This copy has a lost of Straco yet present in the title copies.
THE NONCONFORMISTS
PLEA for PEACE:
OR
An Account of their Judgment.

In certain things in which they are misunderstood: written to reconcile and pacifie such as by mistaking them hinder Love and Concord.

Exhort, in the Liturgy before the Communion.

If any of you be—an hinderer, or slanderer of God's Word,—or be in malice or envy,—Repent of your sins, or else come not to the holy Table, left after the taking of that Sacrament, the Devil enter into you as he did into Judas, and fill you full of all iniquities, and bring you to destruction both of body and soul.

By RICHARD BAXTER.

LONDON,
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To the Reverend

Conforming Clergy.

Reverend Fathers and Brethren,

It is now seventeen years since near two thousand Ministers of Christ were by Law forbidden the exercise of their Office, unless they did conform to Subscriptions, Covenants, Declarations and Practices, which we durst not do, because we feared God: Foreseeing what this would do to the destroying of Love and Concord, and of mens souls, weakning the Land, encouraging Popery, Heresie and Schism, we did our best betime by Reason, & submissive petitioning the Bishops, to have prevented it; but in vain: We never made one motion for Presbytery, or against Liturgies, nor to abate any of the Bishops Wealth, or Honour, nor any thing as to Church-Government, but Arch Bishop Ushers Model of the Primitive way: And we thankfully accepted of much less, express in His Majesties Gracious Declaration about A 3 Eccle.
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Ecclesiastical Affairs, which, we hoped, would have ended all our discords. The Reasons of the Great Change, and New Impostitions, it is God, and not we, that must have an account of from the Convocation, &c. and of the consequents. Since then, as we foresaw, contrary interests have increased contrariety: The Laws against our Preaching to more than four, the Penalties of forty pound a Sermon, and long imprisonment in common Gaols, and driving us five miles from Corporations, and places where we lately preach, and the reasons given are not unknown to you: Many Books are written, and Sermons preached, earnestly pressing Magistrates to execute these Laws against us: And though, when demanded, we gave in a Catalogue of divers things in the old Impostitions, which we undertook to prove to be great sins; and in our Petition for Peace, protested that nothing but avoiding sin should hinder our Conformity, and we had never call or leave to give our reasons against the New Conformity; I myself have been reported to my Superiors, to be one that confesseth the Lawfulness of all, save the renouncing of a rebellious Covenant: And while the Law and Canons imprison, and excommunicate us ipso facto, if we do but give the reasons of our Nonconformity; and I have offered to Reverend Bishops and others, to beg leave to do
do it on my knees, and nothing more grieved me, than that I might not so endeavour to save men from the damning sins of Hating, false accusing, and ruining their Brethren, and sacrilegious hindering the Preaching of God's Word; yet have I been called on to tell them what it is that we would have, and told that our Superiours judge us not sincere, but meer factious Schismaticks, that will neither Conform, nor tell them why we do not. Vehement Letters of accusation are sent me: Many Books charge us with heinous Schism, even as wilfully done against our consciences: Yea that Covetousness and Pride, and not Conscience, cause our Nonconformity; that we are the worst men alive, and unfit for humane society, &c. while we are made their scorn, and many want bread, and many of us preach for nothing, save the spiritual benefits and rewards. And those of us that have bread, know of so many that have families, and nothing but alms to maintain them, that we are glad to give them all that our necessities can spare: And we suppose our accusers would not think that if they chose beggary and scorn, or lived only on mens charity, it would prove them to be covetous or proud. I have read the Books of Bishop Morley, Mr. Stileman, Mr. Fulwood, Mr. Durel, Mr. Fowlis, Mr. Falkener, Mr. Nansen, Dr. Boreman, Dr.
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Dr. Parker, Dr. Tomkins, the Friendly Debate, Dr. Ashton, Mr. Hollingworth, Dr. Good, Mr. Hinkley, the Counterminer, Mr. L’Estrange, Mr. Long; and many more. And as my flesh is no more in love with poverty and scorn than yours, nor was I more incapable of such a lot as yours; so I here testify that no man is more inexusable than I, that have dwelt so long in pain, so neer the grave, if I have been so mad as to silence my self, and chose a Gaol among malefactors (where I have lain) and bitter accusations and prosecutions, for any thing of this world that I could hope for, or for any thing less than my salvation. And either I am an utter stranger to my self, or else I was willing to know the Truth: and Liberty and Wealth is liker to be a byas, than that which the Law decreeth against us. But if I be so unhappy as to be incapable of understanding the lawfulness of all that is made necessary to the Ministry, you should better think of it before you beg the ruine of all that are as ignorant as I. Had you told us how to come to your measure of knowledge, we would thank you: When I askt Bishop Morley such a question, he advised me to read Bilson and Hooker, where I found more than I approved for resisting or restraining Kings; and had long before read them and Saravia, Bishop Downam, Spalaten-
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fis, Petavius, Sancta Clara, Dr. Hammond, and abundance more for Prelacy, &c. He is not worthy the name of a man that would not know that truth, which maketh both for his temporal and eternal welfare.

Under these accusations my conscience urged me to acquaint the accusing Clergy with our Case, believing it be uncharitable to impute all their false report to Malignity, or Diabolism, but that it was STRANGENESS to our Case, while wrath and cross interest kept them from hearing us: But my prudent friends persuaded me silently to leave all to God, assuring me it would but more exasperate, till they called us themselves to speak. Twice we were since invited to a Tryal for Concord, and both times came to an Agreement with the moderate and eminent Persons that we treated with: But it was buried in privacy; and still we are called on, to give the reasons of our Dissent.

Having long forbore for fear of offending them that require it, at last I have here adventured, not so far as to urge the Case, but only to state it, and tell you barely what it is that I dare not do: If I find that you can bear this, if I have leave from God and man, I shall venture on more, and give you my reasons: This unarmed Account is easily trampled on. I doubt not but it will meet with
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with such usage as I have had already: But I must say, that if such as the Counterminer will say that to fear such sin as I have here named, by one that is not willing to be damned, is Treason, Rebellion, Schism, Faction, Pride, Obstiny; this will not pass with me for convincing Argument, on which I may venture my salvation. J ud. Scaliger exercit. tells us, that in France our Bicott, the Learned Schoolman, was envied by another for his Auditors in Philosophy, and his crafty adversary told the King, that Bicott was a Peripatetick, and Aristotle was against Monarchy: There needed no more, and Bicott was cast down.

As for them that think that to name the late Wars is a Confutation of Nonconformists, as if they knew not that they were raised on both sides by Conformists (Heylin in Lauds Life will tell them who,) I now only repeat, [Silence all that had a hand in those Wars (except the Conformists) and no more, and I and thousands will give you thanks: ] I plead not for my self: The years are past in which I might have better served the Church, had I been thought tolerable. I am almost incapable now of your kindness, or of any great hurt that you can do me. A torrent of reproaching scornful words may ease some mens minds, and serve some mens ends, but
but will not satisfy my conscience, nor heal the Land. I write not this as accusing Conformists, or the Law makers, but as answering their loud and long accusations and demands. If telling what I fear, seem a telling what others are guilty of, it is a consequent which I cannot avoid; but to avoid it and such like, have seventeen years been herein silent. So far am I from desiring the weakening of the Church, that I had not written this, but to prevent it. Though I with Saint Martin renounce communion with Ithacius and Idacius, I go not so far as he in separating from the Synods of Bishops; nor will I separate from any Christians, further than they separate from Christ; or expel me: Church-Order I love; Church-Tyranny and Schism I love not: I am for more Bishops, and not for fewer: If Parish-Oratories, or Chapels were made Parish-Churches, at least in each Corporation antiently called παπαίσια: Yea if the Parish-Ministers might be Pastors, Episcopi gregis, and not forced by strangers to excommunicate, absolve and receive to communion against their knowledge and consciences, nor to profess, promise or practice sin against God, nor omit their known Ministerial duty, far be it from me to be against Conformity. I doubt not but he that will preserve Religion here in its due advantages, must endeavour to pre-
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Serve the Soundness, Concord and Honour of the Parish-Churches. And as the truly wise and honest Judge Hale hath said to me, It must be a new Act of Uniformity that must heal us, if ever we be healed. I am of the mind of old Mr. Dod, who, for the peoples sake, thanked God that there were so many worthy Conformists, and for Truth and Conscience sake, thanked God that there were so many Nonconformists. I love and honour the Reverend, solid, worthy Preachers which I hear in most Churches in London, where I come; and I endeavour to have all others honour them: And though I am by the Canon ipso facto excommunicate, they shall put me out from them before I will depart. But for the Church, and Kingdom, and their Consciences sake, I beg of the Clergy, that before they any more render odious those whom they never heard, and urge Rulers to execute the Laws against them, that is, to confine, imprison, excommunicate, silence and undo them, they would be sure what manner of spirit they are of; and that this is acceptable to God, and profitable to the Land, or to themselves, and that which the Churches Experience commendeth. My honest friend, whom I once persuaded from Anabaptistry, writing against Separation, faith, that when he saw here a leg, and there an arm in the way, it was time for him to stop. But
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But in Church-history I have had a sadder sight, even the carcasses of thousands, streams of blood, and tumults in the chief Cities and Churches of the world, the Crowns of Emperours & Kings, the loss of the Eastern Empire, the generation of the Papacie, the reproach of Christianity, and that by Clergie-Domination, and Contention, striving who should be Greatest and seem wisest. Some say, If we take in a few moderate men like you, what the better are we? Anf. More than you dream of, are far better than I: I hope few are worse; Bishop Morley bid Ab uno discce omnes: Shall London have no clocks unless they will all strike at once? shall none be tolerated but the perfect? Are you such your selves? Do you differ in nothing? how then shall we have Communion with you when we differ in all the things here described? Pardon me for saying, I think that Mr. Tombs hath said more like truth for Anabaptiftry, the late Hungarian for Polygamy, many for drunkenness, stealing and lying, in cases of necessity, than ever I yet read for the lawfulness of all that I have here described. And what is it that some men cannot copiously and confidently talk for? And what wretched Reasons be they that have hindered England's unity and peace? And how fully hath Rom. 14. and 15. and our Common interest and notorious experience confuted them! I have
have long wondered what powerful cause it is, that with such men and so many, could so long prevail against such evidence and light. If you will not hear, those will whom God will use to the healing of his Churches: and blessed are the Peacemakers for (though you call them otherwise) they shall be called the Children of God. I have prefixed the words of some as our admonition; and I have written with this a fuller Treatise of the only true terms of the Concord of all Christian Churches, and of the false terms which they never will unite in, but are the causes of Schism. I commit all with my self living and dying, to him that is the Lord of the dead and living, and will shortly judge us all in righteousness. Come Lord Jesus; and prepare us for thy Coming. Amen.
THE

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Sect. I.

The Reasons of this writing, and the sense of the word [Church]

It was the saying of acute and holy Augustine (though we call him not with Fromondus Omniscium) [that no man ought to be patient under an accusation of Heresie.] He meaneth by patience; a silent neglect of his own just Vindication: Not that we must be like Hectoring Duellers, that would kill or hurt others in revenge, or in a sinful way of Vindication: But by silence, those that slander men may be encouraged in their sin to their own destruction, and those that value the slandered persons may be tempted to think too well of Heresie for their sakes: And the honour of God, and his Truth, and our own good names, so far as they are serviceable, are none of them to be disregarded. We have with grieved souls beheld the Land of our Nativity

B distracted
distracted by Divisions; and much, if not most about Religion, (we wish it were not against Religion, by some that indeed have no true Religion:) Teachers against Teachers, in Discourses, Sermons, Books, rendring each other despicable, and unlovely, and some calling out aloud to Rulers to draw the Sword against their Brothers; so learnedly and industriously pleading the Cause against each other with the Laity, high and low, as if the destroying of their Love, and kindling Wrath and Hatred, were the Evangelical necessary work; and without this zeal, and skill, and diligence hard to be accomplished. No wonder then if we have people against people, families divided, and all confounded; and this grievous Schism carryed on, by crying out against each other as Schismaticks, and implacably causing it while we loudly inveigh against it. The case is lamentable, that distraction should be thus expressed and promoted; and when God hath warned us by the mischies of an odious Civil War, and hath tryed us again with peace with all Nations about us, when most of them are involved in grievous Wars, that yet we will not give peace to one another, but live as if Peace were the Plague which we most desire to escape.

Yet as it is the good providence of God, that the Names of Wisdom, Godliness, Truth, Justice, Mercy, Honesty and Virtue, are all still honourable even among those that hate and oppose them; and the names of Folly, Ungodliness, Lying, Unjustice, Unmercifullness, Dishonesty and Vice, are all dishonourable where the things themselves are followed and prevail: so Love, Peace,
Peace and Concord, are names that are by most commended; when if most were for the things indeed, we were in a hopeful way of recovery: And Malice, Schism and Discord, are cried down by those, whom no intreary will prevail with to forbear them, or to accept any remedy against them.

Yet we are thus far prepared for peace, that if we be not false Hypocrites, if we did but know which is the true way of Love, Peace and Concord, we would follow it: And if we knew what is Schism indeed, we would avoid it. And its pity that men that think themselves wise should yet not know the way of Love and Peace: Especially that the Learned Preachers of the Gospel of Love and Peace, should still be the incendiaries, and stir up the Laity that would be more peaceable, against each other. And that after so many Volumes of History have these thirteen hundred years at least, asperst the Clergy with the reproach of being the contentious troublers of the world. And yet must we despair of a cure of so odious a disease?

The thing that Books, Sermons, and Discourses, cry out against those called Non Conformists for, is Humorous, Obstinate Schism, and Disobedience, in Preaching, when forbidden, and keeping up Assemblies not allowed, and gathering Churches out of Churches, & separating from the Parish-Communi-on, and Church of England. If we can find out the Schismatick, we hope he will be condemned by us all. But that the Cause may be heard, at least in some part, before it is judged, we that publish this, here give an account of our own judg-ment, and those that we are best acquainted with,
how far we hold it lawful or unlawful to gather Churches, or to separate from Churches, or to differ from what is established by Authority: But the Application to our particular Case, and our Arguments thereabout, we must not here presume to publish.

They that accuse others as Schismatics, and Separatists, for deserting Churches, or gathering Churches out of Churches, and will not tell us what they mean by the word Church, nor give us leave to tell them what we mean, but judge in confusion, and despise explication, and necessary distinction, are men that we can neither be edified by, nor edifie, in this way.

SECT. II.

The Various Opinions of such us we have to do with.

Sect. 1. Because men will judge of such Causes according to their several Principles, and Presuppositions, we must take notice of some of the divers Principles of those whose censure we must expect: (Though not of inconsiderable Sects.)

Sect. II. And 1. Some say that no humane Form of Church-Government, and of Churches, as governed, is of God's Institution (or as they say, jure Divino,) but that it is left to humane prudence.

Sect. III. 2. Some hold only an Universal Church (governed by a Pope, say some of them, or
or by a General Council while sitting, and a Pope in the Intervals, say others, or by a Pope and Council agreeing while it sits, and a Pope in the Intervals, say others) to be jure Divino, and all particular Church-Forms as subordinate, left to the prudence of this Universal Governour as Supreme; as Inferiour Officers in Kingdoms are made by the King.

Sect. IV. 3. Some hold that this Universal Church-Form, and also Diocesan, and no other, are instituted of God.

Sect. V. 4. Some hold that the Universal, Patriarchal, Metropolitical (or Provincial) Diocesan, and Parochial, are jure divino, or instituted by Christ and his Apostles.

Sect. VI. 5. Some hold that only Diocesan Churches, and Metropolitical or Provincial, are jure divino, and not the universal: And of these some take Diocesan Churches, for those only that contain many fixed Assemblies, and some for such as have one Bishop, whether over one Congregation, or over multitudes. Saith the very learned Dr. Hammond, in 1 Tim. 3. [The Church of the living God, was every such regular Assembly of Christians under a Bishop (such as Timothy was) an Oeconomus set over them by Christ: Such again every larger circuit under the Metropolitane, who as Timothy had xereston εἰς ἑαυτόν, Ordination and Jurisdiction over the whole Province. And such all the particular Churches of the whole world, considered together under the Supreme Head Christ Jesus, dispensing them all by himself, and administering them severally, not by any one Oeconomus, but by the several Bishops as inferior Heads of Unity to the several Bodies, so]
constituted by the several Apostles in their plantations, each of them having an Autonomy, a several distinct Commission from Christ immediately and subordinate to none, but the Supreme Donor or Pleni-

potentia. He here supposeth (as he elsewhere sheweth) that de facto, Episcopal Churches were in Scripture-times but single Congregations, but that after it was otherwise: And whether then the New Form of Congregations were jure divino, when they became but Parts of a Bishop's Church, we leave to the Reader's conjecture; as also of the New Form of a Diocesan Church.

Sect. VII. 6. Some hold that National Churches, that is, Christian Kingdoms, as governed by the Sovereign, Secular Power, are instituted by God, and that all Church Forms else within that Kingdom, are jure humano, at the pleasure of the King, so be it, that worshipping-Assemblies be kept up, and Bishops and Priests placed as it shall please the King.

Sect. VIII. 7. Some think that Diocesans (or Bishops whether over one Congregation or many) are instituted by God (and some say also Archbishops;) and that these have power by consent or contract among themselves, to make Patriarchal and National Churches: And so that these National and Patriarchal Churches are jure divino mediate, but jure humano immediato, and are rather made by the consent of Bishops, than by Kings: And so under Heathen Kings the Churches may be National.

Sect. IX. 8. Some think that Parochial Churches (consisting of Christians distinguished by the circuit of ground) and combinations of these into Synods less and greater, Classical, Nationa,
nal, are jure divino, and no other lawful.

Sect. X. 9. Some think that only Parochial Churches ordinarily, and single Congregations of any Neighbour Christians, when Parish Order cannot be observed, are jure divino.

Sect. XI. 10. And some think that only such single Congregations of Christians, with their Chosen Pastors, without any necessary respect to Parish bounds, are properly called Churches of Divine Institution, though these Churches may and should hold such associations, as correspondence and mutual help require.

Sect. XII. There being so many sorts of Churches in the world, (as Universal, National, Patriarchal, Provincial, or Metropolitical, Diocesan, Classical, Parochial, Congregational) it is hard to give a just decision of the question, From which of these, and when it is a sin to separate; till it be first known which of these is Divine, and which of Humane Institution, and which Humane Churches are necessary, which lawful, and which sinful. And it must be known of which the question is. And while there is so signal a diversity of Judgment, about the several Forms, the nature of Schism will be hardlier opened.

SECT. III.

What Churches we hold to be instituted by God, and what not.

Sect. I. Our own Judgment we shall plainly express in this following Order:
I. We shall shew what Church we judge to be of God's Institution, and what not. 2. What about Churches the Magistrates or Pastors may institute by God's Authority or allowance: And what they may not institute. 3. In what cases it is lawful to gather Churches where Churches are: In what cases it is lawful to separate from Churches; and in what cases neither of these last is lawful.

Sect. II. 1. All Christians are agreed, that Christ is the Author of the Universal Church, (considered both as Baptized, or Externally covenanting and professing, called Visible, and as Regenerate and sincerely Covenanting, called Mystical) as it is Headed by Christ himself, and called his Body, and his special Kingdom.

Sect. III. 2. We doubt not but Christ hath instituted the Office of the sacred Ministry, to be under him as the Teacher, Ruler, and High Priest of the Church, in Teaching, Guiding, and Worskiping: And that he hath instituted holy Assemblies and Societies for these things to be exercised in: And that [a Society of Neighbour Christians associated with such a Pastor or Pastors, for personal Communion herein, even in such Doctrine, Discipline and Worship] is a Church-Form of Divine Institution.

Sect. IV. If they be not [Christians] by Baptism, or visible Profession, they be not visible Materials for a Church.

If they be not [Neighbours] that is, within reach of each other, so as to be capable of such Communion, they are not matter that hath the necessary extrinseical disposition.

