Petitionem mem Domine Deus Elias, etiam ipsa. Targ. Deprecationem mem Deo, Deus Elias, Arab. Eximia ipsis, 1. c. in gestis Elias, (cur Elias ut est?) ut Sephas sit; etiam ipsa percellat a quaest. Munt. Wei Deus Elias, etiam ipsa? Qui super jecum est filialis, Omnipotens, & Invocatissimae sectae. Lxx. Non dubitabatur de praesentia, aut potentia Dei; sed nutrivar, quin inter quique etiam de negata fuis celata ipsis. T.

but let this be dismissed without any further Notice.
After Elijah's God.

Infants of it about the Widow's Son, who was recovered upon his being sent
Adress to God for her and him, 1 Kings xvii. 20. And how God owned him by
special Providence, is manifest by the extraordinary
Ministry of the Ravens unto his bodily necessities, 1 Kings xvii. 6. But more
difficultly. He was a Man of Knowledge, to whom the Lord imparted the things
that did relate both to his Soul and Function. He understood his God, Himself,
and the People of his Generation; and was ever so wise and furnished to acquaint
them with their Maladies, their Remedies, and their Duty. He was a Man of
Courage, and great Magnanimity, fit to enterprise and encounter the greatest
Difficulties, whereof his God, by Providence, call'd or exposed him. He feared no
Man's face whom he was ordered to Reprove. He dreaded no Man's wrath, that
any way opposed God. He valued not his life unto the death, might he but fulfill
his Ministry, and his Course with joy. He would Run, Act, Speak, Warn, Urge,
or Plead with any Man; and valued no Man's Friendship or Protection, upon any
terms, dishonourable to his Cause and God. He was a Man of very great Severity,
as to Temperance and Conversation. He valued not his flesh to serve his God: he
could be full or empty, naked or clothed, in haste or field: and would not cherish
An Enemy (for paneered flesh is no better) tho' yet he would not enrage a Friend
his first) so far as it might be serviceable unto God. He was a zealous person for
God's Interests, again the fierce and universal oppositions of his degenerate Age,
1 Kings xix. 10. He was all Spirit, Life, and Zeal for God. And what is Zeal,
but the Fervour of Love, working by Holy, when what the heart is most intent
upon, and most affected with, is either evil or selfish? He is truly called the
Tyrhite, 1 Kings xvii. 1, or the Conventer, as the word imports; whence that
Expression; Behold I will send you Elijah the Prophet before the coming of the
great and dreadful day of the Lord. And he shall turn the hearts of the Fathers to
the Children, and the heart of the Children to their Fathers, 1 Kings iii. 12. And
how deep and faithful his heart was in his work, may be dierenced from, 1 King,
viii. 36, 37. Where he thus breathes his fervent heart; Lord God of Abrahams, Isaacs, and of Israel, let it be
known this day that thou art God in Israel, and that I am thy servant, and that I have
done all these things at thy word. Hear me, O Lord, hear me, that this people may
know that thou art the Lord God, and that thou hast turned their hearts back again.
His Function as a Prophet, his Union as an inspired and accomplished Prophet, his
diligent, fervent, constant management of his Undertakings, were things consci-
cious in his days; and are as such upon Record with us. Nor did his Spirit and
power want their full work and Test, and in him we may see such things as
these.

(1.) God's Provident Care to fit Men for the work he calls them to. For they
shall not want their clear Call, their full Commission, their Competent Union,
and Accomplishments, their great Encouragements, and their meet Assurances.
They shall not run before they are sent; they shall be Authorized to do their work;
and all the Abilities requisite to their work, such as Knowledge, and Utterance,
they shall not want. Nor shall they be deficient of what may assist them to
God's preference with them, his Concern for them, his Delight in them, and
his helping hand to Suit them to, Support them under, and carry them through what
they are sent about. 1 Tim. iv. 4. And when sent out, was both par negoio & oneri fiorendo.
His work did not exceed his Qualifications for it, nor was his Enterprize unequal
to his Strength.

(2.) The Cost and Difficulties of Prophetick Work. Elijah had the Royal
Throne, the Priestly-Robe, and the rude multitude set against him; and all that
flesh could any way refer to, to make his Undertakings fruitful and useless to him
everyway. Hardened Idolaters, Apostates, and Traitors were the fiercest
Enemies against the Prophets of the Lord; And it was nor easy for every one to
encounter them: Nor was that Counsell impertinent or ufeless, that the Apostle
thought fit to back with rich Enforcements and Encouragements; as we find in
2 Tim. ii. 3--4. And what fear of Perfons the Prophets of the Lord are like to have
have to do with, the same Apostle shews us, Chap. iii. 1—9. Where he also shews his own evident Accomplishments, Exercises, and Experience, Ver. 10.—12. See also Chap. iv. 1—3.

(3.) The Unconquerableness of Sanctified Resolution, Col. i. 29. 2 Cor. xiii. 7. —11. Rom. viii. 31.—39. Nothing could daunt this Prophet; no man, nor thing, subdu'd his Spirit. He well consider'd the God that sent him, the Perfections he was sent unto, the Work he was sent about, and the Divine Hand that would attend him; and having the grateful prospect of what comfortable things would end and crown his faithful Constancy, he valued nothing that could any way encounter or resist him in his Undertaking. This fixed and admirable Spirit we find Exemplified and aggrandiz'd in that Great Apostle of the Gentiles, in Acts xx; 24—27. xxi. 13. 2 Tim. i. 7.—12. Holy Men of God, and persons sent about his Work and Embassies, look not at things that are seen, but at things that are not seen; and taking things into their intimate, comparative, and impartial thoughts, they quickly see what's fit to turn the balance, and what is most worthy of their Vigorous (though perhaps very costly) prosecution; and therefore are they the more reconcil'd to all their determined Difficulties; because of their promis'd and expected Recompence of Reward.

II. His Personal Translation therefore, both in Soul and Body unto Heaven, was his glorious end and recompence, 2. Kings. ii. 11. Angels conveyed the intire Man, Soul and Body, to his God. This was miraculous indeed; a most instructive instance of Majestick Providence every way. It is appointed for all men once to die. And had that Sentence had its Execution according to it's instituted Course, the Prophet's Soul and Body must have parted; but he that binds us unto this Punishment by Law, will not yet part with his Prerogative. He that determines what's our due, when we transgress his Laws, does not, de nomine, absolutely bind himself to execute that threatening, wherewith he guards his Law. The Law-giver thinks it not his wisdom to multiply dispensations with the determined punishment, though now and then he may pafs by a few (as here he did excuse this Prophet, as he had done Enos before him,) from undergoing Death. And the Translation of this Prophet, hence, manifests and imports such things as these to us.

(1.) That we have no continuing City here, Heb. xiii. 14. 1 Cor. vii. 29.—31. It is but a Pilgrimage that we are in; a Howling Wilderness, a Theatre of Agonies, and of Successive Exercises, and Appearances, to entertain Beholders with various Scenes of Spirits, Actions, and Conclusions; and neither Rest, nor Troubles, Ease nor Pains, Sorrows nor Joys, False nor Emptiness, can be long-lived. Elisha's Course was fill'd with divers and formidable turns of Providence: But now the Accidents of his Work and Perfections, is all over. He hath left these Stormy Regions; and he is no more to be as the Toft Ship upon the prec'd Surges of a broken Sea: Nor has he any Temporal Weather to work in. We fee, in him, that whatever this World may exercise; or vex us with at present; that cannot affect us when remov'd elsewhere. We leave all this behind, when we go hence; and the Translation of this Prophet exalted him above the reach of Vanity and Rage: all that could trouble him is now below him.

(2.) There's another State of things and beings better than this, Heb. xi. 16. For who can think that Elisha was this fetcht away to be destroy'd by Miracle; or to be shamed by a defeat'd expectation of a more Glorious State? He was taken from thee course, infconstant, and disturbed Regions, with great Scorn and State; and carry'd to fir better Mansions, Company, and Employments. And he is now placed where God, his God, is all in all; and where Theocracy is most compleat, most evident, and illustrious, and delightful. There's a vast difference betwixt Heaven and Earth; and, what annoy'd him here, he meets with nothing of above: There are no dark, confused, mistaken apprehensions; no deceitful representations of what concerns him and becomes him; no forbad spirits, no disoblusion and course tempers, no brutish Appetites, no worldly principles and propensions, no vile deigns, and no unworthy ends and aims: Nothing but regent wisdom, holiness and joy. All there is orderly, suitable, and to great satisfaction; vary expressive
After Elijah's God.

expressive of God, beneficial to himself, and beautiful in the eyes of all. How
clear and excellent a Mirror are the Constitutions, Administrations, Entertain-
ments and Employments of the Heavenly State, of God himself! No wonder that
the Apostle said (though in an extase, wherein the Representations of the He-
venly Glory, though excellent and taking, were far inferior to what this Prophet
now behold's) that he heard words unworlable (αὑτην εἰδαλή;) which it is
not lawful (or possible) for a Man to utter.

(3.) That Humane Nature is receptive of, and determin'd to obtain great
things, when its great End and Author pleaseth. Heb. xi. 5. This World (when
taken at the belt; Much more when it is to course and bad) is thought too mean
and little for the Sons of God; for his peculiar Favourites. It is highly probable,
that this Translated Prophet, as he went up, was gradually refin'd; and so at-
tempered unto the Regions through which he was to pass successively; until at
length he was connatural'd to his Glorious State and Mansion in the Heavens.
What entertain'd him by the way, we know not, nor what a preparatory enter-
tainment the Conversation of those Angels was to him, who came by a Divine
Commission to fetch him up to Glory. And we as little know what influence his
so transported Soul (with this high favour from his God;) might have upon that
Body which he took up with him, in order to its convenient Change. We know
how Stephen's Countenance was chang'd, when he beheld through the cloven He-
vens, Christ at his Father's Right-hand, in such a visible posture ready to own him,
to abet his cause he suffered for; and to receive that Soul that did in Martyrdom
so willingly give up its Body. And Sacred Record tells us of Christ's Translat
ation in the Mount, when pleased so greatly with his Father's presence and testi
mony, and with the Converse that he had with Moses, and with this Translated
Prophet, when conversant with him, like Citizens of that blessed World above:
But these things I refer to more judicious thoughts and heads.

(4.) That Humane Nature is very dear to God. 1 Heb. iii. 2. Though it be
doom'd to all that fitly may express and aggravate God's anger to us; and to
what fully may expect the testimony of our Selves thereunto; yet God from Hea-
ven now shineth upon us; and sends us thence both who and what shall greatly prove
our dearnefs to himself. That fuch vile Fleth, and guilty Spirits should thus be
taken up, chang'd and glorified; this speaks and proves us very dear to God in-
deed.

(5.) What early Instances, and lively Emblems of the Resurrection-state God
gave to Men, to raise up their Hearts, Aims, and Expectation. Enoch and Elijah
thus Translated, told Men from Heaven betimes, That Earth is not all that is in-
tended for them; would they be but true to God, and duly provident for them-
selves in time. Elijah, and the 50 Men of the Sons of the Prophets, that were by
Providence Witnesses of this Translation of the Prophet unto Heaven, were now
convin'd (or might be so,) that there is another and a better World than this; and
they might all of them easily infer, from what they saw, that there was room
in Heaven for more than Enoch and Elijah, and that they two were not the only
persons that Heaven should have from hence.

(6.) What Special Notice God will take of special zeal, and faithful service,
1 Cor. xv. 58. 1 Pet. v. 8. ---10. Rev. ii. 10. 2 Tim. iv. 6.---8. Elijah is exalt
ed like himself; God's heart as warm towards him, as ever his heart could be to-
towards God: Whilfe he was here below, he really was, (and Elijah own'd him to be
) as the Chariot of Israel, and the Heavens thereof; all usefulnefs, activity, zeal,
and faithfulness in his day. And having spent his time and strength, as in the
fervours of warm and holy Love to God and Souls; and in Zeal for truth, and a-
gainst Idolatry: So what more answerable to this fervent temper than the fiery
Chariot and Horse to mount him from hence to Heaven.