If they be not [associated] explicitely or implicitely,
plcitely, by some signification of Consent, they may be an accidental Assembly, but not a proper Christian Church.

If they be not associated, [for this holy Communion] they may be a Civil Society, but not a Church.

If they be not associated [for Personal Communion] at some due seasons, but only for Communion at distance by Delegates, Messengers or Letters, they are not a Particular Church of this species now defined, though they may be members of larger associations, National, Diocesan, &c.

If they are not associate with one or more Pastors, they may be a Community of Christians, but not a Political Church, which we now define.

If they are not joyned with a Pastor that hath all the foresaid Powers, of Teaching, Ruling by the Word and Keys, and going before them in Worship; and if they consent not to his relation as such, they may make a School, or an Oratory, but not a proper particular Church simpliciter, so called [but only a Church secundum quid, or as to some part;] for an Essential part is wanting. But it is not the defect of Exercise that unchurcheth them, while there is the Power, and that consented to (for Men cannot be Pastors or Churches against their wills.)

Sect. V. 3. As all Christians grant that the Apostles had a general Commission to call Infidels to Christ, and to plant Churches with their particular Pastors as aforesaid, and to take care that their Pastor and they do the duties, (not compelling them by their Sword, but by the Word,) so we are far from denying that yet some
some Ministers of Christ may, and should seek the conversion of Infidels, and plant Churches of the converted, ordaining Pastors over them by their consent, and taking due care by their grave advise that such Churches walk in the obedience of Christ, as far as they can procure it; And such Seniors which have so planted these Churches and Pastors by Gods blessing on their labours, should be much reverenced by the Churches which they have planted, and their just advise, exhortations and admonitions should be heard by the People and the Pastors whom they ordained, and all their juniors: And though the Apostles have no succedours in their extraordinaries, yet that some should in this ordinary work succeed them, we deny not, because 1. We find that it is a work still necessary to be done: 2. And others as well as Apostles did it in those times; as Silas, Luke, Apollo, Timothy, Titus, &c. and since, all such as have planted the Gospel among Infidels. 3. Because Christ promised to be with them that did this work to the end of the world, Mat.28.21. But whether such men be of a different office or order from the Junior Pastors; whether any true Presbyter that hath ability, opportunity and invitation, may not do the same work with Infidels; and by his success, and seniority may not so ordain Pastors over the Churches which he gathered; and have an answerable right to reverence and regard from those that he so planteth, and ordaineth; are controversies which we presume not now to decide.

And we cannot prove that this maketh a distinct form of a Church, no not in the Apostles time and case: For we cannot prove that they
they distributed the Countrys into Provinces or Dioceses peculiar to each Apostle; and had any Churches which they supposed to be peculiarly under this or that Apostles Government so as that any of the rest might not with Apostolical power have come, resided, preached and governed in the same: No Scripture tells us of such limits & Provinces. Nay the Scripture tells us, that many of them were as Apostles at once in the same places: As at Jerusalem oft. Paul and John had Apostolical power at Ephesus: Peter and Paul (as is commonly held) at Rome: And it's probable that as Christ sent forth his disciples by two and two, so the Apostles went in company, as Paul and Barnabas did: so that such appropriate settlement of Provincial or Diocesan Churches, we cannot see proved; though such a General Ministry is easily proved; and we doubt not but by consent they might have distributed their Provinces, had they been cause, and that actually they did so distribute their labours as their work and ends required: But if they had become proper Provincial Bishops over several Districts or Provinces, it seemeth strange to us that no history telleth us which were the twelve or thirteen Provinces, and how limited; and that they continued not longer; and that instead of three Patriarchs first, and four after, and five next, we had not twelve or thirteen Apostles or Patriarchs seated over all the world, with their known divisions; And that men seek not now to reduce the Churches to this Primitive State, rather than to the said Imperial Constitution; and rather to subject us all to the Apostolical Seats, than to five Patriarchs in the dominions of another


there Prince, and now mostly subject to an Infidel.
Yea, it is strange to us that the first Seat (Rome) should derive its pretended power from two Apostles (as if our Church might have two Bishops) and the second (Alexandria) from Saint Mark, who was no Apostle, and the third (Antioch) from the same Apostle that Rome did, (as if one Bishop might have two such Dioceses,) and the fourth (Jerusalem) from St. James, commonly said to be no Apostle; and the last (which became the second or the first) from no Apostle, nor make any such pretence; if thirteen Apostolick Provinces were then known.

But we easily acknowledge, that as Apostles having planted many Churches staid a while in each, when they had settled it, and some time visited it again; so they are by some historians called the first Bishops of those Churches, being indeed the transient Governors of them: In which sense one Church might at once have two or many Bishops, and one Bishop many Churches, and he be Bishop of one Church this week, who was Bishop of another where he came the next.

Sect. VI. Christian Community, (prepared to be a Polity) and a Christian family, and a Christian Kingdom, we doubt not, may all prove their Divine Right; and if any will call these Churches, let us agree on the definition, and we will not strive about the name.

Sect. VII. We know not of any proof that ever was produced, that many Churches of the first Rank, must (of duty) make one fixed greater compound Church, by Association, whether Classical, Diocesan, Provincial, Patriarchal, or National: and that God hath instituted any such Form: And we find the
the greatest defenders of Prelacy, affirming that Classes, Provincial, Patriarchal, and National Churches, are but humane institutions; of which more anon.

Seet. VIII. We find no proof that ever God determined the Churches should necessarily be individuated by Parish-bounds or limits of ground; and that men in the same limits might not have divers Bishops, and be of divers particular Churches.

Seet. IX. We never saw any satisfactory proof that ever Christ or his Apostles did institute any particular Church (taken in a Political sense as organized, and not meerly for a Community) without a Bishop or Pastor, who had the power of Teaching them, Ruling them by the Word and Power of the Church-Keys, and leading them in publick Worship.

Seet. X. Nor did we ever see it proved, that any one Church of this first Rank (which was not an Association of Churches) consisted in Scripture-times of many (much less many score or hundred,) such fixed Churches or Congregations: Or that any one Bishop of the first Rank (that was not an Apostle, or a Bishop of Bishops) of whom we now speak not, had more than one of such fixed Societies or Churches under him: Or might have more stated members of his Church, than were capable of Personal Communion, and mutual assistance at due seasons, in holy Doctrine, Discipline and Worship: Though we doubt not but as now, there are many Chapels in some Parishes, where the aged, weak, children, and all in foul weather; or by other hinderances may hear, and pray, and occasionally communicate,
nicate, whose proximity and relation to the Parish-Churches do make them capable of Personal Communion in due seasons with the whole Parish (at least per vices) in those Churches, and in their conversation: And as a single Congregation may prudently in persecution, or foul weather, meet oft-times in several houses; so the great Church of Jerusalem (though it cannot be proved a quarter so big as some of our Parishes) might in those times when they had no Temples, hold their publick Meetings oft at the same time in divers houses; and yet be capable of Personal Communion, as it is before described.

Sect. II. It is not inconsiderable to our confirmation, that so worthy a man as Dr. Hamond doth over and over, in his Dissertations against Blondell, and in his Learned Annotations on the new Testament, assert all the matter of fact which we are pleading for, viz. That the word [Presbyter] and [Pastor] in the New Testament is ever taken for a Bishop: That it belonged to the Bishops office to be the Preacher to his Church, to visit all the Sick, to take care of all the Poor, and to take Charge of the Churches stock, to administer the Sacrament, &c. And (as he faith on Acts ii. 6.) "That although this Title of πρεσβυτέρος, Elders, "have been also extended to a second order in the "Church, and is now only in use for them, under "the name of Presbyters, yet in the Scripture-"time it belonged principally, if not alone, to "Bishops, there being NO EVIDENCE "that any of that second Order were then "instituted, though soon after before the writing of "Ignatius's Epistles, there were such instituted in "all Churches."

Sect.
Sect. XII. By this it followeth, that 1. the office of a subject Presbyter that was no Bishop was not in being (that can be proved) in Scripture-times. 2. That no Bishop had more than one worshiping assembly at once: For all Christians assembled for worship on the Lords dayes, and their worship still included somewhat which none but a Minister of Christ might do, and when there was no other Minister in being but Bishops, and a Bishop can be but in one place at once, a Bishop could have but one assembly. Though for our parts we think that we have just reason to believe, that Churches then had more Ministers than one, when we read how Paul was put to restrain and regulate their publick officiating at Corinth, i Cor. 14.

Sect. XIII. And it further confirmeth us, that the said Doctor tells us, that for ought he knoweth, the most of the Church then were of his mind: And Franciscus a santæ clara de Episcop. tells us, that this opinion came from Scot. And Petavius, that Learned Jesuit, was the man that brought it in, in our times, viz. That the Apostles placed only Bishops with Deacons in the Churches, and that it is only these Bishops that are called Presbyters in Scripture. So that the Matter of fact, for the whole Scripture-times, is granted us by all these learned men.

Sect. XIV. It being the Divine Institution of the Office of this second Order of Presbyters, which we are unsatisfied about; and these Reverend men confessing that de facto they were not in being (as can be proved by any evidence) in Scripture-times, and those times, extending to about
about the hundredth or ninety ninth year after Christ's Nativity (when St. John wrote the Revelation) we must confess that we know not how that Order or Office can be proved then to be of God's institution. 1. As to the Efficent; who should do it as the certain authorized Instruments of God. 2. Or how it shall be certainly proved to us to be of God, when Scripture telleth it not to us; and what Records of it are infallible; And whether such pretended proofs of Tradition as a supplement to Scripture, be not that which the Papacy is built on, and will not serve their turn as well as this.

Sect. XV. And whereas it is said that the Bishops made in Scripture-times had authority given them to make afterward that second Office or Order of Presbyters: 1. We cannot but marvel then that in such great Churches, as that at Jerusalem, Ephesus, Corinth, &c. they should never use their Power in all the Scripture-times. And when they had so many Elders at Jerusalem, so many Prophets and Teachers at Antioch and Corinth, that Paul was fain to restrain their exercises, and bid them prophesie but One by One; and one said, I am of Paul, and another, I am of Apollo, &c. there should yet in that age be none found meet for Bishops to ordain to this second sort of Presbyters, as well asmen to make Deacons of.

2. But we never yet saw the proof produced, that indeed the Bishops had power given them to institute this other Species of Elders. Sure it belonged to the Founders of the Churches (Christ and his Apostles) to institute the Species of Ecclesiastical Officers, though the Bishops
might make the Individuals afterwards. And where is the proof that the Apostles did institute it? If Ecclesiastical generation imitate natural, the Bishops would beget but their like: men beget men; so Physicians make Physicians, and so Bishops may beget Bishops: But he that faith they could morally first beget this other Species, must prove it.

Sect. XVI. When Presbyters were first distinct from Bishops, we see no proof that it was as a distinct Office or Order in specie, and not only as a distinct degree and privilege of men in the same Office: Nor hath the Church of Rome it self thought meet to determine this aside fide but suffereth its Doctors to hold the contrary.

Sect. XVII. It much confirmeth us in our judgment, that no mere Bishop then had more Churches than one (as afore described) when we find that Ignatius (whose authority Dr. Hammond Dissert. cont. Blondel: Laieth so much of the cause upon, and whom Bishop Pearson hath lately so industriously vindicated) doth expressly make ONE ALTAR, and ONE BISHOP with the Presbyters and Deacons, to be the note of a Church Unity and Individuation. And that by one Altar is meant one Table of Communion, or place where that Table stood, is past doubt with the judicious and impartial. Whence learned Mr. Joseph Mede doth argue as certain that then a Bishops Church was no other than such as usually communicated in one place. Yea, faith Ignatius, the Bishop must take notice and account of each person, even of Manservants and Maids (that they come to the Church). And this was the Bishop of a Seat, that after, was...
Patriarchal: Such Bishops we do not oppose.

Sect. XVIII. We find proof that ordinarily Churches were first planted in Cities (there being not then in the Villages Christians enough to make Churches:) But we find no proof that when there are Christians enough to constitute Churches, they may not be planted in Villages also: Nor yet that there may not be more Churches than one in the same City: For so Grotius faith, There were even then when Christians were comparatively but few, and that they were as the Jewish Synagogues in this respect. And Dr. Hamond largely asserteth that Peter had a Church of Jews, and Paul another of Gentiles at Rome, and that so it was in other Cities.

Sect. XIX. Much less is it by Divine Institution, that Bishops, and their Churches or Seats, be only in such as we now call Cities, which by their privileges are distinct from other great Towns and Corporations, whereas the word "city" then signified a great Town or Corporation, such as our Market-Towns and Corporations now are.

Sect. XX. But it is the Law of God that all things about Churches and Church-affairs which he hath left to humane prudence, should be done according to such general Rules as he hath prescribed for their regulation.
SECT. IV.

What Princes and Pastors may do in such matters.

I. These foresaid General Laws of God, do both give the Rulers their Power for determining things committed to them, and also limit their power therein.

II. These General Laws are, that All things be done to Edification. (the circumstances fitted to the End, the Glory of God, and the Publick Good, the promoting of Truth and Godliness;) that all be done in Love, to the promoting of Love and Unity; and that all be done in Order and Decently, and as may avoid offence or scandal to all, both those without, and those within.


III. Therefore no Rulers, Civil or Ecclesiastical, have their power to scandalize and destroy, but only to edifie, being the Ministers of God for good, Rom. 13. 3, 4, 5. 2 Cor. 10. 8, & 13. 10.

IV. The great Dispute is (hindered excellently against the Papists for Kings by Bishop Bilson of Christian Obedience, Bishop Andrew's Tortura Tortis, Bishop Buckridge, Spalatensis, and many more) whether the Kings of Christian Kingdoms have not the same power about Church-matters, as the Kings of Israel and Judah had

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(David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Josiah, &c.) which cannot be answered by an only Ye or Nay, without a more particular consideration of the compared Cases.

V. We suppose it certain that Christian Kings have no lesser power than the Kings of Israel, except 1. What any such King had as a Prophet, or in peculiar, by an extraordinary grant. 2. And what alteration is made by alteration of Church-offices, Laws, and Worship, which may make a difference; of which hereafter.

VI. And 1. It must be remembered that God then reserved the Legislation to himself, which he executed by Revelation, and by special Prophets: And so the Prophet Moses delivered them that Law, which no King had power to abrogate, suspend, or alter by adding or diminishing, Deut. 12. 32. Jos. 1. But they had a mandatory power, and of making some subordinate By-laws, as Cities and Corporations have from and under the King.

VII. 2. Yea great and special Mandates were oft sent from God by Prophets, against which the Kings of Israel had no power.

VIII. 3. The Executive or Judicial Power was divided: part was in the Kings and Magistrates; and part was in the Priests and Levites, which the King could not usurp himself (as appeareth in Uzziah's offering Incense,) nor yet forbid the Priests to use it, according to God's Law; nor change or abrogate their Office. For he and they were subject to God's Laws.

IX. 4. God himself settled the High Priesthood on the line of Aaron, and all the Priesthood
hood on the Tribe of Levi; and it was not in the power of the King to alter it.

X. 5. God stated the High Priesthood on the Priests during life, Numb. 35. 25, 28. Jos. 20. 6, &c. which Law the Kings had no power to violate.

XI. 6. There are more particular Laws made by God for the duty of the Priests, describing their office and work, than for any other particular case, as many hundred Texts will tell us: And none of these Laws might be altered, or suspended by the Kings of Israel: Nor those by which God stated some of the Judicial Power in the Congregation, Num. 35. 12. to 26.

XII. 7. Solomon's putting out Abiathar, and putting in Zadok, is not contrary to any of this: For (supposing the words 1 King. 2. 35. to be not only a history of the bare matter of fact, but a justification of it de jure.) 1. It pofeth learned men to resolve how Zadok and Abiathar are oft said to be both High Priests before, and Zadok still put before Abiathar. 2. It is certain that Zadok had the right both of Inheritance and especial Promise, Numb. 25. 11, 12, 13. 1 Chron. 6. 3, 4, &c. And what Solomon did was that the word of the Lord might be fulfilled. How the possession came into the hands of the line of Ithamar, Expositors cannot find: It is like it was by occasion of the confusions of their own Captivity and Anarchy in the interstice of the Judges. 3. Even the Priests were the King's subjects, and might be punished for their crimes, so it were according to God's Laws. And if Abiathar forfeited his life, he forfeited his Office.
XIII. 8. The Priesthood then depended not on the institution or will of the King or People: He might not put out a lawful Priest, that had not forfeited his Life, or Office: He might not have put any one in his place that had not right from God, or that was unqualified: He might not have forbid the Priests the work appointed them by God: But yet if he had injuriously deposed one Abiathar, and put in a Zadok, the loss had been little to the Church: But if he had deposed so great a number of the Priests and Levites, as that a great part of God's commanded work must needs thereby have been left undone, and Religion so far destroyed, or had as Jeroboam, put of the basest of the people (or uncapable persons) into the Priesthood, the loss had been greater, and the thing unwarrantable, and such as he had not power from God to do.

XIV. And the quality of Moses Law and its Works, as different from the Laws of Christ, and the Works thereof, must be considered, that we may discern the difference of the Cases. A man that did attempt to draw the people to Idolatry, was then to be put to death; yea, the City to be destroyed that concealed him, Deut. ch. 3 to were they that blasphemed, and such as committed other heinous crimes against Religion; yea, those that would not enter into, or renew their Covenant with God, were by Asa's command to be put to death: But Christ will have men's Atheism, Irreligiousness, Idolatry and Infidelity, cured by the Preaching of the Truth, which therefore requireth that the Preachers for number and qualification be answerable to their
their work: especially seeing they are things so mysterious and supernaturally revealed, which men are to believe: And the works of Moses's Law lay very much in ceremony and outward actions, which a man of mean qualifications might easily do: But the great work of the Gospel is to bring Life and Immortality to light, and to Preach Christ, by whom came Grace and Truth, and more notably than the Law of Moses did, to call men to Mortification, Self-denial, Cross-bearing, contempt of the World, by Faith and Hope and Love of a better World, and to bring them to a heavenly mind and life: And men's salvation is laid on this. If it were but to offer Sacrifices, and do over the task of outward Ceremonies, a Mass-Priests qualifications might serve the turn: And if it were but to put men to death that will not be Jews, and take their Covenant, and that draw any from their Religion, neither so many nor so excellent Ministers were necessary: But we are under a better Covenant, even a Law of Love which is more eminently become the first and last, the great and new Commandment, and the regent Principle in Souls and Churches; and the number and quality of the Preachers of it must be answerable.

XV. As Moses was God's ministerial Law-giver to the Israelites, and was faithful in all his trust; so Christ is the great Prophet like unto him, as typified by him, whom God hath raised up to his Church, whom they that hear not, shall be cut off by God, and from that Church as he hath appointed: The Legislation Universal is now the work of Christ by himself,
and by the Holy Ghost, which he promised and gave for that use to his Apostles, that they might infallibly understand his will, and remember what he had commanded them to teach the world.

XVI. Kings or Pastors may not now alter or suspend any of these Laws of Christ, any more than the Jewish Kings or Priests might alter or suspend the Laws of Moses.

XVII. Christ hath instituted a Ministry to be for ever established in the world, to Preach his Gospel, to convert volunteers unto Faith and Holiness, and to gather by Baptism all Consenters into his Covenant and Church, and to teach them all that he hath commanded them. And this none have power to overthrow.

XVIII. He hath stated on the Pastors of such Churches, the Power afore described, of Teaching Assemblies and particular persons, of leading them in publick Worship, and Sacraments, and of judging by the power of the Keys, whom to receive into their communion by Baptism, and profession of Faith, and whom to admonish, and for obstinate impenitence to reject: And this Institution none may alter.

XIX. He hath instituted ordinary Assemblies, and stated particular Churches, as is aforesaid, for these holy exercises, and forbad all Christians to forsake them; and he and his Apostles have appointed and separated the Lord's day hereunto. None therefore may abrogate or suspend these Laws. All this is proved, Mat. 28. 19, 20. & 16.19. & 18. 18, 19. Joh. 20. 23. 
Ephe.
XX. Christ's laws empower and oblige the Bishops or senior pastors to ordain others for this ministerial service of the Church, and so to propagate their order to the end of the world: By which ordination, 1. They are judges of the persons qualifications, whether he be such as Christ's laws admit into his ministry. 2. And they solemnly invest him in the office. But the power with which they ministerially invest him (delivering him possession as Christ appointed) resulteth directly from the law or donation of Christ; as the power of a mayor from the charter of the king, and not from the electors or investors. None therefore have power given them by Christ, to hinder such ordination and propagation of such a ministry, Act. 14. 23. Tit. 1. 5.

XXI. So exceeding great are the benefits and privileges of being members of Christ, and his Church universal and particular, that no unwilling person is immediately capable of it; nor is it possible ex natura rei, for any (adult) person that consenteth not to be a Christian, or a member of any particular Church. He cannot be a just communicant against his will; nor pray and praise God with the Church; nor take a man for his pastor, or use him as a pastor against his will: And God hath laid men's salvation or damnation on the choice or refusal of their wills. Therefore no man can be the bishop or pastor of a Church, either de jure, or truly de facto, against the Church or Peoples will, or without
their consent. And as the Nature of the thing proveth this, so doth the sacred Scripture, Act. 14. 23. & 2. 38. 1 Job. 1. 7. Mat. 28. 19.

And so doth the judgment and practice of Christ's Church, for many hundred years; which is so fully proved by Blondell, de jure plebis, and confessed by the Papists themselves, and so express in all antiquity, that we need not add the proof. Therefore no power may change this Law of Nature, and of Christ; nor can they by any Law, Mandate, Choice, Ordination, Institution, Imposition, or other act, make any man a real Pastor to that People that consent not to the relation. Nor are they any true particular Churches, where Pastor and People do not consent. No more than the relation of Husband and Wife, Master and Servant, Tutor and Scholars, can be without consent.

XXII. Christ and his Spirit have commanded his Ministers to preach the Word, to be instant in season and out of season; to reprove, rebuke and exhort, 2 Tim. 4. 1, 2. And having put their hand to Christ's Plough, not to look back; and none hath power to alter this Law of Christ, or to suspend it. His Ministers by his Authority preached against the will of Princes for above three hundred years; and since then against the wills of erroneous Princes who professed Christianity.

XXIII. If Church-History be not to be believed, the pleas thence used for Prelacy must cease: If it be to be believed, God hath wrought miracles to justify those that would not cease Preaching, when Princes, yea Christian-Princes, have forbidden them: And the Church hath honoured
honoured their fidelity herein: The case of Athanasius, Basil, Melitus, and abundance more, evince the latter: And for the former we will now instance but in the case of the Bishops of Africa, whose tongues were cut out by the King's command; and they spake freely by miracle after they were cut out; as is testified by Aneas Gazer, and by Victor Uticensis, who saw and spake with, and heard the persons when this miracle was wrought upon them; and by Procopius.

XXIV. It will be objected that Constantius, Valens, Genfericus, Hunnericus, &c. were Arrians, and the latter conquering Usurpers.

Ans. 1. Even Heathen Emperours and Kings are our Governours, though they want due aptitude to their duty (as also do many wicked Christian Princes:) And we owe them obedience when their Laws or Mandates are not against the Laws of God. We must not say as Bellarmine, that Christians should not tolerate such Princes, and that the ancient Christians suffered for want of Power to resist. 2. Let the Emperours called Arrians be made no worse than they were: Some were for Concord and Toleration of both Parties, and so are more suspected than proved to be Arrians: And Arrians themselves, (though unexcusably erroneous) were not like the Socinians, that utterly deny Christ's Deity: They subscribed to all the Nicene Creed save the word 

They would say that Christ was [Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, &c.] They thought that as the Sun-beams or Light are its immediate emanation, but not its substance (as commonly Philosophers
say they are not, how true we say not) so Christ was an immediate emanation from the Father, before and above Angels, by whom all things else were made. And how dangerously Justin, and most of the ancientest Doctors before the Nicene Council speak hereabout, and how certainly Eusebius and other great Bishops were Arrians, and how lamentably the Council at Ariminum endeavoured an uniting Reconciliation, by laying by the word [ὀμοσίως] And even old Osias by their cruelty yielded to them; as Liberius subscribed to them, we need not send any men to Philostorgius nor Sondius for proof, it being so largely proved by D. Petavius de Trinitate, who fully citeth their dangerous words.

And if the heterodoxies of the Prince shall be made the reason of the Subjects disobeying him, in a matter lawful in itself (as some that we speak to now suppose) we shall hardly know where to stop, nor what bounds to set the Subjects when they are made Judges of the Princes Errors; and what examination or cognisance of it, they must have.

3. Constantine that banished Athanasius (who kept in while he could against the Emperours will) is not proved an Arrian: Nor Valentinian, who commanded Ambrose, (not to cease Preaching himself, nor to forsake his Church, nor to subscribe to Arrianism but only) to tolerate the Arrians to meet in one spare Church, which was in Milan, as an act of moderation: But Ambrose resolutely disobeyed the Emperour (we justify not the manner) because he thought that God's Law made it his office as Bishop, so to do.

4. And
4. And as to Gensericus and Hunnericus’s Usurpation, it was then ordinary with the Bishops even of Rome, to submit to men that had no better title; and alas, how few of many of the old Roman Emperours had any better (at least, at first.)

XXV. We doubt not at all but that Kings are the Governours of Bishops, and Churches, by coercive power, as truly as of Physicians, or other Professions: And though they have no Authority to abrogate or suspend the Laws of Christ, yet they have a Power of Legislation, under Christ, as Corporations for By-laws have under them: which power is only about those things which God hath left to their determination; and not either above Christ, against Christ, or in coordination with Christ, but only in such subordination to him, and to his Laws.

XXVI. How far Rulers have power (or not) to command things indifferent, and how far things scandalous and evil by accident, some of us have opened already distinctly, and need not here repeat.

XXVII. And we have there shewed, that as they may regulate Physicians by General and Cautionary Laws, but not overthrow their Calling on that pretence, by prescribing to the Physician all the Medicines which he shall use, to this or that Patient, at this or that time, &c. so they may make such General and Cautionary Laws, circa sacra, 1. As shall drive Bishops and Pastors on to do their certain duties: 2. And as shall duely restrain them from sin and doing hurt: 3. And they may punish them by the sword
sword or force, for such crimes as deserve that punishment. And a King of England may depose, or put to death a traiterous Bishop, Priest or Deacon, as lawfully as Solomon deposed Abiathar.

XXVIII. And as we have there said, we suppose that there are some circumstances of the Ministers work, which it belongeth to his own office to determine of, and are a true part of his Ministerial works: But there are others, which it is meet should be universally determined of, for the Concord of all the Churches in a Kingdom. These the Pasters and Churches by consent may agree in without a Law, if Kings leave it to them. And Kings(by the advise of such as best understand Church Cases) may well by their own Laws make such determinations. As for instance in what Scripture Translations, what Versions and Metres of Psalms, the Churches shall agree. Much more may they determine of the Publick Maintenance of Ministers, and the Temples and such other extrinsick accidents.

XXIX. Princes and Rulers may forbid Atheists, Infidels, Hereticks and Malignant opposers of necessary truth and godliness, and all that preach rebellion and sedition, that propagate such wicked Doctrine, and may punish them if they do it. And may hinder the incorrigible, and all that provedly or notoriously are such whose Preaching will do more hurt to men than good, from exercising the Ministry or Preaching in their jurisdiction or Dominions: For such have not any power from Christ so to Preach, but serve the Enemy of Christ and man.
XXX. Princes and Rulers may for order fake distribute their Christian Kingdoms into *Parishes*, which shall be the ordinary bounds of particular Churches: And such distribution is very congruous to the Ends of the Ministry and Churches, and conduceth to orderly settlement and peace: And experience hath shewed us that such Parish Churches where the Pastors are faithfull and fit, may live as Christians shou'd do to their mutuall comfort in Piety, Love and Peace: And such *Parish-order* we desire.

XXXI. But no Rulers may hence conclude, 1. that *Parishes* are distributed by *God immediately*, or that he hath commanded such a distribution as a thing of *absolute necessity* to a Church; But the General Rules of *order, and Edification* do ordinarily in Christian Kingdoms require it. 2 Nor may any make a *Parish*, as such to be a *Church*; and all to be Church members that are in the Parish, as such: for Atheists, Infidels, Hereticks, & Impenitent Rebels may live in the Parish; and many that consent not to be members of that -or any Church: And not only in worse lands but in *Ireland* and in *England*, (as part of *Lancashire,*) the far greatest part of the Parishioners are Papists, (who renounce the Protestant Churches) in some places.

XXXII. Neither dwelling in the Parish, nor the Law of the Land, makes any Christian a member of that Parish Church, without or before his own consent: But proximity is part of his extrinsick aptitude and the law of man or command of his Prince may make it his *duty* to consent, and thereby to become a member when greater
greater Reasons mollify not that obligation.

XXXIII. *Parish Bounds* and such other humane distributions for conveniency, may be altered by men; and they bind not against any of Christ's own Laws and predeterminations; nor when any changes turn them *against the good ends* for which they are made; of which more afterward, when we speak of separation.

XXXIII. And about these humane Church-Laws the general Case must be well considered, how far they are obligatory to conscience, and in what cases they cease to bind. *Sacyrus, Fragofo* and other the most Learned and Moderate Casuists of the Papists, ordinarily conclude, that Humane Laws bind not, when they are *not for the Common good.* We had rather say, that *when they are notoriously against the Laws of Christ,* or *against the Common good,* or are made by usurpation without authority thereto, they bind not to *formal obedience* in that particular; (though sometimes other reasons, especially the honour of our Rulers, may bind us to material obedience, when the matter is indifferent; and though still our subjection and loyalty must be maintained. But of this before, and more largely by one of us, *Christian directory, Part.* 4. *Chap.* 3. *Tit.* 3. &c. The Council of Toletum. 1355 declared that their decrees shall bind none ad *culpam* but only *ad poenam.* See Bin. *Inoc.* 6th.

SeeXT. XXXV. Kings and Magistrates should see that their Kingdoms be well provided of publick Preachers and *Catechists,* to convert Infidels and Impious men where there are such, and to prepare such for Baptisme, and Church priviledges.
vilegedes and Communion, as are not yet Baptized, but are Catechumens: And they may by due means compel the ignorant to hear and learn what Christianity is, though not to become Christians (for that is impossible) nor to profess that which is not true, not to take Church-Privilegeds, to which they have no right, and of which at present they are incapable. But they may grant those rewards and civil Privilegeds to Christians and Churches for their encouragement, which they are not bound to give to others, and which may make a moving difference, without unrighteous constraint.

XXXVI. Christ and his Apostles having (as is aforesaid) settled the Right of Ordination on the Senior Pastors or Bishops, and the Right of Consent in the People, (and this continued long even under Christian Emperours) Princes or Patrons may not deprive either party of their Right, but preserving such Rights, they may 1. Offer meet Pastors to the Ordainers and Consenters to be accepted, when there is just cause for their interposition: 2. They may hinder both Ordainers and People from introducing intollerable men: 3. They may, when a Peoples Ignorance, Faction or Wilfulness maketh them refuse all that are truly fit for them, urge them to accept the best; and may possess such of the Temples, and Publick Maintenance, and make it consequentially to become the Peoples duty to consent, as is aforesaid; so also when they are divided.

XXXVII. Princes ought to be Preservets of Peace and Charity among the Churches, and to hinder Preachers from unrighteous and unhappi

D
ritable reviling each other, and their unpeaceable controversies and contentions.

XXXVIII. Christ himself hath instituted the Baptistical Covenant to be the Title of Visible Members of his Church, and the Symbol by which they shall be notified: And he hath commanded all the baptized as Christians, to Love each other as themselves; and though weak in the faith, to receive one another, as Christ receiveth us, but not to doubtful disputations; and so far as they have obtained to walk by the same rule, of Love, and Peace, and not to despise or judge each other for tolerable differences (much less to hate, revile, or destroy each other;) and it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and the Apostles, to lay no greater burden on the Churches, even of the Ceremonies which God had once commanded, but Necessaries things, Acts 15. 28. And these terms of Church-Union and Concord which Christ hath made, no mortal man hath power to abrogate. All things therefore of inferior nature, though Verities and Good, must be no otherwise imposed by Rulers, than as may stand with these universal Laws of Christ, which are the true way to prevent Church-Schisms.

XXXIX. Princes by their Laws, or Pastors by consent where Princes leave it to them, may so associate many particular Churches for orderly correspondentie and concord, and appoint such times and places for Synods, and such orders in them, as are agreeable to Gods aforesaid generall Laws, of doing all in Love, to Edification and in order; And how far, if Rulers should miss this generall Rule, they are yet to be obeyed, we have opened elsewhere.
XL. As we have there also said that Princes may make their own Officers to execute their Magistratical Power circa sacra (which we acknowledge in our King in our Oath of Supremacy;) and if such be called, Ecclesiastical, and their Courts and Laws so called also, that ambiguous name doth not intimate them to be of the same species as Christ's ordained Ecclesiastical Ministers, or as his Churches and Laws are; so now we add that if Princes shall authorize any particular Bishops or Pastors to exercise any such visiting, convening, ordering, moderating, admonishing, or governing power as it belongeth to the Prince to give, not contrary to Christ's Laws, or the duties by him commanded, and priviledges by him granted to particular Churches, we judge that Subjects should obey all such, even for conscience sake: However, our consideration of Christ's decision of his disciples controversy, who should be the greatest and our certain knowledge how necessary, Love, and Lowliness, and how pernicious, Wrath and Lordly Pride are in those that must win souls to Christ, and imitate him in bearing (not making) the cross, together with the sad history of the Churches distractions and corruption by Clergy-Pride and Worldliness (lamented by Nazianzene, Basil, Hilary Pictavus, Socrates, Sozomen, Isidore Pelusiot, Bernard; and multitudes more, yea by some Popes themselves;) these and other reasons we say doe make us wish, that the Clergy had never been trusted with the sword, or any degree of forcing power, or secular pomp; yet if Princes judge otherwise, we must obediently submit to all their Officers.
XLI. It seemeth by the phrase of His Majesties Declaration about Ecclesiastical affairs 1660, in which (after consultation with his Reverend Bishops) the Pastoral way of Persuasion, reproofs and admonitions are granted to the Presbyters that a distinction is intended between this Pastoral and the Prelatical Government, And we must, with very great concern, profess that if the Churches of the lowest sort (Parochial) be but indeed made true Churches, such as Christ by his Apostles instituted, and not only Parts of a Diocesan Church as if that were the lowest rank; And if these particular Churches have but Pastors that have the power of the Keys in these Churches, and all that the scripture maketh essential to the Officer which was then set over every such particular Church; And if the Discipline instituted by Christ himself, be but made possible and feasible in such Parochial Churches, yea, if we that were trusted by our calling with the mysteries of God, may not be forced our selves, to, administer the Sacraments against our own knowledge & consciences, and against our consciences and knowledge of mens cases, to pronounce men absolved, or excommunicate upon other mens decrees, or to pronounce the notoriously wicked to be saved, and to deny worthy Christians the seal of Christ's Covenant, nor their infants their visible Christianity by baptism; we say, might we but have this much, we should be so far from using the Controversie about the Divine Right of Episcopacy as a distinct Order from Presbyters, to any Schism, or injury to the Church, that we should thankfully contribute our best endeavours to the concord, safety, peace and prosperity thereof. And might we but also be freed
from Swearing, Subscribing, Declaring, and Covenanting unnecessary things (which we take not to be true) against our consciences, and from some few unnecessary Practices which we cannot justify, we should joyfully serve the Church in our publick Ministry, though it were in poverty and rags. But of so great a mercy experience hath made our hopes from men to be very small: And the reason of the thing maketh our hopes as small of the happiness of the Church of England, till God shall unite us on these necessary terms.

**SECT. VI.**

3. What Separation, and what Gathering of Assemblies or Churches is unlawful, and what lawful.

I. Though some mens abuse of the word [Schism] and calling mens duty to God by that name, hath proved a great temptation to many, to take it but for a word of Passion, or of no certain or odious signification (even as the Papists abuse of the word [Heresie] and [Heretick] hath been to others) yet the evil of true Schism and the odium that God layeth on it in the Scripture, shoulde move all Christians, to fear the thing and use the name with the disgrace that it truely importeth (without misapplication,) and to avoid all guilt of so great a sin.

II. There are several sorts and degrees of Schism, which greatly differ from each other.
Its one thing to divide from a Church, and another to cause divisions or factions in it. Its one thing to divide our selves from it, and another to cause others to divide. Its one thing to draw men away by words, and another to drive them away by laws or execution, by unjust excommunication or by violent persecution. Its one thing to tempt away or drive away a single person, or a few; and another thing to draw or drive away multitudes. Its one thing to separate from the Universal Church, and another from a particular Church, or a few only. Its one thing to separate from the species of particular Churches, and another from some individuals only. Its one thing to separate from the Churches of Christ's institution, and another to separate only from those of men's institution. Its one thing to separate from such as men make lawfully, and another from such only as they make without authority, and sinfully. And here separating from one whose sinful constitution is traitorous against Christ's prerogative (as the Papal Universal Usurpation) much differeth from separating from one whose constitution though sinful, is of no such perniciousness.

It is one thing to deny total Communion, and another to separate but secundum quid for some act or part; And that is either a great and necessary part or some small or indifferent thing or ceremony. It is one thing to separate Locally by bodily absence, and another mentally by Schismaticall principles. It is one thing to separate from a Church as accusing it to be no Church of Christ, and another to separate from it only as a true Church but so Corrupted as not to be Communicated with. Its one thing to judge its Com-
Communion absolutely unlawful, and another only to forfacke it for a better which is preferred: Its one thing to depart willfully, and another to be unwillingly cast out. Its one thing to depart rashly and in haste, and another to depart after due patience, when reformation appeareth hopeless. It is one thing to remove upon religious reasons, and another upon Civil or Domestical, or Corporal.

It is easy for a confounded head to pass over all such distinctions, and with unjust and confounding censures to reproach others as Schismatics in the dark, before he kneweth what schism is, being guilty of schism in his very accusations. But sober Christians must be discriminers, and know that confusion is an Enemy to truth and love and justice.

III. I The Union of the Church Universal is in the seven things mentioned by Paul Eph. 4. 3. 4. 5. 6. viz. One Body, One Spirit (of faith and Love) One Hope (of Glory) One Lord, One faith (or Creed,) One Baptismal Covenant, One God and Father of all. He that separateth from this Church directly, is an Apostate; visibly, if from its Essential profession, and invisibly if only from the inward sincerity of faith, consent and Love. This is damning separation. And if he separate but from some one Essential article of faith or duty, it is that which is most usually and strictly called Heresie; of which we are now to speak no further.

IV. 2. To make Factions, Parties, Contentions, and Mutinies in a true Church of Christ, or in any Community of Christians, yea or but in families,
lies, in the Universal Church is a great sin, in all
that are the true culpable Causes of it, and are
not only the involuntary occasions by unavoid-
able accidents.

V. 3. To separate from all the particular
Churches in the world, as if they were no true
Political Churches of Christ (as those called
Seekers do, who say that the Ministry, Scripture
and Churches, are lost in the wilderness,) is a ve-
ry heinous sin, though such as do so, renounce
not their Baptism, or the Church Universal.

VI. 4. To separate from most, or many
Churches by so unchurching them, is far worse
than to separate from few or one; it being a
greater wrong to Christ and men.

VII. 5. To separate from one upon a reason that
is known to be common to all, or most, or many, is
virtually to separate from all, or most, or many.