II. God's avouched Relation to this Prophet.

1. That God which call'd him to be what he was. For Prophets are raised up by
God, Deut. xviii. 15. And he calls himself A Prophet of the Lord, 1 King. xviii. 22.
Re;
Elisha's C R T

He did not act without Commission. Had he run of his own head, where had been his Help, his Peace, his Succouror, his Confidence? He was not any way defective in his Prophetick Union: he knew his Errand, and what he was to say; he knew the God that sent him; he knew to whom he was to speak; he knew how to speak pertinently, clearly, pungently, cogently, and bodily; and all this Spirit that was inspired into him, came from above; from the Father of Lights; and from the Original and End of every good and perfect gift. What had he, that he had not received? and what he had received, was eminently Divine, both in the nature, measure, and design thereof. Had not his Spirit been large and great, and his Tongue touch'd as with a Coal from God's Altar; he had been daunted by his Enemies, and frighted in his own Bowels: but he was like that other Prophet, full of power by the Spirit of the Lord, of Judgement and of the Spirit, to tell Transgressors of their iniquities and sins, Micah iii. 8.

II. That God, whose Intercess and Glory he design'd, and purfu'd, in his whole Prophetick Course. 1 King. xviii. 36, 37. He neither baulked nor flatter'd any. He did not fear the trowns or rage either of armed or enraged Duft: nor did he court the smiles, protections, gifts, or honours of the Enemies of God upon dishonourable and mean Terms. He did not talk, nor act deceitfully for God. He did not seek himself in what he appeared, and professed to do for God. God was the Lord his God; as being most entirely minded, most highly valued, most thoroughly served, most intimately trusted, most closely followed, and most absolutely delighted in by him. And his whole care, purpose and work was this; that all he was, and did, in Spirit, Speech, and Practice, might reach and witness his devotedness and faithfulness to God. His whole self was a daily Offering to God; and to the Concernments of God's Government and Name, he most entirely and faithfully sacrificed his all; as if he had known before, the urgency, and import of that Charge and Counsel, given long after, in Rom. xii. 1, 2. He knew the narrowness and meanness, the insufficiency, emptiness, contemptibleness, and danger of that Soul that is not more for God than for its self; and that it was not worth his while, to live and act, were not his all devoted, and directed to that end, which is infinitely better than its self. He thought God's glory needful; but not his own interest, or being; save to this end.

III. The God which own'd him constantly and greatly, in what he did for God. God kept his Spirit up, and would not quench that Sacred Fire which he had kindled in his Breast. God fed his Countenance, and rendered it incapable of being daunted, by either the loftyest, or most fury Looks. He feared not the face of Ahaz; neither could Jezabel cut him off, nor daunt him by her threats or greatness: And all her Prophets, under her Countenance and Protection, could not prevent their own Destruction at this Prophet's Order. God preferv'd his Life and Person most miraculously; and indeed, faithful Prophets, under Divine Protection, are Immortal till their Work be done. Rather than this Elijah should want Food, the Ravens shall supply him: Nor shall the Curses of Water fail, until this Prophet he refresh'd. The power and prevalence of this Prophet's Prayers want not their Infiances and Illustrations. Such as the Widow's Son rais'd by him from death; and the Drought and Rain that were so answerable to his Delires; together with that Fire that came from Heaven, which so affected all about him, as that Elijah's Order more influenced the People to destroy Baal's Prophets, than all their Interest in, and Relation to, and Patronage from, that Idolatrous Court, could countervail or hinder.Should we infall upon the Ministry of an Angel; or on God's own so awful, and yet so apposite appearance to him; or on his Executed Doom upon Mazzab and his Meflengers; or upon his Wonder-working Mantle dropped upon Elijah, after he was taken up from him; all this would evidently show, how much Elijah had God's Eye, Ear, Heart, and Hand, to second him in all that he spake and did for God. God left him not, when he thought all the Seed of God cut off; and no Prophet left behind, but his own self to do the work of God. Indeed, his Life was fill'd with wonders; and his own Experienced Deliverances and Prevariances were so manifold, reasonable, and wonderful, as if God's Providence, towards him, determined to be a Sensible Comment upon his own Name.

IV. That
IV. That God who so miraculously took him up to himself at last, Heb. xi. 6, 
That God that fitted him for Heaven, and made him value faithfulness, and glory
more than any thing, at length remov’d him to himself, and plac’t him where he
long’d andlaboured to be. We are told, that God has a desire to the works of his
own hand, Job xiv. 15. Which paffage seems to intimate, as if God long’d to see
his Works in their determined perfection, especially his Favourites, wrought
with such skill and power, 2 Cor. v. 5. to fuch a glorious state as Heaven. And
what more congruous, and expectable by Divine Constitution and Indulgence, than
that Elijah’s God who was his end, should be his refi, and his Eternal Joy’ Phil.
xvi. 8.--11. How much of Miracle was in this thing, no Man can tell. This
we are sure of, no one, but God, could do this for any; and none but Elijah’s God
would do it for him, Heb. xii. 11, 16.

III. The Inquisitive Prophet after Elijah’s God.

I. It was Elijah. One whom Elijah found at the Flow; and whom God or-
dered to succeed his Master in his Prophetick Work, 1 King. xix. 16, 19. Whence
several things may be observed; as,

(1.) Men lose nothing by diligent attending upon their Calling. David was
minding Sheep, when he was sent for to be Anointed King: The Shepherds
were in the Fields, when the Angelick Hoft faluted them with fuch joyful ty-
dings, and were diligently looking after their Flocks there. Amos the Prophet
was among the Herdmen of Tekoh, when God represented to him Jerusalem’s
Doom. The Eunuch was on his way returning to his Milrefs the Ethiopian
Queen, when Philip met him, by the Spirit’s order, Convince’d, Converted, and
Baptiz’d him. And this Prophet was about his busineses when God confer’d this
honour upon him, to succeed his Master in his Prophetick Union and Employ-
ment.

(2.) God chooses whom he pleases to serve the purposes of his Church and King-
dom. All are alike to him, who needeth none. All the Accomplishments Men
have (though wonderfully various and great,) they have from him. He doth not
find his Instruments fit, but makes them so, to serve his mind and purpose. Wit-
ness his After-Prophecies, Apoftles and other Ministers. He can clear the dullerst
Eye; open the clofeft Ear; and fet at liberty the Stammering Tongue: and or-
dain great Strength for Babes and Sucklings. Moses his backwardness to his ap-
pointed Embafty, was founded upon but a trivial excuse, when he pretend’d that he
was not eloquent, but flow of Speech and Tongue; nor could his excuse abide the
Teft, nor fatisfie himself; when he was told who it was that made Man’s Mouth;
and that the Lord that sent him was he that makes the Dumb, the Deaf, the Seeing,
and the Blind; and when he was affur’d that God himfelf would be with his
Mouth, and teach him what he was to say, he then provoked God to anger, by
being too folicitous about his own infabilities, when he had been Confirnmed to go,
by God, Exod. iv. 10. --16. And when another Prophet complained that he
could not speak, in that he was a Child; God told him how unfit it was, for him
to fay fo, faying God affur’d him of his own pre fiance with him, Jer. i. 6.--8.

(3.) God takes great care to fill up all the Vacancies which he makes by Pro-
vidence, when it may be serviceable to his own Designs. Elijah goes to Heaven,
but Elijah rises up, to do the Translated Prophet’s Work. Thus Moses dies, but
there rises up a fubftitute to succeed him. Nadab and Abihu are carried off, but Eles-
zar and Ichabaz come up in their ftead. Whilst God has work to do for Pro-
phets; when Sins are necfarrily to be reproved, and Souls to be inform’d con-
verted, edify’d, and faved; when Solemn Worship is to be preferved in Exer-
cife; and when People need their Guides; God takes care in all Succesfve Ages, to
send forth Labourers (yea, to thrust them forth) into the Harveft.

II. It was endear’d Elijah to his Master, by that Mantle which fell from Elijah
upon him, according to his hearts defire, 2 King. ii. 9.--14. Elijah lov’d him
dearly, and expected great things from him: Whence we may further note,

(1.) Any
(1.) Any thing wins the heart which is appointed thereto by God; Word, Look, Touch, or Sign. God openeth the heart as he sees fit. Any thing does every thing, when it comes forth as in the Word of the Lord. Elieiz^s Mantle cast upon Elifba, strangely stole his heart away. Something was done; Elifba knew not what; and Elifba seem'd to wonder at the thing; Go back again (Eli{hah he) for what have I done to thee? So much was done, as that Elifba had no power to mind his other work, gave to attend Eliah, and to Minister to him, 1 King, xix. 19.—21. Where is that heart that can withstand God, when God has a mind to work it over to his Ministers, Members, Service, or himself?

(2.) Hearts touch and won by God cleave fast to him, and stick at nothing. Elifba, he left all; his Kindred, Flocks, and Interest, to Minister and cleave unto his Master. So did the Apostles, St. Paul, and others, who have professed themselves to be Constrained by Love. How urgently did Eliah press Elifba to be gone from him? 2 King, ii. 2—6. But he clave faster to him. How urgently were the two Daughters in Law of Naomi press to return each of them to their Mothers house? And yet how loth were they to leave her? but afterward Orpah kiss her only; but Ruth clave to her, and warmly told her, that whithersoever she went, the she would go with her; the same Lodging should serve them both, and that Naomi's God and people should be her God and People too; that where she dy'd, there would her Daughter also dye, and there would she be bury'd; and bound it with an Oath, that nothing else but Death should part them, Ruth, i. 11. —18. and Ruth loft nothing by it. God makes the safest Friends and Friendship: it is his work to joya our hearts too close together to admit divorce: nor is it in Man's power to make one fast Friend to himself. And as nothing binds so strongly as genuine and fervent love; so is it in God's power to quench or kindle Mens Affections; and so to eftablish or dissolve all Friendship.

(3.) Engaged hearts to Divine Services and Enlargements, look quite beyond all Secular Relations and Concerns, Gal. i. 15, 16. Master (say the Disciples) we have left all and followed thee. Christ tells us plainly, That we can be his Disciples, upon no other terms than these, viz., That Father and Mother, &c, and all Secular Entertainments, and Concerns be left for him, Mat. x. 37.—39. xix. 21, 27. ---29. No Man (saith Christ) having put his hand to the Plow, and looking back, is fit for the Kingdom of God, Luk. ix. 62. How eminent an Inheritance, and Exemplar, of this thing, was the Great Apostle of the Gentiles, Acts xx. 24. Phil. iii. 7.—11. See also 2 Cor. iv. 16.—18. Heb. 10. 34.

III. It was Exercised Elijah; under great Apprehensions of his most difficult Employment, and of the want of such a publick help and treasure, as Eliah was, and might have been to him, 2 King, ii. 12. The Mantle in his hand; the Prophet in his thoughts; his great work upon his heart, and the great difficulties of that work before his eyes; these all awakened him to this Concerned, and Solicitous Enquiry after Eliah's God. He well remembered what Mountainous Difficulties (indeed insuperable, without Divine Assistance) Eliah had broke through to his thus Exalted State: and in whose strength all this was done: and the great Interest that Prayer and Zealous Faithfulness had in God. And hence he well considered, how little Eliah's Mantle, in his hand, imported to him, without the presence of Eliah's God. Elifba could not think his own work likely to be easier than Eliah's was; nor that either Prince or People would be more kind to him than they had been to his Predecessor; he knew himself to be but flesh and blood, and not so different from his Master, in the Character of being, a Man subject to like Passions (and Infirmities) with the rest of Men, as leis to need God's help and presence than Eliah did. We may well conceive him to be full of thought, and great Solicitudes about the Reverence of his Work andTryals: and that his Spirit should be equal therunto, was more than he durst promise to himself, or trust to, unless he could engage the Prophet's God to help him.