VIII. 6. To separate from a true Church, accu-
sing it to be no true Church, is a greater injury
and sin (ceteris paribus) than to separate from it
only on an unjust accusation or culpability con-
istent with a true Church: Because the charge
is more odious and injurious, and tendeth more
to destroy Love.

IX. 7. To accuse a Church (its Doctrine, Mi-
nistry, Worship or Discipline) falsely, as guilty of
such corruption which maketh it unlawful for
any Christian to have communion with it, or falsely
to pretend such faults for his own and others se-
paration from it, is a great sin, though not so
great as to unchurch it.

X. 8. To hold that every Error in the Do-
ctrine, Worship, Discipline, Pastors or People of
that Church, yea though settled and continued,
and
and foreknown, not forced on us to consent to or practice, is sufficient cause to make Communion with the Church unlawful, is to hold a principle which would infer separation from all the known Churches in this world.

XI. 9. To draw others to such separation by such false accusations or opinions, is worse than to do it silently ones self; and the more the worse.

XII. 10. The more such accusations strike at the heart of Christian Love, which is the life of holy Societies, and of Holiness itself; and the more they draw men from Piety, and to hate, and abuse, and wrong each other, the greater is the sin.

XIII. 11. When men erroneously and causlessly gather separated Members from true Churches where they should continue, into Antichurches, or Societies, where their business is to make others unjustly odious that differ from them; this is to gather Schismatical Societies: And if they pretend themselves wiser than the Generality of the true Orthodox Churches in the world, and so separate from them, they were for this called Heretics at first: But if it be but upon a quarrel with some particular neighbour Church or Pastor it was called a Schism.

XIV. 12. If any proud, or passionate, or erroneous person do, as Diotrephes, cast out the brethren undeservedly, by unjust suspensions, silencing, or excommunications, it is tyrannical Schism, what better name soever cloak it.

XV. 13. If any should make sinful terms of Communion, by Laws, or Mandates, imposing things forbidden by God, on those that will have Comm-
Communion with them, and expelling those that will not so sin, this were heinous Schism: And the further those Laws extend, and the more Ministers or People are cast out by them, the greater is the Schism.

XVI. 14. If any should not only excommuni-
cate such persons for not complying with them in sin, but also prosecute them with mullets, im-
prisonments, banishments, or other prosecution, to force them to transgress, this were yet more heinously aggravated Schism.

XVII. 15. All those would be deeply guilty of such Schism who by talk, writing, or preaching, justifie it, and cry it up, and draw others into the guilt, and reproach the Innocent as Schismatics, for not offending God.

XVIII. 16. If any should corrupt such a Church, or its Doctrine, Worship, or Discipline in the very Essentials by setting up forbidden Officers, and Worship, or casting out the Officers, Worship or Discipline instituted by Christ, and then prosecute others for not communicating with them, this would be yet the more heinous Schism.

XIX. 17. If either of the last named forts, would not be content with mens Communion with them, but would also silence and prosecute such as will not own, justifie, and consent to all that they do, by subscriptions, declarations, covenants, promises, or oaths; this would yet be a more aggravated Schism.

XX. 18. If the men that do this should be mere obtruders and usurpers, that have no true Pastoral power over those whom they persecute (as the Pope over other Kingdoms and Chur-
ches)
ches) this were yet more aggravated schism.

XXI. 19. If such Usurpers will claim a dominion or Monarchy over all the world, and unchurch, degrade and unchristen all that will not be their Subjects, or will impose sinful terms of Union upon all the Christian World, and declare all Hereticks or Schismaticks, that receive them not, and so cast out most of the Christians on Earth, and all the founder Churches, this is one of the most heynous sorts of Schism, that the mind of man can think of. Which is the grand Schism of the Roman Papacy, worse than all their interior Schisms when they had many Popes at once.

XXII. 20. If such shall send agents and emissaries into the Dominions of Christians Princes or States, to draw the Subjects to that Schisme, and make them believe that Princes are by right the Subjects of the Pope, and that men shall be damned if they will not take him for the Bishop or Vice-christ of all the World and keep up a rich and numerous Clergie in Christian Kingdomes for this use, and make Decrees to exterminate or burn Christians, and to depose temporal Lords that will not obey them and execute their lawes, This is to maintain and prosecute a Schisme against Religious and Civill peace, by open hostility to Princes and People, and to mankind.

XXIII. 21. If, because the Roman Emperours and Clergie setled five Patriarchs in the Roman Empire, of which the Roman Bishop was the first, and by Councils called General of that Empire, did make Church Laws to bind the Subjects
Subjects, any therefore will teach that these Patriarchs, (and the Pope as Principium unitatis) must be Rulers in the dominions of other Princes, and that such Councils must govern them by their Decrees and that the Universal Church must be united in any one mortal head, whether Personal or Collective (such as General Councils,) and so would bring Christian Princes and people under the Laws and Government of foreigners, and brand those as Schismatics that will not fall in with such an Universal Church Policie. This were also a very heinous sort of Schism. For the Universal Church never did, nor will be united on such terms; And therefore to make such terms of its unity, is to make an Engine to divide it, and tear it all into pieces.

XXIV. 22. If any will confine the Power or Exercise of the Church Keyes into so few hands as shall make the Exercise of Christ's Discipline impossible (as by laying that work on one, which multitudes are too few to do;) or shall make Churches so great, and Pastors so few, as that the most of the people must needs be without true Pastoral oversight, teaching and publick worship, and then will forbid those people to Commit the Care of their souls to any others that will be Pastors indeed, and so would compel them to be without Christ's ordinances, true Church Communion and Pastoral help, This would be Schismatical, and much worse.

XXV. 23. If any Pastors will deny Baptism, which is their investiture in the Christian Church, to the Adult that refuse to receive the tran-
transient Image of the Crucifix (or any thing equal to it) as a Dedicating means to consecrate them to God, and to signify their Covenant Engagement to Christ, and as a badge and symbol of the Christian Religion, it seemeth to us to be Schismaticall, when Christ himself instituted Baptism without such a Covenanting Image, to be the test and bond of his Churches unity: But if those Pastors hold Baptism necessary also to salvation, and yet will so deny it to such, this seemeth a great aggravation. The same we say of such Pastors as reject from Baptism and the Church, the Infants of true Christians on the aforesaid account: As also of those that reject them from Baptism, because the Parents will not offer them to it, unless they may themselves be the Covenanters in their own Childrens names, and the Express dedicaters of them to God, and because they either cannot get credible Godfathers, or will not put others to promise the Christian Education of their children, who they have no reason to believe do at all intend it, or will ever do it, we can excuse no such rejection of Christian Infants from Christ's Church, from Schism.

XXVI. 24. If some Christians be of opinion that Christ's example bindeth them to receive the Lords Supper in a Table-gesture, or that the tradition of the Universal Church and the Canon 20th of the Nicene Councill is obligatory to them, which forbade men to adore Kneeling on any Lords day in the year, or on any week day between Easter and Whitsuntide (which no other General Council revoked, but continued till meer usage by degrees wore it out, faith Dr. 

Heylin
Heylin of the Sabbath, above 1000 years after Christ.) Or if the said persons should think that to receive Kneeling were such a scandalous appearance of the Papists Bread-worship, as the bowing before an Image forbidden by the 2d Commandement was a scandalous appearance of Idol-worship, though these persons did in this mistake, we could not therefore excuse our selves from Schism, if we should therefore refuse them Sacramental-Communion: Nor if we should Assent and Consent to the rejection of men for so small an error, seeing Christ's Spirit, Rom. 14. 1, &c. commanded both Pastors and People to receive him that is weak in the faith, but not to doubtful disputations; and to live in Love and Union with those that have greater weaknesses than this.

XXVII. 25. It may be Schismatical to cast men out of the Church for that which yet may be Schismatical in the person so ejected: If he depart from the Church though Schismatically only in some accident, circumstance, or some act or thing of no necessity to communion or salvation; we think he may not be excommunicated, e.g. for not paying Fees at the Chancellor's Court, or such like. For as God departeth not from sinners first, or further than they depart from him; so we humbly conceive the Church should imitate him; remembering how Christ that came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them, rebuked the Sons of Thunder that would have had him destroy those that refused to receive him, telling them, That they knew not what manner of Spirit they were of.
On the other side, it may be Schism to separate from a Church that hath some Schismatical Principles, Practices, and Persons, if those be not such or so great as to necessitate our departure from them: For alas, it is too few Churches that are so happy as to have nothing, and do nothing which is Schismatical.

XXVIII. 26. Gathering New Churches by way of Separation from others, or gathering Assemblies without the consent of the lawful Pastor, who had the charge of the People of those Assemblies, is a sin and Schism in all these Cases following.

1. In general, when the Laws, Practices, or Persons of the Church which they separate from, give them no sufficient cause of a departure.

2. In general, when in the judgment of true reason, according to the notable evidence of the case, the said Assemblies are like to do more hurt than good.

3. When such Assemblies are gathered in opposition to some Truth which the Separaters would thereby disown (e.g. Infant-Baptism, the lawfulness of Set-forms of Praise or Prayer, or any sound Doctrine;) or for the profession and propagation of some Heresy or Error (as Antinomianism, Popery, &c.)

4. When such Churches are gathered by men that have no true Fitness and Calling for the Sacred Ministry, or the work which they undertake.

5. When they are gathered by the pride of the Ministers, that would thereby unduly set up themselves, and draw away Disciples after them; or by their covetousness, seeking not the good of the
the Flock, but the Fleece; not them, but theirs; not serving the Lord Jesus, but their own Bel-
lies: Or when gathered, by the Pride of the
People, that unjustly think those that they sepa-
rate from, men unworthy of their Communion,
and say to them, Come not near to us, we are ho-
tier than you, Isa. 65. 5.

6. When they are gathered by a quarrell from
Passion, falling out with the Pastors and People
whom they separate from. The parting of Paul
and Barnabas had some evil in it.

7. When they are gathered to encourage and
strengthen a sinful Faction or Party, or when
men separate from others for fear of being
censured by such a party, as Peter did withdraw
from the Gentile Christians, lest he should
displease the erroneous Iewes Gal. 2.

8. When it is done out of a proud overvaluing
of mens own opinions, or some odd singularity,
whereby men cannot bear those that are not
of their mind, or whereby they would fain be
be more conspicuous as more Orthodox and
wise than others.

9. When it is done mistakingly to set up some
wrong course of Church Government or worship
( As that the People may have the Power of the
Keys, or of examining and judging all admitted
members, or that Papal Government or the mas-
may be introduced enthusiastic, disorderly
talking by pretended inspiration, by ignorant
uncalled men, or to introduce such traditions and
superstitions, as the Papists use, &c.)

10. When it is done upon a false conceit
that a mans presence with any Church that hath
known error or faults in doctrines or worship,
is a guilty approving of them, and therefore that they must separate from all such.

11. When they separate out of an unrighteous of spirit, because they will not be governed by their lawful Pastors in lawful things, as time, place, order, &c. or because a Minor part in elections is overvoted by the major part, and cannot have their wills.

12. When they separate out of a prophaneness of mind, not enduring the power of the Preachers doctrine, or the holiness and discipline of the Church, but would be licentious, while they would be called Religious. All these are unlawful separations, and assemblings.

Yet that which is unlawful as to the Principle, End and Manner, secundum quid, is not always unlawful simply, and in the thing itself, for a proud, covetous turbulent person may sinfully do a Lawful thing.

XXIX. 27. When Pastors by concord, or Magistrates by Laws have settled Lawful Circumstances or Accidents of Church Order or Worship, or Discipline, though they be in particular but humane Institutions, it is Sinful disobedience to violate them without necessary reason, e.g. Parochial Order, Associations, Times, Places, Ministers, Maintenance, Scripture-Translations, &c.

XXX. 28. When able faithful Pastors are lawfully set over the Assemblies, by just Election and Ordination, if any will causelessly, and without right silence them, and command the people to desert them, and to take others for their Pastors in their stead, of whom they have no such knowledge as may encourage them to such a change.
change, we cannot defend this from the charge of Schism, which puts a Congregation on so hard a means of Concord, as to judge whether they are bound to that Pastor that was set over them as Christ appointed, or must renounce him and take the other when they are Commanded. So Cyprian in the case of Novatian says that he could be no Bishop because another was rightfull Bishop before.

XXXI. 29. In England it belongeth 1. to the Patron to present, 2. to the Bishop to ordain and institute and therefore to approve and invest 3. to the people jure divino to be free Consenters, 4. and to the Magistrate to protect and to judge who shall be protected or tolerated under him: If now these four parties be for four Ministers or for three, or two several men, and cannot agree in one, the culpable dissenters will be the causes of the Schism.

XXXII. 30. If a Church have more Presbyters than one, and will be for one way of worship, discipline or doctrine and another for another, (as at Frankford, Dr. Cox, Mr. Horn and others were for the Liturgie, and others against it) so that the people cannot possibly accord, it is the culpable party, which ever it be, that must answer for the Schism. So much of enumerated Schisms.

XXXIII. On the Negative, we suppose that none of these following are Schisms in a culpable sense.

1. All are agreed that it is no Schism for the Christian Church to separate from the ancient Jewish
XXXIV. 2. All Protestants are agreed that it is no Schism to deny obedience to the Roman Pope; nor to deny that communion with them, which they will not have without obedience. To separate from other Churches, is to deny them mere Communion; But to separate from the Roman as Papal, is but to deny them subjection. To deny any other Christian Church to be a true Church is Schismatical, if they have the Essentials of a Church: But to deny the Papal Church or Monarchy to be a true Church of Christ's institution, is true, just and necessary, though they be Christians; because we mean only the Papal Church form, as it is an Universal Ecclesiastical Monarchy of the whole Christian world, which no other Church but that doth claim.

XXXV. 3. It is no Schism to deny Subjection to Pope, Councils or Patriarchs, of other Kingdoms, or to any foreign Power by what names or titles soever called.

XXXVI. 4. It is no Schism to deny that Christ hath any such Visible Church on Earth as is one by Union with any Universal Head, Personal or Collective, besides himself.

XXXVII. 5. It is no Schism to Preach, and gather Churches, and elect and ordain Pastors and Assemble for God's Worship, against the Laws and will of Heathen, Nahometan, or Infidel Princes that forbid it. For thus did the Christians for 300 years. And if there be the same cause and need, it is no more Schism to do it against the Laws and will of a Christian Prince. Because, 1. Christ's Laws are equally obligatory;
2. Souls equally precious. 3. The Gospel and Gods worship equally necessary. 4. And his Christianity enableth him not to do more hurt than a Pagan may do, but more good. If therefore either out of Ungodly enmity to his own profession, or for fear of displeasing his wicked or Infidel Subjects, he should forbid Christian Churches, he is not to be therein obeyed.

XXXVIII. 6. If a Prince, Heathen, Infidel or Christian, forbid Gods Commanded worship, and any Commanded part of the Pastor's office, (as in Papists Kingdoms Prayer in a known tongue, and the Cup in the Lords Supper is forbidden, and as they say, all preaching save the reading of Liturgies and Homilies is forbidden in Moscovia, and as the use of the Keyes is elsewhere forbidden;) It is no Schism to disobey such Laws, (what Prudence may pro hac & nunquam require of any single person we now determine not.)

XXXIX. 7. If any Prince would turn his Kingdom, or a whole Province, Diocese, or County into One only Church and thereby overthrow all the first order of Churches of Christ's institution, which are associated for Personal present Communion, allowing them no Pastors that have the power of the Keyes, and all essential to their office; though he should allow Parochial Oratories or Chappels, which should be no true Churches, but Parts of a Church, It were no Schism to gather Churches within such a Church against the Laws of such a Prince. Many write that there is but One Bishop in Abassia (though some say that others have Episcopal power under
under him: some that read the old Canons, which confine Bishops to Cities, and take not the word as then it was taken, for any great Town or Corporation, but for such privileged Towns only as are called Cities in England, hence gather that as the King may disfranchise Cities and reduce them to ten, two or one in a Kingdom, he may by consequence do so by Churches that have Bishops, which if it be spoken but of Episcopi Episcoporum we resist not; But if, of Episcopi Gregis of the first Order of Churches called [Particular] we suppose that out of such a Kingdom-Church Provincial or Diocesan-Church, it is no Schism to gather particular Parochial Churches though forbidden. And the same reason will prove that if in a lesser circuit, the same things be done though in a lower degree, viz., were it but three, four or ten particular Churches of the largest size capable of Personal Communions turned into one which is capable only of distant Communion per alios it is lawful to gather particular Churches out of that larger sort of Church. If the Bishop of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Cesarea, Heraclea, Carthage, &c. should have put down the Bishops of ten, twenty, an hundred or many hundred Churches about them, and set up only Oratories and Catechists in their stead making them all but part of their own Churches, it would have been lawful to have gathered Churches in their Churches: For God never made them proper Judges whether Christ should have Churches according to his laws, nor whether God should be worshipped, and souls be saved, or his own institutions of Churches be observed.
XL. 8. If Bishops would ordain Presbyters by limiting words, restraining them from any Essential or Integral Part of the Office or Power as instituted by Christ, and yet profess that they ordain them to the Office which Christ hath instituted, it is no Schism for those Presbyters afterward to claim (and execute in season) all the power which by Christ's institution belongeth to their Office, though against the Bishops' Wills. Because the Bishops are not the Authors or Donors of the Office Power, but only the Ministerial Deliverers and Investers; And therefore it is Christ and not they, that must describe it.

XLI. 9. No Prince or Prelate hath power from Christ to set over, or impose upon any Church or Christian people, any person as a Pastor who through Ignorance, Heresie, Malignant opposition to piety, or utter defect of Ministerial ability, is incapable of the Office or unfit to be trusted by the people with the Pastoral care and conduct of their soules. Nor is it Schism in them to refuse to commit their soules to such, nor to chuse and use better, when they may do it, without greater hurt to others than their gain will compensate.

XLII. 10. Princes or other Magistrates are not appointed by God to be the ordinary Electors and Imposers of Pastors on all the Churches; and the people bound to consent to whomsoever they elect. But Christ hath given the Bishops the power of free ordaining, and the people the power of free consenting, and made Magistrates the Gouernours of them that have this power. Even as he hath not given power to Princes to
to chuse Wives or Husbands, Servants or Masters, Tutors or Pupils, Physicians or Patients, for all their Subjects, but hath antecedently given such Subjects power to chuse for themselves, and to Princes to be civil Rulers of such as have this Choice, by which Governing Power they may regulate their Choice in subordination to Christ's Universal Laws, and may punish them for gross misdoing: Therefore it is no Schism for Pastors to ordain, or People to chuse the Overseers of their souls, without or against a Magistrates will or command as such (submitting to his Government.)

XLIII. 11. When faithful Pastors truly ordained and elected, or consented to, are in possession, if a lawful Magistrate cast them out (not only of the Temples and Tithes, but also of their Pastoral Relation and Oversight, and put others in their places of untried and suspected parts and fidelity; 1. The Princes imposition maketh not such the true Pastors of that Church before and without the Peoples consent: 2. Nor will it always bind the People to consent, and to forsake their former Pastors, nor prove them Schismaticks because they do it not.

For 1. God in Nature and Scripture hath given them that consenting power antecedent to the Princes determination, which none can take from them. As he hath in nature given men the Choice (or Consent at least) with what Physician they will trust their lives; God hath not put all sick mens lives so far in the Princes power as to bind them to trust and use whomsoever he shall chuse: For men are nearest to themselves, and their lives are at their own wills in the first instance,
fiance, before they are at another's: And mens souls and everlasting happiness are precioufer to them than their lives, and it is first under God their own wills by which they shall live or die; though all their friends should do their best to make them willing of what is best.

2. They are supposed related duly to their tryed Pastors, in the bond of fidelity, which they may not unnecessarily violate.