IV. It was Solicitous Elifba, to imitate and equal the Spirit and Performances of his Translated Master, 2 King, ii. 9. Eliah's Offer had been kind: Eliah's Desires prove as large: and his Necessities seem as great; but the requit feems very difficult to be obtained: But the thing as laft is granted, and an Experiment quickly
quickly made, as to the Virtue of the received Mantle. This good Man thought himself greatly inferior to his Master; and his case more deplorable, through the removal of so great a Person. He knew he had great work to do; and potent Enemies to contend with, and a degenerate Generation to reduce to God. He knew that proportionable wisdom, diligence, and fervour, vigour and patience hereunto, was of necessity to be had and exercised. And no Pattern had he known, more Exemplary and Successful than this Elijah was. And very loth he was to Come behind him. Nothing did press so urgently upon his heart as this: that his own Personal excellencies, and Performances might be such, as that the work of God thereby be Uniform. And though the gift of Miracles was probably more immediately immediate in his Eye; Yet was not this his ultimate Desire and Delight; but rather to have all advantages for a Reformation-work, by gaining greater and more effectual Credit to his Ministry. He would not culpably come behind his Master, nor be defective in any thing ordnance and advantageously unto the benefits of his then present Day and Function.

V. It was Concerned Elijah to come off well at last, Acts xx. 24. 2 Tim. iv. 6.-8. He coveted to to fulfill his Course and Function, as to attain the most abundant entrance into that State whereto he saw his Master pass. Great indeed was the instance which he late had of God's Regard to Excellent Elijah: and though he could not hope for being excused from Death (nor was he, as we find, 2 King. xiii. 14, 20.) yet might he covet, aim at, and prepare for, dying in the Lord, and living with him in that State which Elijah's being thus uplifted Prefigured. Elijah had born his ample testimony to the Name and Cause of God, while the Basilithed Apokeyt had grown so great. And he had God's Miraculous Testimony to his Zeal and Faithfulness: And this might well provoke Elijah's heart, to be solicitous about that preference of Elijah's God, which might secure his perseverance, and constant fulfilling after God: and his most savourable and delightful entrance into Elijah's State of Heavenly Joys, and Glory: for like his Master he coveted to be, both in this World, and in the next.

VI. It was Encouraged Elijah to expect great things from God, 2 King. ii. 9.-12. Great Men of God know how to take their helps and hints for boldness in their applications to him, both from Indulgence and Experience. 2 Sam. vii. 27—39. Psal. ix. 10. Hab. iii. 2—19. The great Experiences of Elijah, were grateful Explications of this Significant Relation; and smart Temptations, and Incentives to this Prophet's Prayer and Hope. He knew that Elijah, and had seen what Spirit act ed him, what Power attended him, what Providence wrought for and by him, how all Spirits and Difficulties melted down before him; how great an Honour and Preferment was vouchsafed to him, in being thus carried up to Heaven: that he was called, and charged to his Function and Employment by Divine Order, and Elijah's Mantle: he that saw the late Miracle which this Mantle wrought, in 2 King. ii. 8, he that had the Sign given him of being gratified in his desired favour from Elijah: he that so thoroughly consider'd what a Publick Treasure God had made Elijah unto Israel; and that had such reason and propension to believe God's generous kindness to his devoted ones; Yea, he that (happily) felt such Energies in his own holy Principles and Appetites, could not be destitute of Encouragements, to expect that God would own him and applaud him in all that he had call'd him to; a Parallel to all which we seem to have in Jer. i. 5. --10. All good Men love to know their Errand, and their Warrant, when they solicit for Great things from Heaven. Fancy's are but weak Foundations for great Expectations to be built upon. Had not Elijah been thus Countenanced by his Master, to ask (as it were) at large; he had been more modest in his Suit: but when the Prophet bid him ask (though his Request seem'd hard) yet did not that much discour-age him from expecting what he long'd and begg'd for.

IV. Elijah's great Enquiry and Concern.

1. God's Preference was the thing enquired after, and requested: and nothing can be done without it. See Exod. xxxiii. 12.—17. We need God's preference with our Spirits, with our Persons, and our Enterprises. Our Spirits must be upheld, furnished, fortified, and encouraged; and every way prepared for, laid even with, and kept close to the business of their Day. Our Persons must be pro-
tected and maintained in their usefulness and safety, till their work be done. And our Enterprizes must be smiled upon, and attended with that Providential Preference which shall accommodate it self to all Affairs, that are, and ought to be Complete-
d by our Ministry. God’s Influencing Operative Preference (call’d his bend) must be upon us, and for us. There must be in us holy Wildom, Courage, Patience, Confidence, and Cheerfulness; and there must be such a Providence as to make Second Caresses to serve or yield to us, and speak for us.

2. It was the Preference of Elijah’s God. A Preference suited to a Prophet’s work, 2 Cor. x. 4, 5. There will be Enemies upon their Thrones, in Arms, in Conflitua-
tions; fighting against God and his Elijah’s, with their Thoughts, Tongues, Pens, and Interest. And Prophets must encounter and endure all, Ephef. vi. 12, —18. Earth and Hell combine against them; and these want not Instruments, Engines, Methods, and Pretences; to Patronize, Propagate, and Encourage Idolatries, Infidelity, Immoralities, and Cruelties, and all sorts of Mischief. And can these be grappled with and Conqu’d without Elijah’s God? The Spirit of Elijah must rest upon Elijah: How otherwise can the Waters part, which are so obstructive to his Dutiful and Prosperous Motions? 2 King. ix. 14, 15. Or the unwholesome Springs of Waters he heal’d; so as that neither Death, nor Barrenness result therefrom? Verf. 21. Or the early (almost Infant) Eruditions of Malignity and Scorn be check’d and punish’d? I Verf. 23, 24. Or the good King Jebofasph be refresh’d and prosper’d? 2 King. iii. 11.—23. Or the Widow’s Oyl be multi-
plied, as the miraculous owning of her former Husband’s Godliness? Chap. iv. 1. —7. Or the Shew-mite’s Son refer’d to Life? Verf. 8.—37. Or Death remov’d from the Pot? Verf. 38.—41. Or an Hundred Men miraculously Fed? Verf. 43, 44. Or a Noman cured of, and a Gebazin smitten with the Leprosy? Chap. v. Or the Syrian Chamber-Politicks detected, and all his Army Con-
qu’rd? Chap. vi. Or Plenty brought to otherwise Starv’d Samaria, beyond expectation? Yea, or this Elijah live so desirably, and die so honourably and la-
mentedly as he did, 2 King. xiii. 14.—19. A Prophet’s Work and Province needs that Unction, Preference, and Encouraging reward, which none but an E-
ljah’s God can give, 1 King. xviii. 36. with 2, 3, 14.—23. This makes a Pro-
phet mighty both in Word and Deed, with God and Man, Ezek. vii. 6, 9, 10. Neh. ii. 8. Ezek. iii. 8. —11. Jer. i. 18, 19. And who can stand before a Prophet and his God?

3. This preference must be evidently such to others. Let it be known this day (faith this Elijah, whole God Elijah is now enquiring after) that they are God in Iheal, and that I am thy Servant, and that I have done all these things at thy word. Hear me, O Lord, hear me, that this People may know ——Then the Fire of the Lord fell, and consumed —— And when the People were Convinced that God thus shew’d himself, and own’d his Prophet, then fell Elijah to his ordering of Bani’s Prophets to be deftroy’d, 1 King. xviii. 36. —40. And such a Preference was E-
lkah concerned to obtain, when as the matter might require it: And such con-
cernedness we find elsewhere, as Psa. cix. 26, 27. Exod. iv. 1.—5. This his Enquiry seems to import thus much; Be thou so much with me, as to constrain those persons to whom I am to Prophecy, to say, No Man could Prophecy, All, and Live, and thus shew his Charge, and Ministration, unless Elijah’s God was with him. See Job. iii. 2. 1 Cor. ii. 4, 5, 1 Cor. ii. 3, 7. Heb. ii. 4. O Let Gifts, Grace, Power, Performances, and Succes bear testimony to me, that Elijah’s God is ever with me.

V. The Genuine Spirit of this Speech.

1. Elijah was yet greatly in Elijah’s thoughts; they were but newly parted. What fresh remembrances had this remaining Prophet, both of the Perfom, Office, Excellencies, and endearing Conversation, of his retired and Exalted Master! The shape and features of his Perfom; the Excellency of his Temper; the Com-
poluses of his grave Countenance; the weightiness of his Words; the manner of his Conversation; the Severities of his Life; the undauntedness of his Spirit; the freedom of his Conferences; the power of his Prayers; the exemplariness of his Life; the miraculousness of his Experiences and Performances; and his ex-
traordinary falling from hence to Heaven; with all the good which had, and might
might have inflied from him, and been derived to himself and others, had but the 
Prophet continued here longer amongst Men: Such things as these must needs 
affect his heart, and exercise his thoughts, even at every mention of Elijah; and to 
far renew the pleasures of their former Intimacies, and Reciprocated-Friendships. 
Elijah was the Father, Friend, and Master of Elia's, and stood in near Relation to 
his God; and he was thought on by the Prophet, as being greatly privilaged by 
that Relation: Otherwife, why not the Lord my God, as well as the Lord God of 
Elijah? This Man was written on his heart. Such are remembered by their Inti-
mates when not seen; 'twas not in heart, but person, that they were parted.

II. Elijah's God was now very powerfully upon Elia's heart. Elia's thoughts 
were deep and busy about great things, considered by him as in reference to El-
iah. He frequently and intimately consider'd, to what his God had called Elia;
what he had made him; a Man; a good Man, and a Prophet: What an Union 
he had bellow'd upon him; what Encouragements he afforded him; what ready 
Audience he gave his Prayers; how he protected him from what he feared; how 
he enabled him to do what he did; how he supported him under what he felt; 
how he owned him publicly in what he went about; how he had translated him 
to what he long'd for; and how he had placed him at last amongst those that he 
had suftained unto: He also thought what a God, this God will be to others, 
that was experienced to be such to his Master. O how did these things work 
upon Elia's heart! Who would not be ambitious of the Saving Powerful 
Knowledge of this God; of Covenant-Relations to him; of all Engagements in 
his Service, and of all Endearments to his Heart! No greater Wisdom, Power, 
Faithfulness, and Kindness, can be cover'd, and refted on, than God's.

III. Elijah's blest State was most affecting in Elia's prospect; even in its 
place and measure much what like that in Luk. xxiv. 52, 53. Elijah taken up thus 
visibly in Sowem State to Heaven, and this too by the Lord his God, 2 King. ii. 
5, 11. cannot but minister to great thoughts, even such as these; (1.) What 
Save Earth, and hugeh地球 mount up; Fire and Angels, they defend; Mort-
tals become Immortal; the Living Rife; the Dead are Raited up; and a Favour-
able shall be flinged out from amongst Men to be indemnified from the Stroke of 
Death, and from the Inclosures of a cold Grave. (2.) What will not God do 
for his Faithful Zealots in his Service? be is not affirmed to be called their God, ha-
ving prepar'd for them a City; and promised and engaged for their Transliteration 
thither. Heb. xi. 16. What the Earth cannot entertain them with, the Heavens 
shall. (3.) Nothing can be thought too much for God, nor any thing loft indeed, 
not counted great, that we are call'd to hazard, lose, endure, or do for him. 
Heb. x. 2. 2 Cor. iv. 17, 16. Elijah's Assumption into Heaven soon made amends 
abundantly, for all his Sufferings, Pains and Losses. (4.) Elijah's God is all in 
all below to them, who have him for their God indeed, 2 Tim. xiv. 17, 18. 
Heb. xvii. 6. 1 Th. Ixxiii. 24.—29. Elijah thought, that he who had born Elijah 
through all his Agonies, Toils, Fatigues and Fears to Heaven, could do as much for 
him; and why not therefore to be serv'd, eyed and trusted by him? (5.) 
What so meet and needful, as an Heavenly Expectation, Mind and Life? Col. iii. 
2. Matt. vi. 19.—21. xvii. 3, 4. We cannot think Elijah carry'd up unto 
that State, which never had his thoughts and heart: he never could imagine 
that this World and Body could be his resting place, in that they were so much 
polluted: Therefore it was the Heavenly Country that he made the greatest 
reckoning of; and whence and whither he was carry'd by the Lord his God, with 
all his delicate Entertainments there (and perhaps by the way as he ascended 
up;) could not but fix Elia's thoughts; fire his heart; confirm him in his holy 
purposes; quicken his endeavours to fulfil his Ministry; and thereby ripen him 
for his most abundant entrance into the Heavenly State, by bearing his Spirit in 
hope, and drawing forth many a serious, quickening, and heart-refreshing 
thought. By what Elia saw, he could not but expect great things from God; 
and muse upon (with great delight) what the Lord, Elijah's God, at last, would 
make him, and whither he would bring him.

IV. Elijah's
IV. El'ijah's Work now wholly lies upon El'ish'a's hands, 1 King, xix. 16. He must now Prophecy, Instruct, Reprove, Rebuke, Exhort, Reform, Endure, Encounter, and Engage against all that shall rival or oppose God: All which is now considered by him, as quite above his strength and skill, unlefs El'ijah's God be with him. Men of the deepest thought, of the greatest reach, and even of the noblest resolution to do their utmost to promote God's Interest in the World, yet tremble at their Work, when they consider the import of it, and the difficulties that attend it: and it lends them often to their Prayers and Tears, that God would not desert them, and leave them to themselves. St. Paul, that Great Apostle, had been no stranger to, nor Triller in his Work; nor unacquainted with the Severities of Martyrdom; nor of Small Proficiency, in the Vigours and Experiences of Christian Godliness; when yet in the prospect of approaching troubles, he so concernedly addrest himself to Heaven by Prayer, 2 Cor. xii. 7.--9. And it was from the Divine Promife, and not from any thing in himself, that he deriv'd his hopes of Perseverance to the end; and fortified his Courage to withstand all Enemies, and Obstacles in his Course: This was the Armour he ran, and Fought in (might I allude to that Olympick Game which they called Παρθήνων αγων, whereunto this fame Apostle seems to allude in Acts. xx. 24. 2 Tim. iv. 7.) "Tis no such ease thing to demolish the strong holds of Satan, to cut down all the Reasonings, and Imaginations that lie so opposite to God's Interest, in the Idolatrous, and Profaning Christian World; nor to tread down every thing that exalts its self against the Knowledge of God, and Chriftian Interest; and to bring into Captivity every thought, to the Obedience of God and Christ; and the weapons of this warfare must not be carnal; for then they would prove to be too weak: and if they be mighty and successful, it must be through God: as 2 Cor. x. 4, 5, Such thoughts as thefe may well affect El'ish'a, when he had no El'ijah at his hand to help him.

VI. The Errand and Memorials of this Text and Day.

1. As this Day is now our Sabbath-day: so let us remember the Lord El'ijah's God, as resting from Creation-work, and calling us to the Commemoration both of the Monuments of his visible Power, of the pleasure that he took therein, and of the Signatures of his most reverend and Holy Name imprest thereon, Exod. xx. 8.--11. 1 Chron. xxix. 10.--13. Nehem. ix. 5, 6. Deut. x. 14. Josaph i. 9. This vast Fabrick is so expressive of God's Name, so worthy of his Providence, and so adapted to the purposes and uses, whereunto he had contriv'd and conformed it, as that it deserves to be Commemorated with very great Solemnity and Reverence. The Universe being vastly great, should be consider'd as the Product of his Almighty word and thought: for it declares the greatness of his Power; and yet it is comparatively but a faint hint of what he is able to produce and do, by his own Powerful Word*. The wise contrivance, and apt harmony of this Stately Fabrick, shews the great wisdom, and All-comprehending thought of its so glorious Builder, Psal. civ. 24. Prov. iii. 19, 20. Jer. x. 12. O what a variety of Spheres, Regions, Globes, and Vortices; of Animate and Inanimate Creatures (to say nothing of those Innumerable Myriads of Spirits above) with their respective Situations, Aspects, Distances, Influences, Furniture, and Mutual Dependencies, hath Infinite Power produced under the Conduct of that Wisdom, which hath so Accurately, and Illustriously shew'd it self, in such abundant Variations, as may challenge and endure even our feverest search and obligation, to Admirance and Amazement! Again, the Furniture and Provisions of this World, and of all the parts thereof, are equally Demonstrative of the Riches of God's goodness thereunto, Psal. civ. 24.--28. All the Chambers and Apartments of this Edifice, are filled with precious and pleasant Riches, Prov. xxiv. 4.

* Τα ἕως ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ κυρίου κυρίου τοῦ ποιήματος τοῦ θεοῦ, καθότι ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ χρείᾳ καταλαβόντας. 

** Ομ. i. 20. How fit a Paraphrase this Text may be of Psal. civ. 2, let the Judicious and Learned judge as they see cause, upon deliberate and mature thought.
After Elijah's God.

I. cxlv. 15, 16. All parts are helpfull each to other; and every thing aptly contributes (suitably to its Capacity, place and measure) somewhat to the advantage of the whole: and every thing derives more benefit from the whole than it can communicate thereto. And O what apt applications, accomodations, and addressses, doth Universal Providence make of its Concerned and Communicative Self, both to the entire Compagnes of Heaven and Earth, and to the Capacity and Concerns of every part thereof! At last comes Man to be the Lord and Possessor of these things; but yet as under Law to God; as the Discoverer of God's Emancipation, as a Partner to his Will; and as the recipient of God's Communicative goodness. God makes him appre- hensive, sensible, and useful, intelligent, Voluntary, and active; (1) That he might discern the Characters and Impresses of his God, upon the Visible World, and his own self; and his Relations and obligations unto that God who made him, and all the World about him; and the true reference of all Things and Beings, and of himself, to their great Original and End. (2) That he might see and relish Gods goodness to him, in those vast Capacities and Appetites which God had given him, and for the due Satisfaction whereof God had so abundantly provided. (3) That Man might know, to and with whom he is to live; and how he is accommodated for his full, Practical Devotedness, and Faithfull service to his God; And as God made him an "Embodied Spirit"; and thereby Capable of manifold sensations for the fuller Entertainment, Tryal, and Employment of his Soul; so he had a glorious and well furnished World to Miniflter sensibly to the improvement of his mind, the Establishment and Refreshment of his heart, and the full Exercise of all those Energy's and Vigours which were rooted in his Soul; and were to be drawn out unto their fit Explications, and Engagements of themselves, by proper objects and occurrences to that purpose: And then God makes a Woman for him, out of his own side: and having given her to him in marriage, he lays Foundations for Fellowship and Social Conversation; for Government; for Propagation; and for Family-Religion and Concerns. All this, and much more doth this day mind us of, as a Sabbatical memorial of the God of Nature, shining forth in the Visible Creation: Though by the Miniftry of Angels unto Adam, an higher State and Order of Beings was more than hinted. And for a share in all the benefits, service, and pleasure, of this so well formed and furnished World, Comes in Elijah in his proper Court; the Body and Spirit of Elijah; the Earth wherein he sojourn'd; the Heavens through and to which he went; the Heavens of Heavens (so ancient) whereupon God rides, and wherein Elijah dwells; all things and beings that minifltered to Elijah's satisfaction, and advantage here; the Angels who convey'd him hence; (see Ps. lxvii. 17.) and all the Ethereal (or what ever other) Materials of that Chariot, and those horses which carried him on high; with all those many, many Myriads of pure and unembodied Spirits; and all the glorious and delightfull treasures which entertain him there; O let all these be thought on, as the Works and Productions, and glorious Memorials of Elijah's God. Thus may we represent him like himself to us, so as to Engage Acknowledgments, and improvements of his own for him: for it is of, and through, and to, Elijah's God that all things are.

2. As this Day is the Lord's Day; So let Elijah's Friend and Antitype be remembered; even the raised Lord of Life; O let him have your liveliest and most thankful thoughts; Ps. cxvii. 22—24. Ephes. i. 19—23, 1 Pet. i. 3—21. He (even Elijah) may thank God for Jesus Christ, and he may thank Christ (though before he was translated, he might know but little of him) for all that Providence, grace, and power, that wrou'd and brought him so effectually and miraculously to his Heavenly State and Glory; and so may we. Heb. vi. 17—20. Elijah knew not then so well as now he doth (nor as perhaps we know) by whom and how he was thus to be privileged, Col. i. 26, 27. Eph. iii. 9—11. Christ Risen from the Dead, brought all the Springs of Life, peace joy and hope; he open'd all the Treasures from whence our Succours and Accomplishments must be derived. The upper Springs ril'd through Christ upon all his Minifters and Members; but seeing 'tis Elijah as a Prophet, which we are here considering; so may we well consider our raised Lord and Head, as one by whom all Minifters and Prophets are overshadowed from on high, in order to their furniture and power, for the Discharge of their great Trust, and Work below: for we are all by the same Lord gifted (though not equally) for the great things that we are sent about; and we are all
actuated by the same hope of the same blessed State above, as our Encouragement to perseve in what we undertake: and all this by the same Redeemer. Christ yet abides the same, and will take Care, that all his Faithful Ministers want not that Unction, nor that measure of it, which their important Function calls for. O let this therefore Shame and Check our immorrate Rentiments of the receipts of such as this Elija was, though Excellent and useful Prophets. And (rather than pour our Tears abundantly upon the Hearsie, and Memory of retired Prophets to their Eternal home) let us rejoice that Christ is gone to Heaven: that our removed Prophets are now with him; and that Christ himself ere long will bring and keep us altogether with himself; 2 Cor. iv. 14, 15, 1 Thef. iv. 13-18. John xvi. 1-3, and, Ver.28. Wherein we find Christ pleading, clothe, and reproving their inordinate Griefs for his Departure, in these words, To have heard how I saide, I go away and come again to you. If ye loved me, ye would rejoice because I said, I go to the Father, for my Father is greater than I. Christ hereby tries the temper of their Love, and minds them of the regular management of that Central Grace, and tacitly upbraids them with the undiscerned courtesies of their love to him. They were to walk by Faith; and to be more solicitous about the future than the present state of things; and about their accommodations for their approaching Work and Tryals, than for the pleasures that resulted from a present friend on Earth, though it were Christ himself in Flesh. And one would think the Apostle Paul himself was more than toucht with the fine and favour of this palliation, by what he has left upon Record in it Cor. v. 16. Where he thus Vents himself; Wherefore (faith he) henceforth know we no more after the Flesh: yet though we have known Christ after the Flesh, yet now henceforth we know him no more: The Informations of which Charge and Counsel you have in Ver. 17-19.

3. As this is a Providential Day for Funeral Thoughts and Sorrows, because of God's heavy hand upon the World and Church, my Self and Tom, by the Removal of Elija's lively Image, The Reverend and Excellent Mr. Richard Baxter: So we have to exerice our present thoughts, (1.) The Prophet's Character and Exit. (2.) God's Voice to us thereby. (3.) Our Great Concern to have God's presence with you, and the Prophet's Mantele with me (if such a thing can be Expected by me) to our best benefit and advantage.