3. Otherwise one Roman Emperor might have undone all the Churches and Souls in the Empire in a great degree; by imposing on them insufficient, heretical, or malignant Pastors: Where it must be noted, 1. That God doth ordinarily work on souls according to the quality of the means: To say that He can do otherwise, is impertinent, while we see that he doth not, nor hath promised it. We see that Heathens and Infidels are not converted without Preachers: We see that Heretical Preachers make Hereticks, and Schismatical ones make Schismaticks, and ignorant ones leave the people ignorant: In several Countries the people are Greeks, Papists, Lutherans, &c. as they are taught. We see that one clear, convincing, experienced, serious Preacher, turneth more souls among us from ignorance, error, fleshly lust, and worldly wicked hearts and lives, than abundance of raw young Readers or Preachers, that ignorantly say over a dry prepared speech in a School-boys mode and tone. It is not every Preacher of whom it can be said as Dr. Ames doth of old Mr. Midlsey, a Non-conformist of Lancashire, That he was the means of converting many thousand souls, (from Popery, Ignorance, and a wicked life: Nor whose labours are
are blest, as Mr. Dods, Mr. John Rogers, Mr. Thomas Hookers (Nonconformists) or Mr. William Fenners (a Conformist) and such others were. Even as we see by experience that a few skilful, prudent, experienced Physicians cure more than abundance of young beginners, who too oft kill more than they cure. We see that the Abassian, Armenian, Greek, and most Popish Countries, are lamentably ignorant (and usually proportionally vicious) for want of a learned, pious, skilful, and laborious Ministry: History tells us, that the Kingdom of Nubia forsook Christianity for want of competent Teachers: The industry of the Jesuits and Friars in China, Japan, Congo, and other Countries, telleth us how much they laid on the diligent use of means. Jos. Acosta tells us how much the West-Indies suffer in Religion by the ignorance and wickedness of the Priests. How barbarous and sad a state the Empire of Moscovy is in, for want of able, faithful Pastors, while the Emperours put down Preaching, and confine them to Liturgies and Homilies, as is affirmed commonly without contradiction. How miserable a state the Roman Church; yea, the Papacy was in, in the ninth and tenth Ages, even Baroniis, Genebrard, and the greatest flatterers of the Pope lament; and this for want of able, faithful Pastors and Teachers among them.

2. No man hath his power to destruction, but to edification. The bonum Publicum is the end of Government: Therefore it is not Schism in Subjects, not to cast their souls on notorious peril of damnation, in obedience to any mortal man.

3. Every man, (especially experienced Christians)
frians) have more sense and knowledge of what is profitable and congruous to them, than ftrangers by have, how learned soever: As ignorance maketh a few, short, plain, oft repeated words, in a familiar style, more profitable to low-bred persons, than an accurate learned discourse would be; so mens several tempers and vices maketh that matter and manner of Preaching profitable to them, which to others seemeth otherwise: And as a nice Lady must not tie her family of labouring persons, to the matter and measure of her diet, nor revile them as gluttons or fools if they like it not; no more must learned men confine plain people to wordy Orations, (whether Learned or Pedantick) and say, This is best for them: Much less must they silence causely such Teachers as truly profit them, or tie them to Homilies or Liturgies only, and say, Here is as much as is necessary to salvation: Nor is it any Schism in the people, if they refuse to be so confined by them, and denied such helps to their salvation as God hath sent them, and made their due.

4. Order is an excellent means of edification, and of preserving Truth, Charity and Peace: But it is but a Means to the Ends of the things Ordered, and the publick good: Therefore if Order should be made the advantage of Heresie, Church-Tyranny or Iniquity, and be turned against the good of Church and Souls, (as it is in the Policy of the Roman Church, and in well ordered Armies of Rebels, or such as have unlawful wars) this would make it no Schism or sin to break such order. These notices interposed, we add, 4. That it hath been the Judgement of the mult
most honoured Ages of the Church, that it is no Schism in the forementioned Cases, to cleave to the faithful Pastors that were duly ordained and consented to, and to refuse subjection to such as lawful Princes have imposed in their steads.

1. That even in the Jewish State the Kings had not the Election of all the Priests and Levites (much less the Prophets) is before proved; though they had the Government of them according to God's Laws.

2. That the Apostles sent by Christ performed their Office against the will of the Roman and Jewish Rulers, is not denied.

3. And because some think that this was proper only to Apostles or men sent immediately by Christ, we add, that it is not denied that this was the case of others in that Age: As Timothy, (who is charged before God and Angels to Preach in season and out of season, 2 Tim. 4. 1, 2.) Titus, Apollo, Silas, and such others; and of all the settled Elders of the Churches, Acts 14. v. 23. Tit. 1. 5. 2 Thes. 5. 12, 13. Heb. 13. 17, &c.

4. And it is not denied that this was the case of all the ordinary Pastors for the first three hundred years, under the unbelieving Emperors. And as is aforesaid, even these were Governours of the Christian Pastors and Churches (who are commanded Rom. 13. to obey them.) and they wanted not Governing power, though in part they wanted aptitude to use it well; so that Christians were to obey even Heathen Governours in lawful things.

5. And it is undeniable that this was the judgment and case of the Fathers and People of the Church under the Christian Emperours that were
were Arrians, or favoured the Arrians: And as is aforesaid, the Arrians would have subscribed to all the Nicene Creed, (that Christ is Light of Light, God of God, very God of very God, begotten, not made, till they came to that one word omissions. Yea, Eusebius subscribed to that also, and to the whole, who yet (notwithstanding Socrates's charitable excuse) is by his own Epistle from that Council to his People, plainly proved to be an Arrian, as Petavius hath fully manifested: And yet how the Churches of the East did commonly cleave to their Pastors when Constantius and Valens ejected them; and how they resolutely refused the imposed Bishops, some as Arrians, and some but as suspected, saying, We have lawful Bishops already, and how stily they refused to forbear their forbidden Meetings, and Publick Worship with their former Pasteors, Church-history puts us out of doubt.

Athanagius oft starved with his flock till banished by violence by Constantine, Constantius and Valens:

Eustathius Bishop of Antioch did the like yea came to the Imperial City Constantinople, and there lived in secret to confirm the People and presumed to ordain a Patriarch of that City chosen against the Emperours will: For when Eudoxius was dead, the orthodox people chose Evagrius, a man of their own judgment, and refused Demophilus, Socr. l. 4. c. 13. Both the consecrator and the consecrated Bishop stayed with them till the Emperour sent soldiers from Nicomedia to master the people, and banished them both into several Countries, and at once put fourscore Priests to death (burning them in a ship
ship at Sea,) to whom the people adhered, who came to petition him for justice and forbearance. • Saith Socr. cap. 14. When the Empe-
rour at Edessa gave the Lieutenant a blow with his fist because he had not scattered the Conven-
ticles, as be had charged him, the Lieutenant, 
for all this great disgrace, set himself, though 
unwillingly to obey the Emperour's wrath and 
displeasure; but gave notice secretly of it to the 
people (for it was far from his mind to fall a 
murdering so many godly Citizens;) that none 
should show his face in the Temple, that none 
should be found raising of any Conventicle: But not 
one made account of his advice, nor regarded his 
threats, for the day following all flocked in great 
companies to the Temple. Then followed the 
mention of a woman that with her little Child hastned through the crowd to the meeting hop-
ing to die with the rest. The citizens of Cyzicuva 
banished Eunomius from their City, whom Eno-
doxius had preferred to that Bishoprick, not so 
much for his Errors as for his arrogant and insol-
lent manner of Preaching, with Logical tricks and 
 sophisms which they could not bear, and so 
they drove him to Constantinople where he layd 
by his Bishops Office Id. c. 7. 

And when Eleusins repenting of his sin in a 
forced subscribing to the Ariminum faith would 
have had them have chosen another Bishop, they 
would have or acknowledg no other but him; 
being the undoubted Chulers of their own 
Bishop Ib. c. 7. 

The City of Antioch fell into two parties of 
the Orthodox, besides the Arrians, and chose two 
Bishops Paulinus and Meletius; Though it was 
then
then contrary to the Canons that one City should have two Bishops, none questioned the peoples right to chose, nor denied either of them to be true Bishops: And though the Emperour forbore Paulinus for his rare parts and virtues, and banished only Meletius, the people would not obey his Orders, but still assembled as before.

We are not ignorant what tumults popular Elections of Bishops have oft caused: But two things all acquainted with antiquity know which much serve to counterballance this objection: 1. That where Emperours and Synods of Bishops have made themselves the Electors, the tumults or confusions, or at least the consequent evils were not less but greater: 2. And when they did thus assume the Election (which was for the most part but in a few great seats and not of ordinary Bishops) still they suppose a necessity of the peoples consent. When the Emperour chose the Patriarchs, what one Emperour did another undid: And the peoples dissent undid it sooner: and the Ruling Bishops so oft disagreed, that their synods and Churches were lamentably militant. By the favour of the Emperour, Dioscorus was the strongest at Ephesus having the Souldiers and Rulers on his side, and by them the Major Vote of the Bishops: But it was more Theodosius and his Officers that carried it than equity; even to the condemning of Eusebius and such others, and the beating of Flavianus the Patriarch of Const. unto death: And when by the Emperour and prevailing Bishops will, new Bishops were placed (Anatolus at Const. Maximus at Antioch, Nonus at Edessa, Athanasius for Savinian &c,) faith Liberatus in
Breviaro cap. 12 schisma factum est inter eos quale antea nunquam contigerat. Ägypti, Thraces &. Palestini Episcopi Dioscorum sequabantur, Orientales, Pontics & Asiari Sant& Memorie Flavianum: Quod Schisma Permanit usque ad obitum Theodosi Principis. But when Martian was made Emperour, all was undo again: that went for Herefie, which before went for the right belief, Dioscorus was banished, Proterius was chosen; and how chosen: faith Liberatus c. 14. ut cum omnium civium voluntate eligerint ordinandum Episcopum, sacris ob hoc litteris precedentibus, ad Theodorum tunc Augustalem collecti sunt ergo Nobiles Civitatis, ut eum qui effet vita & sermone Pontificatum dignus, eligerint: Hoc enim & Imperialibus sanctoribus jubebatur, N. B. Yet all this quieted not the people because Dioscorus was still by the most taken for their true Bishop; so that Proterius was fain to live under the guard of Souldiers among them: Timothy Alurus, and Peter Mogges keeping separate Congregations, would not communicate with Proterius; and no sooner did they hear of Martian's death, but the people in tumult murdered Proterius in the Church, mangled him, cast out, and burnt his carcass, and scattered his ashes in the wind, and made Timothy Alurus their Bishop: And thenceforward Alexandria had two Bishops: And both sides petitioning the new Emperour Leo to be for them, he commanded (upon examination) his General to cast out Timothy, & alium decreto populi qui Synodum Calced. vindicaret, inthronizare, This Stile the Captain performeth, and another Timothy Salopolicius is chosen: But when after Leo's death
Basiliscus usurped the Empire against Zeno, this Timothy is cast out again, and the other restored; and other Bishops changed accordingly in opposition to the Council of Calcedon. And no sooner was Zeno restored, but all was returned back again, and $\textit{Alumnus}$ poisoned himself to escape worse: Yet did his Party make $\textit{Peter Moggus}$ their Bishop; and the Emperor commanded $\textit{Anthimius}$ to cast him out, and set up $\textit{Timothy Saloph}$ again: But while the Emperours chose who should have the Publick Authority and Temples, they left the people to joyn in the choice, and the Dissenters kept up their own Bishops and Schifms. And thus the matter went on uncured: And very ordinarily it was the Pulcheria's, Theodora's, Eudoxia's, and such other women, the Empresses, that by Historians are said to dispose of these matters, and make such Patriarchs and Bishops: And these courses still increased Schifms: Of the Ioannites at Constantinople we spake before. What a calamitous Schifm was that at Alexandria between the Party that held Christ's body incorruptible, called by the other the Phantasia$\textit{lia}$; and those that held it corruptible called the corrupt$\textit{ica}$, one part taking $\textit{Gaianus}$ for the Bishop, and the other Theodos$\textit{us}$; and the secular power, setting up one, the Soldiers and the city fought it out. abundance on both sides being slain; and yet the Soldiers had the worst, and $\textit{Theophilus}$ was forced away.

In $\textit{Justinian}$'s time when $\textit{Paulus}$ an Orthodox man was made Patriarch, he could not hold his fear without such plots, as occasioned $\textit{Rhodo}$ the $\textit{Augustalis}$ to murder $\textit{Psoins}$ the Deacon, which
which cost Rhodo and Arsenius their lives, and Paulus his contemptuous deposition, by the Emperours justice. Should we but run over the history of other great Churches, especially Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Ephesus, Cesarea, alas how sadly would it shew that neither Emperours nor synods assuming the power did end such Schismes, but increase them, where the Bishopricks were so great as to seem a very desirable prey: But where they were small and poor, there was far greater peace and quietness, though the people commonly had their choice, and every where where their consent was judged necessary; the proofs of which might fill a Volume. See in Synodo Romano quarto sub Symmacho (in Binnio Vol. 2. p. 288.) &c. the claim of Odoacer that no Bishop of Rome should be made without the consent of the King of Italy; And the Bishops speeches against it. Even in the daies of Gregor. i. Rom. You may see how things went, by the constant tradition of the Church; Epist. 22. (in Bin. Vol. 2. p. 759. recitat) [natalem Salernitane Ecclesiae fratrem & coepiscopum nostrum obisse discorrens in partibus istis fama vulgavit: Quod si verum est experientia tua omni instantia omnique solicitudine CLERUM & POPULUM ejusdem Civitatis admonere festinet, quatenus uno consenso ad ordinandum sibi debeat eligere Sacerdotem; saepeque in personam quae fuerit electa decreto, ad nos transmittere studebis, ut cum nostro consenso sibi prisci cres fuit temporibus ordinetur. Illud prae omnibus tibi cura sit ut in hac electione nec datio quibusque modis interveniat premiorum, nec quarumlibet personarum patrocinia convalescunt; nam si quo-

[F] randam
And at the Council of Paris. 3. in the daies of Pope John 3. and K. Childebert, when Kings were forbidden to make Bishops, it was ordained Can. 8. that [Nullus civibus invitis ordinetur Episcopus; nisi quem Populi & Clericorum electio plenissima quisvisit voluntate, non principis imperio. And the Bishops are forbidden to receive him into their number who is made by Kings.

At the Council of Calcedon, Act. 12. it was determined, that neither of the two Bishops of Ephesus, Bassianus, or Stephanus, could be Bishops, because not duly elected, but a third to be chosen. See also for the peoples unanimous Election of their Bishop Greg. 1. Epist. 65. in Bin. Vol. 2. p. 890.

We need not bid the Learned enquire whether GregoryNeoec. B. fil, Ambrose, Martin, Damasus, (and so of the rest) ordinarily were Bishops without the consent of the people over whom they were placed: And though sometimes the peoples choice have (many hundred years only after Christs time, but not in the Primitive Church) been restrained, so was not their consenting voice denied.

I have translated and adjourned the Epistle of Cyprian and an Africane Council with him (where were then the best ordered Churches in the World, as far as I can learn) in which they counsel the Churches of Basilius and Martial to
to forfake them because they were Libellatiks in perfecution, proving from Scripture that uncapable persons cannot be Pastors, and that such scandalous sinners and bad men were uncapable persons (forma non recipitur in materiam indispositum; ) charging it upon their consciences as from Gods word; shewing them that els they will be Guilty of their sins because the chief power is in the people both of chusing the worthy, and forfaking the unworthy. And yet these two Bishops lived beyond the Seas in another Country, and the Bishops of their own Country and the Bishop of Rome had dealt more gently with them, and adjudged Communion to them. And the Africans pretended to no authority over them, but by Counfell told them of Gods own Law, which no man had power to invalidate. They charge the people as heinous sinners if they forfake not a wicked unmeetBishop or Pastor what Libellatiks were I supposed the reader to know(viz,such as to save their lives in perfecution, had permitted another to put their names by subscription to a false profeffion that favoured idolatry or infidelity. )

Obj. 1. But Cyprian and the African Councils were mistaken in the point of Rebaptizing those baptized by Hereticks; and so they might be here. )

Anf. 1. The Council of Nice decreed the rebaptizing of those that were baptized by some Hereticks, though not by all: And if the Africans did not confine the word to such, they erred only in not sufficiently distinguishing of Hereticks. 2. If we are excused from receiving the testimony of such Fathers and Councils as had any Error, or as great an Error as that,
you may see what will follow. 3. We do not cite Cyprian and the African Council as infallible, nor as having more Governing power over us than the present Rulers, but as being to us (I say to us) of more credit and authority in telling us what is 

_just divino_ than those Bishops or others that now condemn us as Schismatics.

4. Cyprian and the African Council were not forbidden for this judgment of theirs to Preach Christ's Gospel, nor cast out of the Churches, nor sent to Goals, nor called and used as Rogues and Schismatics, and far worse than drunkards, adulterers, yea or the atheists and infidels among us. (Nor were the people that obeyed their Council so used.) But the names of these holy men are venerable to this day.

Obj. 2. There were then no Christian Magistrates, and therefore the peoples power must be used in their stead.

_Ans._ Church power was the same before and after. The Laws of Christ concerning it altered not. The Pastors were then the Guides of the people by divine right: And the power of the Keyes was no less forcible or effectual as used by the Bishops and Presbyters, than when the power of the sword was added to them (if not much more.) And the peoples power of choosing and refusing Bishops continued many hundred years after Magistrates were Christians, confirmed even by Popes and Councills.

Obj. 3. This would cast all into confusion, and there would be no Church Government, if the people be Judges when a Minister is bad, and then may pull him down or forsake him, and choose ano-
This is after further answered. I now only say 1. The people may not touch his Person, by violence, nor deprive him of his benefice or temple, nor yet degrade him: As they that change their Physician or Lawyer do no such thing, but simply choose one that they can trust. No man will win more by my salvation than I shall, nor would suffer more than I by it if I were damned: Who is more than I concerned what becometh of my soul? Am I not to have more care of it than of my estate or health of body? Who can easily believe those men that send us to goales and ruin us for trusting our soules with such Guides as to the best of our understandings we think meetest, or at least for avoiding such as we cannot so far trust, and then tell us that they do it because they love our soules better than we love our selves, and therefore will not trust them to our choice. 2. what confusion doth it cause that every man now chooseth his owne Tutor in philosophy; his own master, his own Lawyer and physician, and every woman at age her own husband.

3. Doth not the Church of England (as is said) allow every man his choice, when no man is forbidden to forfake any Bishop or Pastor and choose another by removing his habitation when he pleases? So that all this is but about Parish bounds, which is confessed to be of humane alterable constitution. And how ordinarily do many Gentlemen of the Church of England go from their own Parishes in London? 4. You may see by Philip Nyes printed papers, and Mr. Tombs his, that even those called Independents
and some Anabaptists are for hearing such Parish-Teachers as their Rulers shall appoint, so they may but commit the Pastoral care of their souls to such as they can better trust, and have Sacraments and special Church Communion free.

5. What great confusion doth it breed in London that the French and Dutch Churches thus differ from the rest, and have their proper modes and Government? Yea or that the Nonconformists by the favour of his Majesties Licenses had their choice and several meetings. Let not envy and animosity feign greater confusion than there is, and the matter will appear much otherwise than it is represented, even that the discords and confusions were incomparably less (on that occasion) than they were under the Bishops in the better times of the Churches, even from An. 400 to 600, of which more in due place.