(1.) As to the Character of that Prophet, whose Soul is gone from us to Heaven: Mr. Richard Baxter was a person deservedly of great Fame and Character in his Day. He seem'd to be a Transcript of what is left upon Record concerning St. Paul, Sylvanus, and Timothy, in 1 Thef. ii. 1-12. 'Tis evident he was a Man of God, a Gospel-Prophet. He was furnished for, fervent in, painful about, and faithful to his Minislerial Truth and Work: And extraordinary in the evident acceptance and successes of his Minislerial Labours. A Man of clear, deep, fixed thoughts; a Man of copious and well digested Reading; a Man of ready, free, and very proper Elocution: and aptly expressive of his own thoughts and sentiments. He was most intent upon the weightieft and most useful parts of Learning; yet a great lover of all kinds and degrees thereof. He could, in Preaching, Writing, Conference, accommodate himself to all Capacities; and answer his Obligations to the Wife and Unwife: He had a moving πρᾶσμα, and useful Acimony in his words; neither did his Expressions want their Emphatical Accent, as the Matter did require. And when he spake of weighty Soul-Concerns, you might find his very Spirit Drench'd therein. He was pleasantly conversible, faie in his Studying-hours, wherein he could not bear with trivial disturbances. He was sparingly facetious; but never light or frothy. His heart was warm, plain fixed; his Life was Blameless, Exemplary, Uniform. He was unmoveable, where apprehensive of his Duty; yet Affable and Condescending where likelihood of doing good was in his prospect. His Personal Affinity, Severities and Labours, were exceeding great: He kept his Body at an under; and always feared panpering his Flesh too much. He diligently, and with great pleasure minded his Master's Work within doors and without, whilst he was able. His Charity was very great; greatly proportionable to his Abilities: his Purse was ever open to the Poor; and, where the Case requir'd it, he never thought great Sums too much: He rather gave Communion than Domanation, and suited what he gave to the Necessities and Characters of thosse he gave to: Nor was his Charity confin'd
After Elijah's God.

Jim'd to Parties or Opinions. He was a Man of manifold and preffing exercises; and of unfavorable Patience and Sublimation under the hand of God: and though he was seldom without pain, or ficknes (but sottily pain;) yet never did he murmur; but used to fay, it is but flesh. And when I have askt him how he did? His ufual Answer was, Either Almost well: Or, Better than I defire to be; but not fo well as I hope to be.

Once, I remember, when I was with him in the Country at his Request: he, being in the Extremity of Pain (and that fo expirrile as to appear in the fudden and great Changes of his Conftantene) raised himself from his Couch whereon he had laid himself; and thus exprefl himself. Whatever the World thinks of me, I can truly fay, that I have served God with uprightnefs of heart, and that I never fpoke any thing that I took not to be truly, and at that time to be my Duty. He was no ways clandestinely rigid, or cenfurofs as to others. When he told Men to their faces of their faults, he would hear what they had to fay, and then reprove them with as great pungency as he thought their fault deferv'd: but yet behind Mens backs he was always ready to believe the ift; and whatever he could think on that might extenuate their Crime; if there was any likelikenefs of truth therein, he would be fure to mention that: So great a Friend was he to every Man's ufeful Reputation. As to himself, even to the laft, I never could perceive his Peace and Heavenly Hopes affaulted or disturbed. I have often heard him greatly lament himfelf, in that he felt no greater Liveliness in what appear'd fo great and clear to him, and fo very much defir'd by him. As to the inftance thereof upon his Spirit, in order to the efemible refpeffions of it, he clearly faw what ground he had to rejoice in God; he doubted not of his Right to Heaven: He told me, He knew it should be well with him when he was gone. He wonder'd to hear others fpeak of their fo defirable Passionately Strong Delifes to Die, and of their transports of Spirit when defirable of their approaching Death: when as he himfelf thought he knew as much as they; and had as rational refolution as they could have, that his Soul was fafe: and yet could never feel their Senfible Confolation. And when I asked him, Whether much of this was not to be re-folved into Bodily Conftitution: He did indeed tell me, That he thought it might be fo. But I have often thought, that God widly made him herein (as in many other things) conformable to his Great Master Jesus Chrift; whose Joys we find Commonly the fruit of deep and clofe-thought. Chrift argued himfelf into his own Comforts. Which thing is evident from Scriptures not a few; Take for a tent, Pf. xvi. 8-11. Heb. xii. 2. The testimony of his Conference was ever his rejoicing: like that in 2 Cor. i. 12. He ever kept that tender; and gave fuch diligence to run his race, fulfil his Minifttry, and fo to make his Calling and Election firm and clear, as that I cannot but conclude an Entrance was miniftered abundanty to his departed Spirit into the Everlafting Kingdom of (Elijah's and) his God and Saviour; and that it will be more abundant to his raiied person when the Lord appears. The Heavenly State colt him fevere and daily thoughts, and Solemn Conforlulations; for he fet some time apart every day for that weighty work. He knew that neither Grace nor Duty could be duly actuated without pertinent and fervious meditation. What can be done without thought? And as he was a Scribe infuffuated to the Kingdom of Heaven, fo he both could and did draw forth out of his Treasures things new and old, to his own fatisfaction and advantage, as well as to the benefit of others. Self-unconcernednefs (be it in Study, Preaching, Prayer or Conforlution) driespirits and dilates exprifions and performances, as to others or our own felves. To enquire Speculatively after God; to Speak to God or for him, without fervious thinking how to do it well; how little does it glifie to Minifters? How little he effeted the World; or Hieh or Men (fave as they are of, and under, and for God)is every way too evident to need inftilling on. He neither valued nor feared any man fo much as to be influenced into Sinful Diftances from, or Conformities with them, in wrong to God, and to Soul-Concerns. But I muft not be too Copious here, left it be thought that my relations, or affections to him have deceiv'd or brib'd my Judgment.

After much Labour in his work, and troubles from Informers, who caus'd him to be Convicted, diltrain'd upon and imprifon'd, because he durft not neglect what he thought God bound him to: when Liberty was granted to Diffenters, and he himfelf was fetcft from prifon; after his injurious Confinement thereunto for his book call'd His Paraphrufe on the New Testament, he fettled in Charterhouse-Tard.
in Rutland-House (where I then lived, and had gotten it to be Licensed for Preaching-work) and bestowed his Ministerial-Alliance upon me. Thereupon he attended every Lord's-Day in the Morning; and every other Thursday Morning at a Weekly Lecture. Thus were we yoked together in our Ministerial Work and Trut, to our great Mutual Satisfaction: and because his Respect to me Living and Dying were very great; I cannot but the more resent the Los. I had the benefit and pleasure of always free access to him, and fluent Conversation with him; And by whom could I profit more than by himself? So ready was he to Communicate his Thoughts to me, and so clearly would he represent them, as that I may truly say, it was greatly my own fault, if he left me not wiser than he found me at all times.

When after about four years and a half he had continued with me, he was then disabled from going forth any more to his Ministerial-Work; so that what he did, he perform'd it all the residue of his Life, in his own lived-house: where he open'd his Doors Morning and Evening every day to all that would come to join in Family-Worship with him: to whom he Read the Holy Scriptures, from whence he Preached the Kingdom of God, and Taught those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, no man forbidding him; even as one greater than himself had done before him, Acts xxviii. 30, 31. But alas his growing Diffemper and Infirmities took him aloo off from this, confining him first to his Chamber, and after to his Bed. There, though pain (for he had a very great Stone in his Kidney) and Sickness, his Body waffled; but his Soul abode rational, strong in Faith and Hope, arguing it self into, and preferring it self in, that Patience, Hope, and Joy, through Grace, which gave him great Support, and kept out Doubts and Fears concerning his Eternal Welfare.

On Tuesday Morning about Four of the Clock, December 8. 1691, he Expired; though he expected and desired his Disolution to have been on the Lord's Day before, with which Joy, to me, he call'd an High Day, because of his desired Change Expected then by him. He had frequently before his Death, own'd to me, his continuance in the same Sentiments that he had discover'd to the World before, in his Poemical Discourses, especially about Justification, and the Covenants of Works and Grace, &c. And being ask'd at my request, whether he had changed his former thoughts about those things, his Anwser was, That he had told the World sufficiently his Judgment concerning them by Words and Writing, and that he refer'd Most. And then lifting up his eyes to Heaven, he uttered these words; 

Lord, pity, pity pity the Ignorance of this poor City.

On Monday the day before, about Five in the Evening, Death sent his Harbinger to Summon him away. A great trembling and coldness awakened Nature, and extorted Strong Cries from him for Pity and Redrefs from Heaven; which Cries and Agony continued for some time, till at length he ceased those Cries; and so lay in an Observant, Patient Expectation of his Change. And being once asked by a Grave Matron, and his Faithful Friend, and Conscient Attendant upon him in his Weakness (Worthy and Faithful Mrs. Bulpel his House keeper) Whether he knew her or no, Requiting some Signification of it if he did: he softly Cry'd, Death, Death: And now he felt the benefit of his former Preparations for such a Trying-Time as this. And indeed, the last words that he spake to me (being inform'd that I was come to see him) were these, O I thank him, I thank him; and turning his Eye to me, he said, The Lord teach you to die. He, a few days before, had thus express'd his heart to me; Sir, I have done what I could for you. Should I recover (which I expect not) I should Statically give my Pains to none before you. He (truly) judg'd my Flock to be Sober, Peaceable, and Loving, and far from Factions and Centrifouls.

Thus Liv'd and Dy'd this Excellent, and Holy Perfon: fo eminently furnish'd for, fervent in, intent upon, and faithful to, his Ministerial Trut and Work: Wherein his Labours and Success were very great. His Perfon was Tall and Slender, and flopped much; his Countenance Compos'd and Grave, somewhat inclining to Smiles. He had a piercing Eye, a very Articulate Speech, and his Department rather Plain than Complemental. He had a great Command over his Thoughts. He had that happy faculty, so as to answer the Character that was given of him by a Learned Man Differing from him, after Dilettore with him; which was, that, He could say what he would, and he could prove what he said; He was most intent
intend upon the necessary things. Rational Learning he most valued, and was an extraordinary Master of. And as to his Expressive Faculty, he spake properly, plainly, pertinently, and pathetically. He could speak suitably, both to Mens Capacities, and to the things intimated on. He was a Person wonderful at Extemporaneous Preaching; for having once left his Notes behind him, he was surpriz'd into Extemporaneous thoughts upon (as I remember) Heb. iv. 15. For we have not an EiJah

Priest — Whereon he Preach'd to very great satisfaction unto all that heard him: And when he came down from the Pulpit, he asked me, If I was not tied? I said, With what? He said, With his Extemporaneous Discourse. I told him, That had he not reckon'd it, I believe none could have discovered it: His reply to me was, That he thought it very useful for a Minister to have a Body of Divinity in his head.

(2.) As to God's Providence, in removing him, God's Voice is Lond from Heaven to us. And what the Voice is, and what it speaks in the General, you may partly discern from these following passages of Scripture, Zach. i. 5. Heb. xiii. 7.—9. Rev. iii. 3. 1 Thes. iv. 1. Jam. v. 8. ——11. A. D. xx. 18. ——21, and 52. Such thoughts as these are very pertinent unto the Visitation of our day. Have we been mindful of him? Have we been thankful for him? Have we been faithful to, and fruitful under, the Advantages of his Ministerial-Day? 1 Thes. i. 3. ——10. Should you not bemoan your ignorance, headleness, and barrenness? Should you not take up new resolutions to improve the Mantine which he hath left behind him; and to prepare your selves to meet Elijah and his God; Mr. Baxter, and his returning Lord in Peace, 2 Pet. iii. 11. ——14. You have known the genuine, constant tendencies of his Labours, Prayers and Spirit; all looked towards, and much resembled what ye find recorded in 1 Thes. iii. 12, 13. You have had in him, whilst with you (who was longer a Preacher unto you, than Christ was to the Jews) one of the best of Callists, Preachers, Patterns, Supporters, and Companions in the World. And have we Sinned him from us! his Death tells us, we must not be ordinary in our Acknowledgments, Improvements, and Attainments: nor always think that it will be day with us.

(3.) Our great Concern and Cry this day should be about, and after the Lord of Elijah: The God whom Mr. Baxter,own'd, lov'd, fear'd, serv'd, and preach'd. Nor must Elijah's Mantle be forgotten. As to me; the Prophet's Mantle is far more valuable, and dear'd, than Expected. I never look to Tithe his Excellent Gifts, and Graces. And as to You and Me; the special Prefence of Elijah's God is greatly needful with, and for us. Elijah in several things out-went his Mafter; (fo much I) but he was not Translated as Elijah was: For he afterward fell sick and Dy'd, 2 Kings. xiii. 14. But yet, with very ample testimony of God's peculiar respects to him. But I am not Elijah. And may I stand amongst the meaneest of God's Faithful Prophets, I shall account it great. And though I cannot look to be Elijah, Elijah, or like to him that's lately gone: Yet all that Unction, Countenance, and Special Prefence which my Soul-Work, and Ministry doth require, let it this day (and ever, whilst we live) become your joyous Concern and Cry with me, to God, that I may have it, and that you may reap great benefit thereby. As to us all: O how desirable is the Prefence of the Lord God of Elijah with us! That fo the Prophet's Prayers and Labours be not loft upon us, nor his God fret against us, nor his Heaven be deny'd us, nor himself at last call'd out to tell us against us when Christ Sits in Solemn Judgment upon us.

And for my Self; if any of the Prophet's Friends forfake me, may I but have the Powerfull and Gracions Prefence of his Elijah's God, it will Suffle me. My present Circumstances as to Employments, Infirmities, Exercises, and Concerns, must need extort such Cryes and thoughts as these, from my Solicitous and anxious Soul: (1.) Where was our Elijah once? Was he not in his Mother's Womb, retire from human View and knowledge? Was he not after in his State of Ignorant Infancy and Childhood? Was he not in a mortal body, and uncomfortable World? Was he not once as little furnished with knowledge, Godliness, and utterance, Unition and usefulness as myself? (2.) Whence had our Elijah all his Gifts and Graces, Affliances, Encouragements and Succesles? Were they not all derived from the same God with whom I have to do? (3.) Where is our Elijah now? Is he not with God in Heaven, to whom the Spirits of Good men have been gathered
to this day? And shall not our Souls (and Bodies) mount ere long as his hath done? (4.) Where hath he left Elisha? Even in this World and Body, and under obligations to his Ministerial Work (but far below him in abilities and grace for service) and in his Militant, and Pilgrim-State, whilst here. (5.) Where is our Elisha's God? Not out of all sight and hearing. Not where he may not be address unto nor Commun'd and pervaded with, about and for things needful for an Indigent and Craving Prophet. (6.) What must I do to get (though but a fragment or some small corner of) our Elisha's Mantle? None of his extraordinary measures for special service can, or do I look for. But Study, Meditation, Prayer, and Faithfulness through the Mediation of his great friend and mine (Christ at the right hand of the Father) so much may be desired, endeavoured after, and expected (through grace) as may enable me safely to train up Souls for God.


FINIS.
An Alphabetical Index both of Persons and Things; an Account whereof is to be met with in this Narrative.

The first Number intimates the Part; the second the Page.

A.

Mr. Thomas Allen 1.105
Mr. Joseph Allen 2.432
Dr. Richard Allestree 1.3

Anabaptists . 1.41, 2.410, 141

Whether it be our Duty to seek Peace with them? 2.181. How a Pacificatory attempt with them might be most successfully managed 2.183
Their Infolence after Cromwell’s Death 2.206

Dr. Amesley, 3.19. His Character 3.95
Marquis of Antrim. A particular Account of his Commission from King Charles the First, for what he did in the Irish Rebellion 3.83

Judge Archer

Army. Of the new modelling the Parliaments Army, 1.47, &c. of the Temper and Principles which prevailed amongst them in 1645, when Mr. Baxter first came to them, 150, &c. how he came to go into the Army, and there as Chaplain to Col. Widdery’s Regiment, 1.52, and how he behaved himself there, 1.53, how it was turn’d almost entirely into an Army of Seftaries, 1.59, the King hoo’d in by them, 1.60, and their treatment of him, 1.61

Of the strange fall of the Parliaments Army at last 1.105, 2.224
Mr. Arthur 3.13
Mr. Simeon Allen, 1.42, 2.214, 229, 230, 231, 276, 307. His Death and Character 2.430, 3.94
Alderman Ashbury, 2.290, 302, 3.17, 3.189 Assembly of Divines at Westminster; an Account of them 1.73
Of Mr. Baxter’s Preface to their Works upon a new Edition of them 1.122
Mr. Atkins 2.373

B.

R. Edward Bagshaw, 2.378, 3.72, 85, 89
Mr. Joseph Baker. His Character 3.90
Earl of Balcarres and his Lady 1.21
Mr. Thomas Baldwin Senior, 2.374, 376, 3.92
Mr. Thomas Baldwin Junior 3.92
Mr. Thomas Bampfield 2.214, 432
Mr. Francis Bampfield 2.432, 3.74
Mr. Barker 3.19, 95
Mr. Barnet 3.94
Dr. Barwick 2.270
Mr. Baucember 3.13
Mr. Baucleber 3.13
Mr. Benjamin Baxter. His Character 3.91
Mr. Stephen Baxter ibid.
Major Beake 2.207
Alderman Beard 3.60
Col. Beddingfield 2.290
The Beemens 1.77
Sir John Bernard 3.60
Dr. Bernard 2.218
Major General Berry. An Account and Character of him 1.57, 97
Mr. Berry 3.98
Mr. Biddle 1.79
Mr. Adoniram Bifoled 1.42
Col. Birch 2.281.
The Bishops. The Proceedings against them in the Long Parliament, 1.26, 27. The Causes of the Aversion of several Persons against them, at the beginning of the Civil War 1.33
Their carriage to the Ministers at the Savoy Conference, 2.305, 335, 337, 338, 352, 353, of their advising King Charles the Second to call in his Licenfes, and rigorously to execute the Laws made against Protestant Differents 3.153
Major Blood. An Account of him; and of his stealing the Crown 3.88
BOOKS. Mr. Baxter’s Account of his several Books and Writings.
His Aphorisms of Jubification and the Covenants 1.107
His Saints Everlasting Rest 1.108
His plain Scripture proof for Infants Church-membership and Baptism ibid.
The right Method for Peace of Conscience, and Spiritual Comfort, in 32 Directions, 1.109
His Judgment about the Perseverance of Believers 1.110
His two Affifre Sermons ibid.
His Apology ibid.
His Confession of Faith M
**Directions for Church Reformation and Peace** | 1.111
---|---
His Sermon against making light of Christ, *ibid.*

**His Sermon of Judgment** | 1.112
---|---
His Sermon of Catholick Unity *ibid.*

**His Christian Concord; or the Worcestershire Agreement** | *ibid.*
---|---
The *Grotian* Religion discovered at the Invitation of Mr. Thomas Pierce | 1.113

**Five Disputations about a Right to Sacraments** | *ibid.*
---|---
Four Disputations of Justification | 1.114

**A Treatise of Conversion** | *ibid.*
---|---
A Call to the Unconverted | *ibid.*

**Directions and Permutations to a sound Conversion** | 1.115
---|---
A Catechism | *ibid.*

Gildas Savianus, or the Reformed Pastor; *ibid.*
The Worcestershire Petition and defence of it, *ibid.*

**The Quakers Catechism** | 1.116
---|---
The Safe Religion | *ibid.*

**The Unreasonablenes of Infidelity** | *ibid.*
---|---
A Treatise of Crucifying the World by the Gross of Christ | *ibid.*

**One Sheet against the Quakers** | *ibid.*
---|---
A Winding Sheet for Popery | *ibid.*

**One Sheet for the Ministry, against Malignants of all sorts** | 1.117
---|---
A second Sheet for the Ministry | *ibid.*

**Directions for Justices of the Peace, especially in Corporations, for the Defiance of their Duties to God** | *ibid.*
---|---
A Letter to Mr. Day for Pacification | *ibid.*

**A Treatise of Confirmation** | *ibid.*
---|---
A Discourse of Saving Faith | *ibid.*

**A Treatise of Self-denial** | *ibid.*
---|---
Five Disputations about Church Government | *ibid.*

**A Key for Catholicks** | 1.118
---|---
His Holy Commonwealth; the occasion of writing it, its Reception, &c. | *ibid.*

**A Disputation of the perpetual visibility of the Church** | 1.119
---|---
His Universal Concord | 1.120

**A Sermon of Repentance** | *ibid.*
---|---
A Sermon of right rejoicing | *ibid.*

**A Sermon of the Life of Faith** | *ibid.*
---|---
A Believer's last Work | *ibid.*

**A Treatise of Death** | *ibid.*
---|---
The vain Religion of the Formal Hypocrite | *ibid.*

**A Saint or a Bruit** | *ibid.*
---|---
The Mischiefs of Self-ignorance, and Benefits of Self-acquaintance | *ibid.*

**The Divine Life** | *ibid.*
---|---
The Treaty at the Savoy | 1.121

**An half Sheet for those that are sick or in danger of the Plague** | *ibid.*
---|---
Two Sheets for poor Families | 1.122

**His Chrillian Directory** | *ibid.*
---|---
Directions for weak Christians | 1.123

**A Disputation of Universal Redemption, ib.**
---|---
Divers Treatises then unpublished | 1.123

**His Reasons of the Chrillian Religion** | 3.61
---|---
His Directions for weak Christians, Life of Faith, and divers other Treatises | *ibid.*

**His Methodus Theologiae** | 3.69,181,190
---|---
His Apology for the Nonconformists | 3.70

**His Care of Church Divisions** | *ibid.*
---|---
The Revocation of his Political Aphorisms, or Holy Commonwealth | 3.71

**His more Reasons for the Chrillian Religion** | 3.99
---|---
The Nonconformists Plea for Peace | 3.180

**His Catholick Theology** | 3.181
---|---
His History of Councils | *ibid.*

**Of several other of his Writings** | 3.185
---|---
His Second Plea for Peace | 3.188

**His Moral Prognostication** | *ibid.*
---|---
His Search for the English Schismatrick | *ibid.*

**The poor man's Family-Book** | 3.190
---|---
The certainty of Chrillianity without Popery | *ibid.*

**Compasionate Counsel to young men** | *ibid.*
---|---
The Catechizing of Houfolds | 3.191

**A Treatise against a Foreign Jurisdiction** | 3.196
---|---
Cain and Abel | *ibid.*

**His Defence of Catholick Communion** | 3.198
---|---
Mr. Baxter's general Cenfure of his own Works and Writings | 1.124

**Dr. Boreman** | 2.377
---|---
Mr. Edward Bouver | 3.92

**James Bouver, the Husbandman** | *ibid.*
---|---
Mr. Edward Bowles | 1.56, 2.284

**Mr. William Bridge** | 1.73,236
---|---
Col. John Bridges | 1.88,192,193,97

**Sir Orlando Bridgeman, his Character** | 3.42
---|---
Mr. Thomas Bromwich, his Character | 3.91

**Sir Robert Brooks** | 3.18
---|---
Mr. Brooks | 3.19

**Bishop Brownrigg, 2.172. His Judgment about Church Government in a Letter to Mr. Baxter** | 2.175
---|---
Dr. Bryan, 1.44, his Character | 3.93

**Mr. Jarvis Bryan** | 3.91
---|---
The Duke of Buckingham | 3.21,22, &c.

**Mr. Barstall** | 3.93
---|---
Dr. Burges | 1.42, 2.265

**Mr. Anthony Burgess** | 1.44, 1.07, 3.93
---|---
Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs | 1.73,103

**Mr. Burton** | 3.24
---|---
Mr. Button, 5.36. His Character | 3.96

**C.**
---|---
Mr. Calamy, 1.62,105, 2.214, 217, 218, 225,230,232,265,374, 276, 277, 278, 281,283,303,307,313,330,336,384. his imprisonment 386. | 3.94

**Mr. Cary** | 3.13
---|---
Mr. Cary | 3.19

**Mr. Crilopher Cartwright** | 1.10
---|---
Mr. Care, 2. 229,303,305, 3.94

**Mr. Caughton** | 1.67, 2.431
---|---
Ceremonies. Proposals made to K. Charles II. about
The Table.

about them by the Presbyterian Ministers

2. 235

Mr. Chadwick

3. 4

Chaplains to the several Regiments of the Parliament’s Army, when they first seat out, 1.42.