6. They that will condemn all that hath inconveniences, shall condemn all things in this world: But the Greateft must be noted and avoided first. Shall the people have any judgment of discerning or not? If yea, the bounds of it must be shewed, and not the thing denied as if it must bring in all confusion. If Ulurpers claim the Crown, the Subjects must judge which is their true King, and must defend his right. Will you say, If the people be Judges, they may set up Ulurpers, and put down the King? They are but discerners of that which is before their duty. They have no right to erre, nor to alter the Law or right: But if it be otherwise, they are to be ruled as brutes: And so must not judge so much as whom they must obey. Is there any Christian
Christian that dare say, that Bishops or Princes are in all things to be obeyed, lest the people be made Judges? And so that under Heathen, Mahometan Papists, Heretical Rulers, they must be all of their Religion, as to the external professing and practising part? None dare for shame say so, save an Infidel. Is not this a greater confusion or mischief than that which is now disputed against: Therefore the bounds must be set on both sides, which are not difficult to discern: As the people have property in their limbs, children and liberties, and acquisitions antecedently to humane Government, which is to order these, and not to destroy them; so have all men greater interest in the safety of their own souls, which no man can take from them; no nor is it in their just power to put it into the hands of others from themselves. If Hereticks, blind guides, or faithless men, or insufficient, be made Pastors of the Flocks, and all men commanded to hear no better, nor trust the Pastoral Conduct of their souls into any wiser or safer hands, Satan will be more gratified by it, than by the disorder of the peoples choosing their own Spiritual Councillors, Tutors and Physicians. And when Church-communion is due to none but voluntary accepters, men should not be used so as to take it still against their wills, and to be as it were crammed and drencht with sacred Mysteries, & driven to take them against their consciences and wills from such as they think they cannot communicate with, without being guilty of their sin: When some Councils have owned Pope Nicholas's decree, that no man ought to hear the Mass from a fornicating Priest; much

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less
ills from men that are far more liable to exceptions.

To this I may add, that as in divers cases the Canons and Decrees forbid hearing some Priests, and allowed several Churches in the same ground, so they seem to give that Pastor a right to the Conduct of the People, who was the chief Converter of them from Infidelity or Heresie: And hence was the Popes Controversie with the Greeks about the Bulgarians, and his claim to the Church of England, and many others, because he said his Missionaries converted them. I shall specially note here, that the old Canons sent by Adrian to Carolus Mag. recited by Caiusius and Buxius, say, ["That no one must pray with Heresics or Schismatics"] and so not with Papist-

"Bishops that are the greatest Schismaricks by dividing Impositions ["That if a Bishop six months after admonition of other Bishops neglect to make Catholicicks of the people (multitudes then being Heathens and Hereticks) belonging to his seat, any other shall obtain them that shall deliver them from their Heresie."] Yet the Bishop is not deposed, but another Bishop and Church of the new Converts set up in his Precincts, and so a Church gathered in the Precincts of another Church and Bishop. And so Gregory Nazianzen did long preach as their Pastor in a small Church in Constantinople, before he had possession of the Cathedral; the people claiming him for their profiting by his teaching; and Theodosius gave him the Cathedral as merited by his success. And in the said old Canons, c. 19. it's said, that Dioceses (which then were every Corporation and the Suburbs or Villages) which
want Bishops receive none without the consent of
the Bishop who hitherto held them (so be it) not
proudly: For if he over-hold them, affecting to
sit over the people, and despising his fellow-
Bishops, he is not only to be driven from the re-
tained Diocese, but also from his own Church.
And ex Con. Sard. 2. "A Bishop that by ambi-
tion changeth his seat (which was then for-
bidden by the Canons) shall not have (so much as)
Lay-communion, (no not) at the end (his death.)
Even old Clemens Romanus, ad Corinth. tells
them that they ought not to cast out these Mi-
nisters that live unblameably, having been
Constituted by the Apostles or deinceps ab aliis
viris celebribus, Cum Consensu Universæ Ecclesiae.
But I find the Roman and Tyrannical spirit
much insisting upon this, that the Christian
Religion was but in the shell or Embryo in the
Apostles dayes; and under Christian Emperours
is grown up to the maturity of Papacie, riches,
pomp, and grandeur, and that great power
which the Christian Emperours gave the Patri-
archs and prelates of their times. But this Hy-
pothesis must be better proved before we can re-
ceive it: We confess that for extent and number
the Church was there in its minority: But if it
was so as to infallibility of doctrine & perfection
of Laws, and exemplary lives, then the Pope is
better than Christ and his Apostles and their
contemptible Decretals and firebrand Councils
are better than the sacred scriptures, and their
degenerate Clergie and people better than the
ancient holy peaceable Christians, & their blood-
shedders better than the Martyrs, and the Cross-
makers better than the Cross-bearers; which
are things that the worldly fort may believe more easily than mortified and heavenly Christians.

One testimony more we will add for the antiquity, and the estimation of many that are against us. And that is the Apostolicall constitutions, L. b, 8, cap. 4 de ordinationibus, (having said before cap 2. that Episcopus ignorantia aut male animo opplererus, Episcopus non est. sed falsus Episcopus, non a Deo sed in hominibus promotus,) they here say that a Bishop must be one that a certaine populorum ex optimis quibusque eleitus est. Qo nominato & placente, populas in unum Congreganam (not a thousand Churches but one) una cum Presbyteris, atque Episcopis presentibus Die Dominico consentiat. Quis vero inter reliquis princeps Episcopus est, percontetur Presbyteros & populum an. ipsi sit quem praesepe petant? & illis amnemibus rursus percontetur an tribunum ei omnes testimonium quod dignus sit hoc magnorum & illustri munere presider? An qua ad pacientem erga Deum pertinere rete peregerit? An jura adversus homines servarit? An domum suaem resque domesticas rete administraverit, & an vita ei peromnia honeste & laudatissima fuerit? cum vero Omnes simul, non secundum opinionem praesidet, sed secundum veritatem testimoniis fuerint, talem esse eum, tanquam in conspectu judicis Dei & Christi, presente etiam Spiritus Sancto, atque omnibus sanctis & administratoriis spiritibus rursus tertio interrogent, utrum sit dignus Ministerio, ut in ore duorum vel trium sit omne verbum: Et cum tertio annuerint, et dignum esse assensu fuerint, petatur ab omnibus ut praebeant signum assensus: Et libenter præbentes audiantur.]

We urge not this as of Apostolicall authority, but
but as of great antiquity, and agreeing with the primitive practice. This course much differeth from the ordaining of a Bishop at an hundred miles distance from his Church; Yea ordaining him, not in or to a particular Church, but to many hundred Churches when the people neither know him nor are present, and yet the question's askt as if they were. And as the people had ever a choosing or a free consentent Voice, so they oft received Bishops and Presbyters who were ordained by such as were outcasts, Nonconformists, and banished both by Emperours and Synods; as in many more instances might be proved: As also that they adhered to the Pastors so chosen, notwithstanding their ejections by the Imperial Power; yea and by such Councils as they thought to be unjust; as the said divisions by the displacings, restorings, and changes of Bishops by the Councils of Constantinople, 1. Ephesus, 2. & Calsdon, and by the Emperours in those times, do fully prove, the people following some one, and some another; though fear oft prevailed for conformity with the greater part. (And no wonder when so many Bishops at the Council of Calsdon professed that for fear they had judged against Flavianus for Eutichus against their consciences, and even old Osias, and many more at Ariminum did the like; and when the powers changed, cried, Omnes prsecavimus; and when under Theodosius 2d. so many went one way, who under Martian went another way, even in point of Heresie.

When Mavia the Saracen Queen chose Moses a Monk to be her Bishop, as the condition of her peace with the Roman Empire, Moses would not
not be ordained by Lucius; not because he was an Arrian, but because he was a persecutor, and hurtful to other men for Religion, and so he would be ordained Priest by some that were banished to a certain Mountain, Socr. l. 4. c. 29.

When the Emperour was gone from Antioch (where in person he went to disperse their Meetings, and yet they held on) the people thrust out Lucius whom he had set up, and set up Peter again whom the Emperour had banished. But such instances are too many to be recited. Yea under Orthodox Princes, the people would cleave to their injured Pastors, though against the Emperors will, as they of Millane did to Ambrose; and the Joannites to Chrysostom, who even long after his death separated from the Bishop, and kept up their separate Meetings against the will of Prince and Prelates, till milder Bishops instead of persecuting them, restored Chrysostom's bones and name to honour, and reconciled them. It will still be objected, as before, that most of these instances were but the peoples rejection of Arrians: But again, we answer 1. In other instances, they usually chose their Pastors, and cleaved to them, though prohibited. 2. These Arrians were such as subscribed the Ariminum Creed, which was so ambiguously compiled, that abundance that renounced Arius, did think that for obedience and peace they might put a fair sense on the words, and so subscribe them: And we meet with persons in our times, that think words imposed on them by Superiours, may and must endure stretching to a sense as far from their usual acceptation, as the foresaid words were stretched by the
The Ariminum Subscribers. 3. They that never accused and convicted the refused Bishops of Arrianism, yet adhered to their former Bishops. 4. It seemeth then that the people are left Judges (as to the guiding of their own practice) what Bishops to refuse as heterodox, and whom to own as Orthodox.

And indeed the saying of Cyprian is well known, that [The people have the greatest power both to chuse a worthy Priest, and to refuse or forsake the unworthy.]

6. All Protestants believe that it is no Schism in France, or other Papist Countries, to chuse Pastors, and meet for the Worship of God, though forbidden by the Civil and Ecclesiastic Governors of the place.

Obj. That is because that the Princes are Papists.

Ans. A Papist King is to be obeyed in lawful things: what Protestant denieth that?

Obj. But it is because that the Churches and Worship in those Countries is such as it is not lawful to be present at.

Ans. 1. This Objection granteth, that when the commanded Assemblies or Worship are such as it is not lawful to be present at; 1. The people are discerning Judges; 2. And may lawfully meet elsewhere under Pastors of their own choice.

2. But let the Question be, (not whether we may be present in their Churches, but) whether we may set up other Churches, when we are necessarily kept from those established by Publick Power? and it will go far.

7. When the Form of Worship and Concord called the Interim, was by Charles the 5th. imposed on the German Protestants, (being drawn up
up by Julius Pflag, Sidonius, and Isebius Agri-
cola, men pretending to moderation, as not im-
posing the Mass, &c. the Protestants judged it
lawful to gather Assemblies, and keep up
Churches contrary to such an Edict of the Em-
peror: One half of them held on their former
way, till banishment or other violence hindred
them. Melancthon and the others that thought
the things commanded not utterly unlawful, con-
formed only to prevent the utter desolation of
the Churches; but not in conscientious obedi-
ence to the Emperours Edict, as if it had been
any Schism to do otherwise if they could have
been endured: As may be seen in Melancthon's
own words in his Epistles, and elsewhere.

8. The most of Protestants at this day hold,
that it is no Schism to keep up Churches of their
several Parties, against their Princes will and
prohibition. Those called Arminians in Belzia
to think. Episcopius writeth at large, that if
Ministers be forbid to Preach, and People to
Assemble (in their case) they must go on, though
they suffer death for it (saving that prudence
may direct them sometime to avoid a present
storm.) The Churches under the Duke of Bran-
denburgh are generally contrary to his judgment
in Religion: And should the Princes of Saxony,
Brunswick, Hassia, &c. or the Kings of Sweden, or
Denmark turn Calvinists, their Clergy would be
far from thinking it their duty to cease their As-
semblies of the Lutheran Profession and Worship.

Bishop Andrews is so far from tying all
Ministers to the Kings will, that he faith [* co-
hibeat Regem Diaconus, si cum indignus sit idque
palam confet, accedat tamen ad Sacramentum.]
i.e.
i.e. Let (even) a Deacon restrain the King, if he come to the Sacrament being unworthy, and that be openly manifest.]

"Bishop Bilson of Subjection p. 399 faith, [The Election of Bishops in those days belonged to the people and not to the Prince: and though Valens by plain force placed Lucius there, yet might the people Lawfully reject him as no Bishop and cleave to Peter their right Pastor.]

Mark that he layeth it not on his Error, but on his entrance without the people's Election and that they might reject him as no Bishop. We see here the full concurrence of such English Bishops as were the most Learned and zealous defenders of Episcopacy and loyalty.

The same Bishop ibid. p. 36. Saith more plainly, "[Princes have no right to call or confirm Preachers, but to receive such as be sent of God and give them Liberty for their Preaching and security for their persons: and if Princes refuse so to do, Gods labourers must go forward with that which is commanded them from Heaven; Not by disturbing Princes from their Thrones, nor invading their Realms as your father doth, and defend to he may do; but by mildly submitting themselves to the powers on Earth and meekly suffering for the defence of the truth, what they shall inflict. ] This is the sum of all that we here intend. So pag. 313. he faith [we grant that they must rather hazard their lives than baptize Princes which believe not, or distribute the Lords mysteries to them that repent not, but give willful and open signification of impiety, &c.] So Beda Hist. Eccl, l. 2. c. 5.

"Tells us that Melitus Bishop of London (with "justus)
was banished by the heirs of King Sabbaeth, because he would not give them the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which they would have had before they were baptized. Yet all this is no justification of causeless disobedience to Magistrates that circumstantiate sacred things according to their Office; nor will it justify any Schismatical Societies: Vespa habent favos, & Marcionitae Ecclesiæ faith Tertullian.

XLIV. 12. If any persons shall pretend to have the power of Governing the Churches and Inferior Pastors as their Bishops, who are obtruded on those Churches without the Election or consent of the people or Inferior Pastors, and these Bishops shall by Lawes or mandates forbid such Assembling, Preaching or Worship as otherwise would be Lawful and a duty, It is no Schism to disobey such Laws or mandates as such; Nor do such disobey their Pastors, they being truly no Bishops of theirs till they do consent (however in some cases the advantages of some imposed persons may make it an act of Prudence, and so a duty to consent, as is aforesaid,) It was no Schism for the people of Antioch, Alexandria, Cesarea, Constantinople &c. to refuse Ecclesiastical obedience to the ill Bishops set over them by the Emperour to whom they did not consent; But the Schism was theirs who complied with the imposed Usurpers. Here it must be noted, that Church history hath constrained all that understand it to confess (both Papists, Greeks, and Protestants, that the ordination of Bishops and Presbyters was in the power of the Bishops and the Election in the power of the people, not only the
the first 300 years under heathen Emperours, but for many hundred years after under Christian Emperours and Princes. 2. That this was taken for their right given them by God. To cite more proofs, for this would expose us to the readers cenfure, as unnecessary tediousness: Many Papists largely prove it; As doth David Blondel beyond exception, de jure plebis in regimine Ecclesiasticco, with more. 3. That yet we here plead not for the necessity of so much as the peoples election as it signifieth the first nomination of the person, but only for the necessity of consent, either explicitly or implicitly express. If the senior Pastors have the first nomination, or if it be the Magistrate, or Patrons, as with us, we quarrel not against it, if the flock do but consent.

Parents may Chuse Husbands and Wives for their Children; but they are not such at all till mutual consent.

XLV. 13. The consent of a few of the Church, is not the consent of the Church; Nor is it Schilt for the Major part to differ from their choice or determinations (as such.) In Government, the will of the Sovereign is the publick will; But in contracts, and consent of a Community, where Unity is the thing intended, and voting the means, the Major part is denominatively the society, (unless they have made others their trustees or delegates in Electing, Consenting themselves to what they do,) such societies are not denominated from the Minor, or a small part, as contradistinct from the rest. If a Diocess have a thousand, or 600, or 300 Parish Pastors, and a hundred thousand or a million of people (or 50000 or 20000 as you will
will suppose) and if only a dozen or twenty Presbyters, and a thousand people (or none) choose the Bishop, this is not the Election or consent of the Diocesan Church; Nor is it Schism for 20000 to go against the votes of 2000.

XLVI. 14. If Bishops that have no better a foundation of their relative power over that particular flock, shall impose inferior Pastors or Presbyters on the Parish-Churches; & command the peoples acceptance & obedience, the people are not bound to accept and obey them, by any authority that is in that command as such: Nor is it Schism to disobey it, no more than it is treason to reject the Usurper of a Kingdom.

XLVII. 15. Whilest such obtruded Parish Pastors have no consent of the flock (explicite or implicite) that Parish is no Parish Church, in the proper Political Organized sense, as we now speak of a Church, as constituted by the Governing and Governed parts. For that which wanteth an essential part, wanteth the Essence, And therefore it is no Schism to pronounce it no such Church, and to deny it the Communion proper to such a Church. Though yet as the word [Church] doth signify an ungoverned Society in potentia proxima to receive Government, they may be improperly called a Church as they are in a vacancy.

XLVIII. 16. If they that make a Diocese the lowest proper Church (which hath a Bishop, and none under him) and a Parish to be but a part of the Diocesan Church, and no proper Church of it self, as having no Episcopus Gregis, shall accuse those as separating from the Church, who separate not from the Bishop, and keep to any Parish
Parish in the Diocess, they contradict themselves: Though such forsake many Presbyters and Parishes.

XLIX. 17. If Princes or Prelates shall unjustly silence or depose so great a number of faithful Pastors or Preachers, as shall leave people desitute of a necessary Preaching and Pastoral help, it is no Schism, but a great duty, for such Ministers to preach, and pastorally guide such people; otherwise by the same reason, one man might put down Christianity in an Empire at his pleasure; or dissolve the Churches.

L. If it be said, that it's true if he put down all, but not if he silence but a minor part. We answer, that the reason is the same to those to whom the Ministry is necessary, if he put down Ministers to them. The supply of the Churches, e.g. in one City of a Kingdom, is no supply to the other Cities: And if a Parish have 10000, or 30000, or 50000, or 60000 souls, its no supply to all the rest if 3000 of these have the benefit of a Preacher and Pastor. The same power which may deny a Pastor to ten parts of a Parish, may deny him to the eleventh part, that is, to all. So if competent Pastors be set over half the Parishes in a Kingdom, and the other half hath incompetent men; or if nine parts of a Kingdom were competently supplied, and but the tenth part had not such to whom the people may lawfully commit the Pastoral Care of their souls, it is no Schism, but a duty for those that are destitute, to get the best supply they can; and it is no Schism, but a duty, for faithful Ministers, though forbidden by superiours, to perform their Office to such people that desire it.
Their General Ordination, with the peoples Nece-
cessity and Consent added to God's General Com-
mands to all his Ministers to be faithful and diligent, are a sufficient obliging Call to such Minis-
tration, without the will of (prohibiting) Super-
iorirs; yea against it.

For 1. Else it were at the will of a man whe-
ther souls shall be saved or damned, (for how
shall they believe unless they hear? and how
shall they hear without a Preacher?) and whe-
ther Christ shall have a Church; and God be
publickly worshiped, or not.

2. Our Ordination confecrateth us to our
Office, during life: And it is Sacrifilege and Co-
venant-breaking with God to cast it off and ali-
enate our selves.

3. God hath described the Office and the
Work in his Word, and charged his servants to
give the children their bread in due season, and
adjured them before God and the Lord Jesus
Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead
at his appearing, and his Kingdom, to preach the
Word, & be instant, in season, & out of season, &c.

4. The indispensible Law of Nature obligeth
every man according to his Place and Calling,
is Ability, and his Opportunities, to do his best
to propagate Christ's Gospel, and to save mens
souls, as much and more than to feed mens bo-
dies, and save their lives: But our Calling is to
do it as Ministers of Christ, thereto devoted.
And we did not receive this Calling to be altered,
or forborn at the will of man, but to be per-
formed according to the Word of God: Men
being not the Makers of the Office, nor of God's
Law under which we execute it; nor the Do-
ners.
The Electors of the Persons that shall receive it;
2. And the Investers of them in it by Ministerial delivery; 3. And the Governours of us in the exercise of it, according to God's Laws, by which they may punish us for male administration, but cannot dissolve the Laws obligation to those that are indeed commanded by it.

II. Obj. 2. If there be able Preachers in one part of the Parishes, and the other part have such as deliver all that is necessary to salvation intelligibly, it is unlawful to Preach against the will of the Prince or Prelates in such a Country.