Mr. Cook of Roxhall 1. 567

Mr. Richard Cook of Kwenor 1. 81

Mr. Cook of Cheffter 2. 432, 3. 98

Mr. Cooper 2. 303, 305, 3. 13

Mr. John Corbet 3. 72, 85. His Character, 3. 96. His Death 3. 189

Dr. Cozens Bishop of Durham, 2. 274, 276, 277, 3. 349, 357, 363

The Scotch Covenant. The Judgment of the Assembly of Divines about the word Pre
cency in it, 1. 48. how’t was explain’d when taken by the Lords and Commons, 1. 49.
grows out of date, 1. 64. King Charles II. forced to take it in Scotland, 1. 65, 66—
about the obligation of it, on all that took it 2. 408, &c.

The Court. Mr. Baxter went thither when he was young, and what he observ’d there, 1. 11

Mrs. Case 3. 189

Mr. Cradock 3. 97

Mr. Cranston 1. 110

Dr. Creighton slenc’d in the Pulpit by a sur
prizing affect[ion] 3. 36

Mr. Crofton 2. 288, 3. 71

Oliver Cromwcll. What hand he had in getting the Earl of Essex laid aside by the Parlia
ment, 1. 47. his Interest in the new model’d Army, 1.49. he invites Mr. Bas	ter to be Chaplain and Palfur to his Re
giment when he was forming it into a Church, 1. 51. his subtle management of the Army under Essex, 1. 57. a further Account of his Intrigues as to the Army, 1. 59, 60. how he endeavour’d to delude the Parliament by a designed Falsity, 59.
he turns all out of the Parliament by main force that were for an Agreement with the King on honourable Terms, 1. 63. and brings the King to his Trial by a pretend
ed Court of Justice, ibid. How he carried it about the time of the King’s Execution, ibid. of the impediments to his ambitious designs after the King was taken off, 1. 65.
He marches into Scotland, 1. 67. His luc
ceness there, 68. He returns into England, and defeats the King at Worcester, 69. He did openly turns off the Rump Parliament when he had no further ends to serve by
them, 70. His further Intrigues to slide himself into the Supreme Government, 70, 71. at length he becomes Protector, 1. 72. His carriage afterwards, 1. 74. His Death and Character 1. 98, 99, 100
Discourse between him and Mr. Baxter in private, after he had preach’d before him, 2. 205

Richard Cromwcll succeeds his Father, 1. 100.
an Account of his Deposition 1. 101

Henry Cromwcll 1. 74

Mr. John Crofs, a Minister, falsely accus’d of a design to Ravish a Woman. The Villain was detected 1. 24

Mr. Crofs died of the Plague 3. 1

D. Mr.
The Table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Davis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Dell, 156. His Character 1. 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remarkable Deliverances Mr. Baxter met</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with in the course of his Life; as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from the Temptation of a Life about the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court; and from being run over by a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waggon; and in a Fall from an Horse,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and from the Temptations of Gaming, 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, 12, from the malice of the Rabble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Kidderminster, 1. 24, 40. from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under great weaknesses, from sudden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accidents, and dangers of treating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dilloners, 1. 80, 81, 82. from a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>threatening Accident at St. Dunstan's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church, 2. 90. from a Musket Bullet,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shot into the Room where he was, 2. 44.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from another threatening Accident over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. James's Market-Houle, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Deiicfan. An Account of the Diocesan frame of Government as settled in England, 2. 396. The Execution of it, 397. Reflections upon it 2. 398

Mr. Thomas Doollittle 2. 19, 95

Spiritual Doubts that exercised Mr. Baxter many years; with their proper Solutions, 1. 6

Dr. Calibute Downing 1. 42

Dr. Drake 1. 67, 2. 303, 3. 94

Dunstan's Church. A sudden Confrontation amongst the People when Mr. Baxter was once preaching there 2. 301

Mr. John Dury 1. 117

The Dutch. Of our War with them in 1666, 3. 16. of their burning our Ships at Chatham, 3. 20. of our second War with them 3. 99

E.

Dr. Earl. His false Report concerning Mr. Baxter. 2. 381. His Letter to him by way of Excuse 382

Egdehall Fight 1. 43

Mr. John Elliot of New England, 2. 290. a Letter of his to Mr. Baxter 2. 293

Mr. Tobias Ellis 3. 96

The Engagement. Of Oath of Fidelity to the Rump 1. 64

The Erafians. A Censure of them, 2. 139, 141

Earl of Effex. Of his being laid aside by the Parliament 1. 47

Captain Everard 1. 78

The Countess Dowager of Exeter, 3. 60. Her Character 3. 95

Mr. Eyres of Salisbury 1. 111

F.

Mr. Richard Fairclough 3. 72. His Character 3. 96

Sir Thomas Fairfax. His Character 1. 48 his great Perplexity, 1. 63. and resignatio- 64

Mr. Falkener 3. 108

Of the Farewel Sermons of the silenced Minis- 2. 333

Dr. Daniel Feately 1. 73

Mr. William Fenner 1. 13

Mr. Finchber 3. 91

Of the Fire of London 3. 16

Mr. Giles Firmin 3. 74, 102

Mr. Samuel Fisher 3. 98

Mr. Richard Foley 1. 13

Mr. Thomas Foley, 3. 71. a Character of him, 383

Mr. Ford of Exeter 3. 97

Sergeant Fountain. His kindness to Mr. Bax- 3. 86

ter

Dr. Fowler 3. 85

Mr. Henry Fowles 3. 90

Mr. Franklin 3. 2, 19

Dr. Frewen Archbishop of York 2. 305

Mr. Froyjell 3. 94

Dr. Fulwood 3. 102

Fundamentals. A Committee of Divines chosen in Oliver's time, to determine the number, and fix the limits of them, 2. 197. Mr. Baxter's Judgment about them in short, ib. & p. 198. the Proceedings of that Committee 199, &c. 199

Funeral. A remarkable Funeral Sermon preach'd by Mr. Baxter at Bridgworth 1. 20

G.

Mr. Francis Garbett 1. 5

Dr. Gauden, Bishop of Exeter, 2. 217, 218, 276, 305, 363

Dr. Gell 1. 78

Dr. Gibbon 1. 78, 2. 205

Mr. Thomas Gilbert 3. 98

Mr. Joseph Ganoide 2. 378

Dr. Thomas Good, 2. 149. a Letter of Mr. Baxter's to him 3. 148

Dr. Thomas Godwin, 1. 73, 103, 2. 197. 3. 19

Church Government. See Church 3. 147

Mr. Thomas Gugge, 3. 17, 94. a Character of him, 3. 147, 148. His Death 3. 190

Dr. Grew of Coventry, 1. 44. His Character 3. 93

Mr. George Griffib 2. 193. 3. 19

Mr. Grimes 3. 2, 19

Mr. Thomas Grove 3. 86

Mr. Grumman 3. 1

Dr. Gunning, afterward Bishop of Ely, 2. 217, 277, 337, 346, 349, 356, 357, 363, 364. a Private Conference between him and Mr. Baxter, 3. 104

H.

Dr. Hackett 2. 276

Sir Matthew Hale. His Character, 3. 147, 175, 181

Mr. Hal, alias Church 3. 13

Mr. Thomas Hall 3. 91

Mr. John Hampden 1. 17, 3. 177

Mr.


### The Table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mr. Richard Hampden</th>
<th>2.448</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Robert Hamilton</td>
<td>3.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Hammond, 16273, 2.149</td>
<td>A Treaty betweeen him and Mr. Baxter, about an Agreement with the Episcopal Party, just before the return of K. Charles II 2.208, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. Edward Harley</td>
<td>1.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major General Harrison. His Character, 1.</td>
<td>57,70,74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Heath</td>
<td>3.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Nathaniel Herne</td>
<td>3.172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Samuel Hilderham</td>
<td>3.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Hinchman, Bishop of Salisbury, 2.274,276, 227,278,305,362</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Hinckley of Norfield</td>
<td>3.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Hinks</td>
<td>3.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Hodges</td>
<td>3.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Holbrook</td>
<td>1.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Hollingsworth</td>
<td>3.180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Hooker</td>
<td>3.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. William Hopkins. His Character</td>
<td>3.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Horton</td>
<td>2.305,307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Horton</td>
<td>ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. John Rowe</td>
<td>3.437,97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Hughes of Plymouth</td>
<td>3.97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### J. I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D. Jace, 1.105, 2.197,214,303,308, 307,337,346, 3.13,19,</th>
<th>His Character, 3.95</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Arthur Jackson, 1.67, 2.218,303,308</td>
<td>3.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Henry Jackson</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Jane</td>
<td>3.177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Fenwicke, 3.2,19, His Character</td>
<td>3.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Jenkyns, 1.67, 2.229,</td>
<td>3.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Peter Face</td>
<td>2.432,3,97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Independants.** Their Character, 1.102,103, 104, 2.140,143,387. A fruitless attempt of Union with them, managed with Mr. Nye, 2.18. Another of the same kind with Dr. Owen, 3.61,62, &c. 

**Infidelity.** Mr. Baxter's Temptations to it, 1.21

Mr. Martin Johnson, 2.179. Letters between him and Mr. Baxter, about the Necesary or no Necesary of Episcopal Ordination, and an uninterrupted Succession in the Church, Appendix Numb. 2.

Mr. William Johnstone, the Papist. An Account of the Difference between him and Mr. Baxter. 2.218, &c.

Mr. Juise                  | 3.91  |
| Dr. Juxton, Archbisp of Canterbury | 2.433 |

### K.

Ederminster. Mr. Baxter's first settlement there, 1.26. of the Sequestration of the Living there, 1.79. Mr. Baxter's great Pains and eminent Succes in that Town, 1.83,84,85. the Discipline that he kept up there, 1.91. His fruitless endeavours to return thither, after his Ejection, 2.298, &c. He goes down thither, but could not be allow'd to stay there, 2.374, how the poor People there fared afterwards, 327,376 some of them grew very hot and fiery, 3.73

Dr. Kendal. His Character | 1.110, 2.206 |
| Dr. King Bishop of Rochester | 2.305 |
| Mr. Simon King              | 3.98  |

### L.


Dr. Lamplugh, Bishop of Exeter | 3.178 |
| Dr. Lany, Bishop of Peterborough | 2.305,337, 3.35 |
| Mr. Lapthorn                  | 1.26  |
| Mr. Edward Lawrence          | 3.94  |
| Mr. George Lawton             | 1.167 |

The Letters contain'd in this Volume, are the following: 

One from Mr. Vines to Mr. Baxter, 2.147. One from an unknown hand to Sir Ralph Clare, containing certain Queries, the Solution whereof was desired from Mr. Baxter, 2.151. Mr. Baxter's Answer, 1.53, &c. a Letter of Mr. Baxter's to Sir Ralph Clare, 2.157. a Letter from the Ministers of Westmoreland and Cumberland to the Bishop of Worcester, 162. their Answer to it, 164. a Letter from the Irish to the Worcester Ministers, 169. their Answer, 170. A copy from the Irish Ministers, 171. One of Mr. Baxter's to Bishop Brownrigg, 2.172. 