Ans. We deny this unproved assertion. 1. Indeed it will follow that such persons are justly condemned by God, if they repent not though they had but a Reader. 2. And that they should be thankful for so much, and gladly accept it in such Churches when they can have no better, But not 1. that it is in the power of any man justly to forbid them better, when God provideth it, 2. Nor that they must obey such a prohibition, as such. (Though prudence may discern forbearance to be a duty by accident, when the hurt would be greater than the good.) There is no doctrine objectively of absolute necessity to salvation, but the doctrine of the Baptismal Covenant which is expounded in the Creed, Lords prayer and Decalogue. But there is much Doctrinal and active Means necessary to make men Understand, Believe, Love, and Prati-
si, this necessary Covenant doctrine. And the doctrine or articles of faith, will sive none that do not Understand, Believe, Love, and Pratish it, and that sincerely preferring the things
revealed before all the pleasures, riches and honours of this World. A Parrot shall not be a Saint for saving the Creed.

LII. These following matters of fact are presupposed to the answer of this objection, and in them all sober Protestants are (as we suppose) agreed.

1. That this aforesaid sincerity of Faith, Repentance, Hope, Love, and Obedience, is made by God of necessity to salvation.

2. That as it will not profit a man to win all the World and lose his soul, so neither will doctrinal formality, or obedience to superiors that hinder found Preachers, recompence him for the loss of his soul; And that God would not have mens Government maintained by mens damnation, nor will the ungodly be the best members of Church or Kingdoms: Order is a means to save men, and not damn them, some few Heathens offer to Devils a sacrifice of man's flesh, and blood: But if a man should offer to God (the Lover, Saviour, and Sanctifier of souls) a Sacrifice of the souls of thousands, and say, All these are to be kept in Ignorance and ungodliness and so to be damned, to please God who will have them obey their superiors, at that rate; this were a dishonour to God of unexpressible iniquity and error. Christ that hath taught men to seek first his Kingdom, and to take up the Cross, and to forsake Father and Mother and Life and all to serve him in the saving of their souls, and had planted inseparably self love into our natures, surely did not mean so.

Contrarily as that we must forsake Christ, Heaven, and Salvation, to obey men.

3. That
3. That certain experience putteth us past doubt, that ignorance, sensuality, worldliness, profaneness are far more common, and a holy heavenly mind and life, and all serious Christianity and obedience, far, very far more rare, in those Kingdoms and Parishes which have no plain, convincing, serious, lively and exemplary Preachers, than in those that have, although they be baptized, and have the Creed, Lords prayer and Decalogue in their Liturgie. And yet here are all things of absolute objective necessity to salvation. What a case the Moscovites are in, that have only Liturgies and Homilies read, we mentioned before: And how sad the case is among the Greeks, Armenians, Abassins, and most Papists, for want of better Preachers. Bishop Usher could say of the Irish, that more perished by not knowing what we are on both sides agreed in, than by their Popish Errours: And what a case the Scottish Highlanders, too many of the Welsh, and most Parishes in England were in, as to serious piety, which had heretofore but Readers, or Preachers that did less than read a Homilie, experience constraineth us to know: as also what difference there is yet to be seen as to serious faith and godliness, between the fruits of a clear, serious, holy, diligent Preacher, and of raw youths that say over a pedantick lifeless speech, and out of the pulpit little differ in speech or life, from Carnal Worldlings or formal Hypocrites. Though we know that all that profess to be seriously Religious, are not so, yet none are so that do not profess it as they have opportunity.

As we are not able to deny this experience
of the different fruits of different Teaching (when all have the Creed;) Nor dare deny the necessity of serious faith, repentance and holiness to salvation (lest we renounce the Gospel,) nor yet that no men (much less most men or many thousands) may as an act of obedience to man, refuse those helps which God provides them, and without which few Comparatively are truly converted from a Carnal life and saved; so therefore we dare not think or say, that humane Lawes or orders are arguments of sufficient weight to move them hereunto.

LIII. Obj. 3. But the hurt of the peoples choosing Teachers and Assemblies without or against the Rulers will, is greater than the hurt that cometh by the want of better Teachers.

Ans. 1. The peoples choice doth hurt by accident, in those Countries, where the Rulers put down necessary helps, and where the people are Erroneous, Heretical, and Unruly, and so where the people would choose unsufferable men, supposing still that no Church is constituted without mutual consent of the Pastor and the flock and that the Rulers alter not or violate not Christ's Laws by which he hath appointed the ordering of Assemblies. Therefore it is the Rulers Office to hinder the people from doing mischief, without hindering them from their duty and from doing well; To Govern them in their work, and not to forbid it.

2. If the Gospel be hid (from the mind though not from the Ear) it is hid to them that are lost 2, Cor. 4. 3. And without holiness none shall see God Heb. 12, 14. Christ will come
come in flaming Fire to render vengeance to them that know not God and obey not the Gospel, 2. Tef. 1. 10. 11. All they shall be damned that obey not the truth but have pleasure in unrighteousness 2. Tef. 2. 11. 12. They that live after the flesh shall die, and they that have not the spirit of Christ are none of his, Rom. 8. 9. 13. It is not then easy to think of a greater hurt, than to forbid men such means, without which experience assureth us that few comparatively are thus inlightened and renewed to God, and with which more comparatively are renewed. To say that God can bless to us an ignorant heartless, Carnal Teacher, is no answer, while experience certifieth us that comparatively he doth not do it. If the people would choose such Pastors, Rulers must do their best to change their minds, and to provide better for them. But that's not the case that we are now speaking to. If people would run into Sects and Heresies, Rulers may punish and restrain false Teachers that dangerously corrupt the Christian doctrine and seduce the peoples souls; But they may not therefore silence the faithful Ministers of Christ, And adhering to such Ministers, doth not any hurt of it self: Nor any way tend to the furthering of so much hurt, as the contrary would do.

3. For who knoweth where to bound his obedience to such silencers as aforesaid, If a thousand or two thousand faithful Ministers, must cease Preaching when so forbidden, why not 3000, why not 4000? If half a Kingdom can you satisfie the consciences of the other half that they must not do so too, and so all Christian King-
Kingdoms conform to Moscovie when the Prince commandeth it. And if 1000 or 2000 or 3000 Parishes must choose the apparent hazard of their souls and refuse such helps as experience certifieth us they greatly need, in obedience to man, why must not the rest of the Parishes do so also? May I give away the needfull helps to my salvation, because others have them, as if their salvation might satisfie me instead of my own?

4. We acknowledge it a very great Mercy of God, to have a Christian Prince, and that every Kingdom shou'd be Christian, and that Princes must do what they can to accomplish it; And that they are the Governours of Pastors as well as of Physicians, (as is aforesaid) and that it is most desirous that the Church and Kingdom should be commensurate, and none in their Kingdoms reject the Gospel. and that Pastor or people who will do any thing contrary to this, or will not further it with all their power are great transgressors. But yet the old saying is true (owned even by the Papists, vid. Pet. De Marca, De Eccl. Const.) that Ecclesia est in imperio: And none but professed confessers are Christians: And the Temple is a prison and not a Church as men are there forcibly driven against their wills, so far is it from saving the souls of any.

Yet constraining the ignorant and Heretical to hear sound Teachers, we are far from opposing. But when Paul hath said [Not a Novice,] If Rulers will silence better Teachers, and set up Novices, that are unskilful in that great and sacred work, and never felt that work of faith, love,
love, and heavenliness, on their own souls which they must Preach to others, this will do more hurt, than the peoples choice of better men.

5. Yea if men of such doctrine could once make Princes and people believe, that the people ought to receive only such Pastors as Princes choose for them, it may do more harm than all our sects do: For sects cannot cast out religion at once; Nay usually they perish themselves by their own divisions and shame before they can ruine the Church. But Princes might change Religion as oft as the Moon changeth. And if good Princes were but the tenth part as rare, as they thought that said [In uno annulo] &c. what then would become of Religion in the World?

LIV. And though we profess our great detestation of Church-Schisms, and our lamentation for the sad case of these Nations, and the Christian world, by reason of them, believing that Schism should be odious to all Christians; yet we are past doubt that aggravating some differences and breaches passionately by odious names, hath been Schismatical, by making the distance seem much greater than it was, and rendering Dissenters odious to others, and teaching Adversaries and ignorant persons, to reproach men as guilty of more Schism than they are guilty of indeed. Among the Papists, if they unite in the Pope, they pass not for Schismaticks or Hereticks, who differ in all those many and great points, which H. Fowlis, Montaltus, the Jesuits Morals, Mr. Clarkson, &c. recite, viz. about Murder, Adultery, Fornication, King killing, seldom Loving God, &c. And
among us, a man that doth but scruple certain Oaths, Subscriptions, Covenants, Declarations, or a Ceremony, is charged by some with Schism.

LV. The Distance of Doctrines or Objective Religion must be distinguished from the passion and peevishness, of Subjective distance of mens minds, e.g. Suppose Grammarians differ about a Criticism (whether Vergilius or Virgilius) be the truer spelling; and Philosophers differ de vacuo, de definitione spatii, temporis, &c. de causa motus projectorum, &c. and Divines differ of the translation of a Text, of the antiquity of the Hebrew points, of the time of Easter day, of a Ceremony, or Form of Prayer, of the lawfulness of a Lay-Chancellors use of the Church-Keys; Would not an impartial stranger say, How concordant and happy are these men, that differ in no greater matters? And if they all fall together by the ears about such things as these, it is an aggravated Subjective Schism, and a shame to such wranglers, who deserve the remedy of scolds: But sure they that peaceably and calmly differ about the aforesaid things, viz. whether we are bound to Love God once a year? whether the Pope may excommunicate and depose Kings, that will not extirpate all Protestants. Whether an excommunicate King may be murdered as no King, &c? these are far more distant really in point of Religion, than the other.

LVI. And we must lament that we find in Church-History, and by too much experience, that there hath been, and is in too many Pastors, such a selfishness and high esteem of their own judgments, and so little sense of the common weakness of mankind, and the lowness of our highest
highest degrees of knowledge, and so little Love to others as to themselves, that by envy and impatience, they raise or increase Schisms in the Church, by making a causeless outcry against Schism, or making little differences seem great. They that cannot bear with Persons and Congregations, who in little matters differ from them, because they prefer some other Teacher before them, and say somewhat against their opinions or ways, do condemn themselves while they cry down Schismaticks, and seem not to know what manner of spirit they are of: The Wisdom from above is first pure, and then peaceable, and gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and hypocrisy; and the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace by peace-makers: But if there be envying and strife, it is infernal wisdom, earthly, sensual and devilish, introducing confusion, and every evil work, whether it be found in Factions, Contentions, Antichurches and Hereticks, or in those that can bear with no Dissenters, nor receive them that are weak in the faith, but make things unnecessary, and their own conceits and wills the measure of men's liberties and their censures. He that would pursue all as Rebels in a Kingdom, who interpret not every Law alike, would more divide the Kingdom, than all men's different expositions now do.

LVII. We do with sorrow confess that the discords of the people about chusing their Bishops, hath been a great scandal to Infidels, and a great dishonour to the Church, and hath caused many lamentable Schisms, not only under Christian Emperours, but Heathen. But it hath been
been greatest about the greatest Prelates, especially the Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, &c. since Damasus got that seat by Conquest in the Church, a multitude of Schisms have fallen out even when Princes challenged the choice. A long time two at once, sometimes three, and once five or six Popes living that were and had been Popes. The Schism of the Donatists was so caused by Bishop set up against Bishop; so was that of the Joanites at Constantinople, and of Dioscorus at Alexandria, and many more. But it must be noted, 1. That the Electing Bishops-Priests and Magistrates have occasioned these Schisms as much, if not far more than the Electing people have done 2. That yet Princes for many hundred years after Constantines time, did not think it meet to prevent such Schisms by depriving the People or Presbyters of their Electing-power (much less of Consecr.) 3. That the Cure must not be by altering Christ's institution, and the Churches practice continued 600, if not 800 years, and with most or many to this day; nor by overthrowing the very Constitution of Churches, and the Law of Nature itself; nor by introducing a greater evil; as it would be to teach all people to receive all and only such Pastors as Princes everywhere shall set over them, and all Ministers of Christ to cease their Office when men forbid it them.

LVIII. Obj. 4. But if Ministers themselves must be judges, whether a Magistrate do justly silence them, then none will take themselves to be silenced justly; and so all Hereticks will Preach on; it is the Rulers that must judge.
when we hear, and read, how the Papifts deceive the ignorant, by repeating the question, who must be the judge, it grieveth us to find some Protestants so unskilful in answering it, when the answer is so easy, that when opened we hope few sober Protestants differ in it. 

Judgement is Publick or Private: Publick Judgement is either Antecedent by a Lawgiver judging what shall be commanded and made the subjects duty; or consequent by a Judge so strictly called, Judging of Titles, and Crimes (in order to punishment) according to law; Private Judgement is either by Arbitrators, or private Censurers, or by every mans Conscience discerning and judging what is his duty, and what is sin.

1. The Sovereign of the World, is the only Judge, by Legislation what shall be the duty of all mankind, by the Law which he maketh to bind high and low, which none may alter or suspend. 2. And he is the only fountain of Power to his Creatures. 3. And he is the only final, absolute, infallible judge.

2. The Sovereigns of Kingdoms and Common wealths, and masters in their families, are judges antecedently what shall be their Subjects duty, by their Laws subervient to Gods: And they and their Officers receiving power from them are the Judges consequent, by Decision, who shall be punished as Criminal and who not, and who shall be protected in his propriety or estate, by the sword of Justice.

3. The true Bishops or Pastors of the Church, are Guides to the people according to Christ's Laws, in the matters of their Office, and decisive Judges, who shall be taken in, or put out of Com-
munion, in the respective Churches.

4. Every man's Conscience is that Private discerning Judge of his own Duty and Sin. (Of Arbitrators or Censurers we need not speak.)

This all of us are agreed in: And the question who shall judge] is still urged by some, as if they thought that some man or men must needs in all cases (of Religion) be taken for such Absolute Judges that what ever they Judge, all subjects must obey it. And on this pernicious supposition is built the Popes pretended Infallibility, because they think that religion is fallible (that is, God's Law) if the judge (that is an ignorant man, or men) be fallible.

But all Proteants (at least) are agreed, that all men are God's Subjects; and that all humane Power of Legislation, Judgement and execution is limited; and that no man may judge against God or his Laws: And that men should know God's Laws, and justify them and judge by them, and condemn all that is against them; But no man hath power to condemn or contradict God's Law itself. No man hath power to judge that there is no God, no Life to come, no Christ, or that one word of God is false, or to forbid one thing which God commandeth, or command one thing which God forbiddeth, no man hath power to judge that souls shall be deprived of such needful Teaching and Sacraments, and publick worshiping of God, as God hath provided, and commanded them to use; Nor to forbid Christ's faithful Ministers causeth to Preach his word, and worship him in the Churches, and administer his Sacraments; Nor causeth to silence, or punish them for so doing: Therefore in this case our
our consciences would not be bound though still we profess that God's Law bindeth us not to rebel, or take up arms against their injuries, but patiently to bear them, and pray for our persecutors.

LIX. Obj. You say that Rulers may not causelessly silence or punish such: But still they are judges whether there be cause.

Ans. They are so: For it is about their proper work. But they are Judges subject to God, to whom they shall answer it if they disobey him. And the subjects are private discerning Judges, whether the Laws of men contradict God's Laws so far as concerneth their obeying or not obeying them.

We must still repeat, that the case is before the court; and the Being of the case and Truth, before the judging of it: either the Preacher deserves the silence or not, before you come to judge the case: If he ought to be silent the Rulers ought to judge so, and do well: If not, but he be innocent, or one that ought not to be forbidden his Office, no man hath power from God to judge contrary and causelessly to forbid him; And his conscience is not formerly bound by that prohibition; Though he must still keep his Loyalty and subjection, and his care of the publick peace and welfare.

LX. We conclude again, that seeing we meet with none that will say that Rulers may judge that we shall not worship God, or that the Gospel shall not be preached, or that men must obediently forfake Christ, or go to Hell; Nor with any Christian that will say that without faith and holiness we may be saved, we dread the consequence.
quence of such arguing, as taketh this up as the last defence, that those people that visibly live in Sensuality, Drunkenness, Fornication, Coveteousness, Pride, Ungodliness or Gross Ignorance, are indeed in a safe condition for salvation, and therefore that Preaching which should bring them to repentance is not necessary; But that its safer to continue Ignorant and ungodly, than to joyn with the Religious for fear of Schism.

For we cannot deny that they that have no other Medium to defend their Assertion, that [the lifeless unskilful Ministry of Novices, which maketh very few seriously Religious, doth more good than the contrary, which hath contrary success, if it be by men forbidden] do too plainly perswade us from our Christianity itself, that is, from the chiefest evidence of its truth and glory: For if there were no better Christians in the world, than such unholy persons before described; and if Christ had not a holy peculiar people, of heavenly minds and lives, and zealous of good works, we could never prove (or believe) him to be the Christ that came to save his people from their sins. He is not the Physician whom we can trust, that doth not cure men. And if they will resolve the case into the question of fact, whether such different Ministers have usually different success? and serious Christianity be not much more rare under Reading Novices, and unexperienced lifeless men, than under skilful serious godly Pastors, we are unable to doubt of it, against all experience.

LXI. Obj. 5. But if every man that is proud and heretical may set up as a Preacher when he will, and when any people will choose him, Religion
gion will be corrupted; and the Church confounded.

Answ. True; therefore that must not be: 1. There are some previous qualifications so essentially necessary to the Ministry, that without them no man is owned as his Minister by Christ, nor should be by men. 2. The Ordainers are to be Judges whether men have these qualifications. 3. The people are discerning Judges which qualified ordained man (or to be ordained) is meet for them; so far as it is necessary to their mutual Consent. 4. If a Heretick or other intollerable person must set up a Preacher; or if any turn Heretick, the Orthodox Churches are (after due admonition) to renounce him as unacceptable of their communion; that he may be shamed and avoided. 5. If yet he continue obstinate, and do more harm than good, the Magistrate is Ruler, and must restrain him, and deny him leave so to Preach in his Dominions; so he do it not by penalties unsuitable to the offence: (Disfranchising, discountenancing and shame, do usually more against Heresies than cruelties.) But Necessary Faithful Teachers may not on these pretences be cast out.

LXII. 18. If the People conscious of their great Necessity of Pastoral over-sight and help, and of Christ's command to use it, do live in a Parish or Countrey where they cannot have it from those that the Magistrate alloweth, either because they cannot perform it for them, or because they will not; it is no Schism for such to seek and use it, from worthy though prohibited men.

We before spake of the Schisms of Teachers, and now of Hearers. In this case men may just-
ly thus argue: [Our Necessity requireth Pastoral oversight, and Christ commandeth us to use it, when we may have it: But from this publick Minister we cannot have it: Therefore we must seek it where we can. That most men have need of Pastoral oversight, is certain; else Christ would not have instituted it for them: And every man should be conscious of his own need.

That Christ hath commanded us the use of it is certain; 1. In all those Texts which command the Pastors their general and particular duties to the People, to Preach and be instant in season and out, to reprove, rebuke, exhort, to comfort the feeble minded, to visit the sick, to convince the erroneous, to administer the Sacraments, to pray and worship God publickly with them, &c. 2. In all those Texts that command the People to hear, submit to, obey, and imitate such Guides, and use such Ordinances. In several cases the People may possibly be deprived of this at home, as from the allowed Minister: 1. When publick Pastors are at so great a distance from them, as that such Pastors cannot come to them, nor they and their families go so far, without such inconvenience and trouble, as will frustrate the end of their endeavours: As in France where the Protestants must go twenty miles, or ten, to a Church; which the weak, children and aged cannot do, nor the rest of the family without such cost and pains, and loss of time as will deprive them of the benefit.

Obj. But yet the Protestants there do not set up unlicensed Churches.

Ans. That is not as an act of formal obedience, as if they took it to be unlawful because prohibited;
bited; but in prudence, because the persecution, should they do it, would frustrate their attempt: In such cases the old Christians met in secret.