His Reply, 174, &c. One of Mr. Baxter's to Mr. Nye, 2.188. two of Mr. Baxter's to the Lady Anne Lindsley, 2.221, &c. one of Mr. Baxter's to the Lord Chancellor, 2.282. One to Mr. Baxter, from the Court and Government of New England, 2.295. Another from Mr. Norton, 292. Another from Mr. Elliot, 293. Mr. Baxter's Answer to Mr. Elliot, 295. One of my Lord Chancellor Hyde's to Sir Ralph Clare, about Mr. Baxter's return to Kedermisfer, 2.299. One of Mr. Baxter's to Dr. Earle about a false Advertisement, 2.382. One of his to an honourable Person about a Comprehension, and Indulgence, 2.434: a Letter to Mr. Baxter from Monfieur Amynt, and another from Monfieur Sollecoeur, 2.442. a Letter from my Lord Abbot to Sir John Trevor, with a Cafe of Confidence, to be solv'd by Mr. Baxter, 2.495. Mr. Baxter's Reply, ibid. A Letter from Dr. Bates to Mr. Baxter, about the Affair of the Oxford Oath, 2.14. One from Dr. Manton to Mr. Baxter about an Address from the Presbyterian Ministers to the King, 3.36. One from Dr. Owen to Mr. Baxter about the Terms of Agreement with the Independants, 3.64. One from Mr. Baxter to the Earl of Lauderdale, 3.75. a second to the Earl of Lauderdale, 3.77. One of his to Sir Robert Murr,
The TABLE.

Mr. James Nalton, 1.42,67. His Death, and Character 2.431, 3.94
Mr. Nanfan 2.373
Najdy Fight 1.50
James Nayler, The Ringleader of the Quakers 1.77
Mr. Needler 3.94
New-England. An Account of the Affairs of that Plantation 2.290
Mr. Matthew Newcomen, 2.232,281,303,307
Mr. Newton of Taunton 3.13
Nonconformists. Their several Principles and Pleas 2.394, &c.
Mr. Norman of Bridgewater 2.422
Mr. Philip Nye, 1.73, 101, 103, 2.197, 439; 3.19, a Debate between him and Mr. Baxter about an Union with the Independents, 2.188,189, &c.

Mr. Oslyand of Bewdley, 1.95, 2.383. His Character 3.91
Oath. Of the Eastern Oath imposed in 1640. Reasons for and against the taking of it, 1.155, &c. of the Oath to the Rump called the Engagement, 1.644. of the Oath of Canonical Obedience, 2.425. of the Oxford Oath. Reasons against it 3.95
Orders. Mr. Baxter Episcopally ordain'd 1.13
Mr. Overton 3.13
Dr. Owen, 1.64,101,103, 2.197, 3.19, 42. a Treaty between him and Mr. Baxter about an Union between the Presbyterians and Independents, 3.61,62. A Letter of his to Mr. Baxter about that matter, 63. the Issue of this Treaty 3.69, 3.73

P. Sir
The TABLE.

SIR John Pakington, 2.298,301
Papists. Their hand in the Death of K. Charles I. 2.373
Whether it be lawful for a Protestant to marry a Papist? 2.445,
Their carriage presently after the Fire of London, 3.26. great fears of them in 1673. 3.106. their Plot in 1678. 3.134
Mr. Parker 1.78
Dr. Samuel Parker. His Ecclesiastical Policy, 3.41,42
Parliament. The Proceedings of the Long Parliament, 1.18. the different tempers of the Members of it, and a further Account of their Proceedings 1.25, &c.
Mr. Parson 3.94
Mr. Papson 3.93
Mr. Pateman 3.97
Dr. Patrick. His Friendly Debate 3.39
William Penn. A Conference between him and Mr. Baxter 3.142
Sir Francis Petter 3.18
Dr. Pierce. His late Accusation of Mr. Baxter, 2.279. His Character, 2.280—344, 345 3.46
Mr. Pigot 3.08
Dr. Pym 2.375,346,347,349,357,358
Pimper Hall Lecture. The quarrel amongst the Independents there at its first ejection, 3.103. Mr. Baxter horribly damn'd by the Fadious on the Account of his Sermons there 3.147
Mr. Pitt 2.376
The Plague in the Year 1665. 2.448, 3.1
Mr. Matthew Poole 3.13,94
Dr. Pordage and his Family 1.77
Mr. Porter of Whitbrough. A Character of him 3.94
Mr. Vavasor Powell 3.72
Prayer. Remarkable Answers of it 1.80
Common Prayer. Exceptions against it 2.308
Exceptions against it that were deliver'd in by the Difenting Minifters to the Commissions at the Savoy Conference, 2.316
Presbyter pen Minifters. Their trouble on the Account of their fidelity to K. Charles. 1.67
Some of them made the King's Chaplains upon his Restorat i on, 2.229, their waiting upon his Majefly, and treatment by him, 3.230. 231. their ftrat Propofals to the King about Concor d, 2.232. several of them refufe Bilhophobia and other Prefer rets, 2.283, 284. they prefent an Address of Thanks to the King, for his Declaration concerning Ecclefaftical Affairs, 284, &c. they hold a Conference at the Savoy with the Bilhophs, and feveral of their Divines, 2.295. &c. their Petition to the King after that Conference, 2.366. Multitudes of them filenc'd on Bartholomew Day 1662.

2.284. See filenc'd Minifters. Bifhop Prideaux 1.73

O of the Quakers, 1.77. their Resolution under Sufferings 2.416

R.

D.

R. Rainbow
The Ranters 2.303,305. 3.94
Mr. Joseph Read, 3.92. his Imprisonment, 3.176
Of Re-ordination, 2.422. Reasons against conflenting to it, 3.30. [fully pag'd 38].
Dr. Edward Reignold's, 1.64. 2.229,230,232, 265,274,276,278,281,282. he accep ts a Bilhophobia, 2.283,303,305,307,335,364
Mr. John Reignold's 3.92
Mr. Reynolds 2.197
Dr. Rice 3.46,48
Mr. Robert's 3.2
Mr. Joseph Rock 3.92
Mr. Rodes 3.43
Mr. Refe 3.95

M.

Mr. Sachtervill 2.432
Mr. Jo. Sadler 1.64
Mr. Saltmarsh 1.56
Mr. Sanger 3.94,178. His Death 3.182
Dr. Saunders, Bifhop of Lincoln 2.395,377 3.363

The Savoy Conference. A large Account of it, 2.305, &c. Of theurreptitious publication of it 2.379

Scotland. The DiSatisfactions there in King Charles the Firft's time, 1.16. Cromwell's march thither, 1.68. a great change of Affairs there in King Charles the Second's time 1.417

The Scots. Of their first coming into England, 1.17. of their coming a second time into England to help the Parliament, 1.49. of their adherence to King Charles the Second upon the taking off of King Charles the Firft 1.65,66

Settlers in the Army, 1.53. in the Regularment, 1.63. Observations about their growth, 1.97. An whole days Difpute maintaine'd with fome of them by Mr. Baxter at Agmondesham 1.63

Seekers 1.76
Dr. Lazarus Seeman 1.62. 2.229. 3.13,94
Mr. Ohaidah Sedgwick 1.42
Mr. John Sedgwick ibid.
The Learned Selden, no Hobbit 3.48
Mr. Richard Searjeant, 1.79,88. a Character of him 3.91
The Earl of Shaftsbury 3.109
Mr. Sheffield 3.17
Dr. Sheldon, first Bifhop of London, then of Can-
The TABLE.

Canterbury. 1. 62. 2. 276, 3. 95
The Sickness in the year 1665. 2. 418. 3. 1
Silenced Ministers. See Ministers.
Mr. Silvester 3. 96
Mr. Smith 3. 13
Mr. Samuel Smith 3. 49
Mr. Scott’s misfortune when preaching before the King 2. 380
The Earl of Southampton 3. 3
Mr. Sound. A Character of him 3. 93
Dr. Sparrow 2. 337. 346
Mr. Ambrose Sparry, 2. 383. His Character, 3. 91
Mr. John Spilsbury 3. 92
Dr. Sprigow, 1. 42. 2. 229, 230, 276, 303, 305.
Mr. Stanchiff 3. 13, 96
Mr. James Stansfield 2. 273
Dr. Sterne, Bishop of Carlisle, afterwards of York 2. 305, 318
Mr. Peter Sterry, Sir Benjamin Rudyard’s Character of him. 1. 75
Mr. Stope 2. 280
Mr. Stubbs. A Character of him, 3. 95. His Death 3. 189
Mr. Swaine 3. 98
Mr. Sidrach Symson 1. 64, 73, 193, 2. 197
T.

Mr. Francis Talents. A Character of him 3. 94
Mr. Tawer 3. 36, 97
The Tef. Debates about in Parliament, 3. 167
Mr. William Thomas 3. 13
Mr. Thornide 2. 364
Mr. John Tomkes, 1. 88. The difference that arose between him and Mr. Baxter, and their Dispute at Bewdley 1. 96
Mr. Andrew Trifram 3. 92
The Triers of Ministers 1. 72
Dr. Tuckey 2. 303, 307, 3. 97
Sir William Turner 3. 48
Mr. Turner 3. 2, 19, 95
Dr. William Twisse 1. 73
Judge Tyrrell 3. 59

Mr. Vaughan 3. 96
Vernon 2. 301
Mr. Vening 3. 95
Mr. Richard Vines, 1. 44, 62, 64. A Letter of his to Mr. Baxter 2. 147, 2. 197
Mr. Thomas Vincent, 3. 2, 19. His Character, 3. 95
Mr. Nathaniel Vincent 3. 19
Archibishop Uffier 1. 25, 62, 73, 2. 197
Of Mr. Baxter’s acquaintance with him, 2. 266. His Judgment about Universal Redemption; and about the validity of Presbyter. Ordination, ibid. His Reduction of Episcopacy, or Model of Church Government at large, 2. 238. This was offered King Charles the First at the Isle of Wight, 1. 62. and offered to King Charles the Second upon his return, by the Presbyterian Ministers, as a standing Form of Church Government 2. 234

W.

Mr. Wadsorth, 3. 19. His Character, 3. 95, 178
Mr. Humphrey Walden 1. 88, 92
Dr. Wallis, 1. 107, 2. 229, 230, 276, 277, 303, 305.
Ralph Wallis, the Cobler of Gloucester 3. 23
Dr. Walton Bishop of Chester 2. 305, 318
War. Occasions of the Civil War between King and Parliament, r. 26. the first Dutch War, 3. 16. the second Dutch War 3. 99
Mr. John Warren 1. 107. 3. 97
Dr. Warmestey 2. 307, 314
Mr. Thomas Watson 1. 67, 3. 19, 95
Bishop Westford 1. 73
Col. Whalley 1. 51, 55
Mr. John White 1. 19
Mr. Whitaker 3. 95
Mr. Richard Wickstead 1. 4, 11
Judge Wild 3. 13
Mr. Wildber 3. 13
Dr. Wilkins 3. 24
Mr. Wills 3. 93
Mr. Wilton. His Character 3. 96
Mr. Williby 3. 92
Dr. Wincop 1. 73
The Lord Windsor 2. 377
Dr. Winter 2. 169
Mr. Benjamin Woodbridge 2. 303, 307, 3. 98
Mr. Woodcock 3. 94
Dr. Worth 2. 232
Mr. Woodward 3. 36
Mr. Thomas Wright of Kimmerley 3. 94

FINIS.

This Table is to be placed last of all, and the first Signature should be S.