2. Where Parishes are so great that the allowed Pastors cannot Preach to half or a fourth or tenth part of the people; and cannot visit half the sick, and Baptize, and administer the Lords Supper as is necessary; And have not time, if the ignorant, and doubting, and troubled persons should come to them for Counsel, resolution or comfort, to speak duly to one of twenty of them. In a Parish of 50000 or 30000, or 20000 or 15000 or 10000 souls, how few is it that one or two Ministers can perform all the Offices to, publick and private which the Gospel requireth Pastors to perform.

3. Where the allowed Pastors are so slothful or proud that they will not condescend to these Offices, of Personal help to many thousands, especially of the poor.

4. Where they are young raw men, or ignorant of such matters, unable to counsel people as their necessities require, in order to their salvation; and perhaps to do it tolerably in a publick Sermon.

5. Where they are so prophane and malignant, that if poor people come to them with cases of conscience, or for counsel what they must do to be saved, they will but deride them as scrupulous and precife, and make them believe that to be solicitous about salvation, and afraid of sinning, and seriously godly, is but to be Hypocrites, melancholy or mad; And perhaps bend their Preaching the same way.

6. When they are Heretical and not to be trusted in point of faith. H 3 7. And
And when they are so Factious and Schismatical, as that their Preaching and Conference tendeth to render other good Christians odious, and stir up men to hate, persecute, or separate from them, and so to destroy true Love and Concord.

In any of these cases when the people or part of them are deprived of that Pastoral helps which their necessity requireth, and God commandeth, they may seek it where they can best have it.

LXIII. In all these cases it is an unsatisfactory Answer to tell them that Religion is kept up in the Land, and that other persons or Parishes have what they want, or that Order and Obedience must be preferred to their supply, or that God can save them without a Pastor, &c. For so God can save the Heathen world without the Gospel Preached if he please: And so you might persuade the Poor to famish, rather than against Law to beg; because if thousands of them dye of Famine, yet other people are supplied, and have plenty: Or you might tell men that they must use no Physician, though they dye for it, if they have no tolerable one allowed them by the Magistrate, because others have Physicians though they dye for want of them.

What if the Parish Priest could Baptize but one of many (or not all:) Must the rest be content to be unbaptized? If not, why must they be content without all publick Preaching and Worshipping of God, and the Lords Supper, and personal helps of Pastors which they need? Paul thanketh God that he Baptized none of the Corinthians save some few, and faith, that God sent
sent him not to Baptize, but to Preach the Gospel. And can any man prove then, That if the Parish Minister cannot or will not Baptize his Children he must get another to do it, yea a prohibited Minister rather then they should be unbaptized; and yet that if the Parish Church cannot receive him, or the Pastor cannot or will not do the Office of a Pastor for him, he must be without Preaching, Worshipping God, and Pastoral oversight?

L X I V. Yet here we must declare 1. That in such necessity people must ceteris paribus, first seek their supply in that way that is most for peace, and most for publick good, and least scandalous or dividing, and that is most agreeable to the Rulers will and honour.

2. That for some short season in which his soul is not apparently hazarded; as also in the tolerable loss, of some measures of Pastoral help, a man must submit his own personal advantage to publick interest, and may hope that God will make it up. As also when it tendeth to his probable greater advantage afterward, by putting by some present storm: But not statedly, to be without Christ's instituted ordinances and helps; e. g. Parish Order is desirable and is the Rulers will: If therefore supply can be had in a neighbour Parish for them that want it in their own, and by an allowed Minister rather than a disallowed, it should be chosen, unless the disparity be so great as to weigh down the contrary inconveniences. And if for a time any be constrained to another way, they should do it but as an extraordinary necessity for the present time, till they can be supplied in the allowed Parochial way; and avoid as much as possibly
they can all waies, though lawful, that encourage true Schisms.

3. And we must profess, that if any Preachers or people, shall out of self-conceitedness, pretend necessity when there is none, their pretence is no justification of their disorder or disobedience. Magistrates may regulate us in the Circumstances of those duties, which the Law of Nature or the Gospel do Command: But if on such pretence of regulating Circumstances, they will violate or contradict either the Law of Nature, or the Gospel, and destroy the duty itself, or its end, we are not bound in such cases to obey them, but must patiently suffer.

LXV. 19. If the Church Laws do exclude those Christians that have right, from the Communion of the Church, and their Children from Baptism, and do decree that they shall be excommunicate, and then laid in Gaols, it seemeth to us no Schism in those persons, to have no such Communion with that Church which is denied them by the Laws of the Church; Nor yet to join themselves with another Church: that will receive them. And as we say of the Papists, that they unjustly call those men Schismaticks, whom they first cast out themselves by unjust excommunication, so may we of any others; Especially when either for that which is a duty, or for some small mistake which it is not in the persons power to rectifie, no greater than most good Christians are guilty of; the Church Law faith that he shall be excommunicate ipso facto, by which he is cast out antecedently to any sentence, or no place left for his pardon or forbearance by the favour of the Ordinary. He that is so cast out,
out, is not the wilful Separatist: Nor is he bound to continue without Church Communion, and Pastoral oversight.

LXVI. 20. If those that live in a Parish where the Incumbent by utter Insufficiency, Heresie, Usurpation, Malignity or Wickedness, is such as men may not lawfully own, or commit the Pastoral Conduct and care of their souls to, shall desire the Pastoral care of the next Parish-Minister, and communion in that Parish-Church, and may not be admitted, but all other Parish-Ministers are by Canon commanded to refuse them, and to turn them home to their own Parish-Priests and Churches, so that they must either commit their souls to such incapable persons, and own them as Christ's Ministers, or have none at all, we dare not charge those persons with Schism, if they commit the care of their souls to worthy ordained men, though not allowed but prohibited by the Magistrate: For the reasons before given. Yea if they know that Church-Laws forbid all other Parish-Priests to receive them, we see not that they are first bound to offer themselves to such as profess obedience to those Laws.

Obj. 1. But some take a meer Reader for incapable that cannot preach, or one that cannot pray without Book, or a young man that is not able to resolve doubts, or cases of conscience: but our Canon 57. faith, that the Sacraments are equally effectual, whether they be administered by a Preacher or no Preacher.

Ans. 1. By an incapable person we mean such as is utterly unable to perform the Pastoral duties which Christ hath commanded, and mens souls greatly need (which among others Dr. Hammond
Hammond in his Annotat. hath well described.) If bare Reading were sufficient Ability, every Boy or Artificer were sufficient that can read. Bare Reading will encourage no man to take any one for his Physician, or Lawyer; and soul-conduct is a matter of greater importance, and needeth as much skill and honesty.

2. It is not the validity of the Sacrament that is all that is to be looked at: *Quod factum valet sepe fieri non debuit.* Men must avoid sin as well as Nullities in Sacraments: We take it to be a sin to own a man as Christ's Minister who is none, through utter incapacity: Yet we know that Reading is a sort of Preaching, and that all Presbyters, where one Church had many, did not publickly and constantly Preach in the ancient Churches: But they were godly men capable of other Ministerial Offices to the People, to pray, counsel and direct them, which must be regarded as well as Sacraments. He that can administer a Sacrament that's valid, may be unfit for men to take for their Pastors or Guides.

3. There is a double work of Sacraments to which they may be called *Effecual*: one is God's own collation of our Covenant-right to the promised Benefits, viz. Pardon and Salvation: To this we believe that the Sacrament is effectual to meet receivers, when it is so delivered as to be no Nullity; and so many heretofore thought that Baptism delivered by a Lay-man is effectual, that is, not Null, but investeth the person in his Covenant Relation; and yet that it is unlawful for a Lay-man to administer it, or others to desire it of him: The other work of the Sacrament is on the Peoples hearts, to which the man-
ner of administering much contributeth, as experience proveth.

Obj. But Sacraments operate not as Lawyers and Physicians do, by the skill of the Minister, but by God's grace and blessing.

Ans. 1. But God's grace useth to work according to the aptitude of means morally, as constant experience proveth: And the word which is used in the Sacramental administration, must be regarded, and so must other ways of teaching as well as by Sacraments. 2. And we cannot expect God's blessing in a way of sin, when we own one for our Pastor whom we ought not.

Obj. But some take a man to be uncapable if he be but a sinner worse than ordinary, as a drunkard, fornicator, swearer, perjured, a scorners at diligence in Religion, &c. whereas the Ministers sin deprived not the people of the benefit of God's Ordinances.

Ans. 1. He that not knowing the Minister to be such a one, or by true necessity useth such a one, yea or by ignorance thinketh that he should not avoid him, if he be himself a true Believer, may have God's Covenant sealed to him by the Sacrament, which such a one delivereth: Yea, by an Usurper or meer Lay-man that is in possession, and mistaken for a Minister: If a man forge his Orders, or intrude uncalled, or be an obtruded usurping Bishop, the people cannot always detect it: Nor do they lose their right to God's Sacraments, because the man hath (unknown to them) no right to administer them: But if they know such an one, they should not own him as a Minister of Christ, so far as to trust their
their souls with him as their Pastor, (at least when they may have a better.) And he that so withdraweth himself from the communion of notorious wicked Pastors whom he hath no power to cast out, not separating causeth from others or the Church-state, seemeth to us to have all the following reasons to excuse him from the guilt of Schism.

1. God hath commanded his servants to beware of false or pretended Prophets, and told us how to know them, by the hurtful fruits of thorns and thistles: And Paul adviseth the Galatians, Colossians, &c. earnestly to beware of unfound Teachers; and the Churches that had those that taught people to eat things offered to Idols, &c. are threatened: And God commendeth those that tried false Apostles, and found them Liars: Therefore the people in such cases as those have a trying judgment, in order to their practice. And Paul warneth the Romans to mark those that cause divisions and offences (or scandals) and avoid them as not serving Jesus Christ but their bellies; and the forenamed crimes are scandals.

2. God hath commanded men to know, love, and imitate godly Pastors, Heb. 13. 7, 17. 24. 1 Thes. 5. 12, 13. 1 Tim 5. 17, &c. And he hath given no man power to set such criminals over them as their Pastors, and so far to deprive them of the means of salvation as to confine them to them.

3. Though the Apostles charge [with such no not to eat] enable not private men to exercise Governing discipline on bad Pastors, it seemeth to us to bind them, when the case is notorious, to disown them.

4. Cyprians
4. Cyprians conclusion before mentioned is known, inviting the people to forswake a bad Pastor, *Plebs maximam habet potestatem* &c. And he convinceth the people that if they forswake not such they are guilty.

5. The Christian Churches have formerly practised it.

6. The Law or Canon forbiddeth it to no man in England, to desert men, tobeit they will but remove their dwelling into another Parish. Which is an extrinseick Circumstance of humane order.

7. Even Pope Nicolas in his Decretals, faith, that [*Priests that commit fornication, cannot have the honour of Priesthood. Yea [Let no man hear Mass of a Priest whom he certainly knoweth to have a Concubine or woman introduced] and we hope we may be herein as clean as Papists. Yea of Popes he faith [*He that by money, or the favour of men, or Popular, or Military tumults, is intruded into the Apostolical seat, without the Concordant and Canonical Election of the Cardinals, and the following religious Clergie, let him not be taken for a Pope or Apostatical, but Apostatical] Caran. 2. p. 393. 395.

8. Gildas faith of the British wicked Priests, that they were *Traitors* and not *Ministers of Christ*, and that he was not *Eximius Christianus*, that would call them Ministers.

9. Isidore Pelusia in many Epistles to Zosimus, and other wicked Priests, hath much to the like purpose.

10. St. Martin, would not come to the synods of the Bishops about him, nor Communicate with them at all, because they were some of them
them, rash, bad men, and had instigated Maximus to subdue the Priscillian Gnosticks by the Sword, and thereby brought Religious people that were strict, into suspicion of Priscillianism; but especially he holding that Herefie was not to be so punished: And when to save some mens lives, he yielded to Maximus once to Communicate with the Bishops, an Angel in his way corrected him, and his working of Miracles was diminished by it, and he forbore their Communion after to the death. Either this history is true or not: If not, when it is written by his own Disciple and acquaintance, Sulpitius Severus and one of the most Godly and Learned of all the ancient Historians, and by others; and when Martin is Canonized for one of the greatest Saints upon supposition that the History of his Life and Miracles is true, what Church history (even that for Bishops) can we then believe? But if it be true, then one of the holiest workers of Miracles since the Apostles, hath assured us, that his separation from communion with these Bishops (though cruel to Hereticks, so gross) was confirmed by vision, and by an Angel from Heaven, and he forbidden their communion for the time to come. We again mention this, as not yet having heard any answer to it.

11. Our own Canons forbid the people to communicate with Ministers for lesser faults (as private Preaching, Sacraments, Fasts, Conventicles, or out of their own Parishes, &c.

12. Mofes the Monk aforementioned, is commended by Historians, because he would not be ordained by Lucius; not because erroneous, but because
because he had persecuted others by the countenance of Valens the Emperour: Though his persecution extended not to the silencing of thousands, or hundreds, or very many that we read of: And as is aforesaid, he chose to be ordained by banished men.

13. Especially if men have no obligation to that insufficient, heretical, or ungodly Priest, but humane, because a Patron presented him, or a Magistrate imposed him, or because Parish-Order (which is a humane thing of meer convenience) will else seem violated: When as the avoiding of the danger of a false Pastor, and the guilt of his sin, which by owning him may be incurred, and escaping the great loss of a faithful Pastor's guidance, when we are conscious that we greatly need it, are things of greater importance, and of Moral and Evangelical Divine obligation: In this case we cannot prove it Schism to avoid a wicked Priest: The Bishops hold it a duty to avoid a Nonconformist that hath not their License: But such a one as is foredescribed, hath not Christ's License, and is a Nonconformist to his Laws.

Again, let it be noted 1. That even under the Jewish Law, Magistrates were not the chusers of the Priests, but God chose them by settling the Priesthood on one line. 2. That Christ hath by his Spirit in the Apostles altered the Priesthood, and the way of their calling and entrance under the Gospel. 3. That the Church near a thousand years was in possession of that way, and many hundred of those years the possession was universal in all the Churches. 4. That the chusing of Bishops or Priests by Magistrates or Lay-Patrons
Patrons was none of that way which Christ appointed. Therefore seeing it is not the choosing or making, but the Governing of Bishops or Priests that is committed to Princes, and Christ's Law is the first by which they must govern, it seemeth to us that they cannot oblige the Subjects to take up with wicked Pastors, when better are prohibited, and are to be had.

LXVII. 21. In those times and Countries where the allowed Bishops are corrupted by ignorance, heresie, ungodliness or faction, and set themselves to bring in an unconscionable corrupt sort of Ministers into the Churches, and will not ordain fit and conscionable men, or by shares divide the Churches, and cast out the most worthy; and impose sinful conditions on all whom they will ordain, it seemeth to us to be no Schism to seek ordination from other Bishops, and in case of necessity at least, to be ordained by such Presbyters as are either the sole, or chief, or equal Pastors in Parochial Churches, (especially in Cities) and to perform the Office of Presbyters without such Bishops consent. We here suppose such Bishops had themselves been duly elected and ordained, yet 1. They have their power to edification, and not to destruction. 2. We are more obliged to Christ's interest, and the Churches safety, than to them. God will have mercy, rather than Sacrifice, and preferreth mens salvation to ceremony or Church Laws. 3. So the Orthodox forsook the Arrian and other wicked Bishops: Malignity and wickedness is poison in the Clergy as well as Heresie and Schism: So as is aforesaid, Moses and Martin disowned the bad Bishops that were neer them;
the Nonconformists are considering to help others to apply it without mistake, as they shall see cause.

We intend not, in this, the determination of the points in matter of right; nor do we here tell men (unlefs on the by in the stating of some few questions,) what it is that we account good or evil, much less do we here give the proofs or reasons of our Cause: That is the thing for which we greatly desire the allowance of our Superiours; But must not unnecessarily presume to do it, lest we displease them; though we hear that some of them take us as not sincere, for keeping up a difference, and giving no more reasons of it: The thing which we so greatly desire leave to do, but dare not be so bold yet as to venture by it to displease them, who condemn us for not doing it; lest their anger would be sharper to us if we do it: So great is our difficulty between this Scylla and Charybdis.

But we hope we may adventure to open some part of the Matter of Fact, which Conformity and Nonconformity are concerned in, that so men may conjecture at the Case themselves; which will be no reflexion on the Government (barely to tell what they command,) nor a challenging any of our Superiours to a disputation, nor a charging them as faulty that cannot bear it.
1. Matters of Fact to be foreknown, to the true understanding of the Cause.

1. The root of the difference between the Old Nonconformists and the Conformists was that one sort thought they should stick to the more Scripture Rule and simplicity, and go far from all additions which were found invented or abused by the Papists, in Doctrine, Worship and Government; and the other side thought that they should shew more reverence to the customs of the ancient Church, and retain that which was not forbidden in the Scripture, which was introduced before the ripeness of the Papacy, or before the year 600 at least, and which was found lawful in the Roman Church, and common to them with the Greek, that we might not seem singular, odd and humorous, or to go further from the Papists than reason and necessity drive us. And the Laity seemed nowhere so sensible of the difference, as between the way of Ceremony, and unceremonious simplicity, and the way of our many short Liturgick Prayers and Offices, and the way of free-praying from the present sense and habits of the speaker; while pacificators thought both seasonably good.

2. The sad eruption of this difference among the Exiles at Frankford while Dr. Cox and Mr. Horn and their party, strove for the English Liturgie, and the other party strove against it for the freer way, is at large reported in a book called the troubles at Frankford.
still thus confound the *sire* and *esse*, or put the *sire* before the *esse*, they may go on in error, and no reason can silence them. The thing is really *true* or *false*, before it is *known* or thought so to be; If it be *true*, then he that thinketh it false is the delinquent. If it be a *sin*, it is not mens taking it for no *sin*, that will make it so, nor disoblige the orthodox from their Ministry. But if it be no *sin* that is Commanded the Nonconformers are in the fault. And if it be a Heresie which *they stand* for, may be silenced.

And yet we will not deny, but if the generality of the Ministry obtain their liberty by some small tolerable *sin* or error, and the founder part be *few* and *unnecessary* in that Country, *prudence* obligeth them to go to some other place that needeth them, and never to excercise their Ministry where in true reason it is like to do more hurt than good.

L X I X. 25. Where under any of the foresaid unjust prohibitions the silenced Ministers and people shall gather no distinct Churches, but only *Auditories* or *Chappels* as *parts* of the *Parish Churches*, and that only where there is (through the bigness of the Parish, or distance from the Parish Church, or paucity, or insufficiency, or unfaithfulness of Parish Priests a *true necessity*, not unchurching or separating from the Parish Church, but owning it, and holding Communion with it, and promoting the reputation of the true Parish Minister and Communion, and persuading others to the like, we cannot see that this is any Schism; but rather their practise who fire and divide mens minds by envious clamours against the innocent, and proudly calling others Schismaticks. I 3 LXX.
LXX. 26. We have greatly lamented the true Schismatical disposition of some religiously affected persons, who make their singularities or little differences, the occasions of unchristening, unchurching or degrading those that are wiser than themselves, and running away from one another on pretence of discipline, and avoiding sin. But yet we hold that gentle forbearing tolerable differences, even in distinct Churches, guilty of Schism, so they be kept from unpeaceable reviling of others, is a meeter way to avoid the mischiefs, than with prison, sword or fire to exasperate them. It is noted that Nestorius the Heretick was the first sharp persecutor of the Novatians: But most of the better Bishops tolerated them, as did the Emperours: And two prudent gentle Bishops of Constantinople, Atticus and Proclus, reduced the Joannites, and lenified other divided Parties, which the fiercer men had made and kept up by their violence.

SECT. VII.

Some Matters of Fact preparatory to the true Application of what is before laid down.

We must crave that justice of the Reader as to note, that hitherto we have spoken but of the Doctrinal part about Schism, not applying it to England or any others: Nor shall we now any otherwise apply it, than to lay down some little part of the Matters of Fact, which
pleaseth, and to deny God all Publick Worship; and we must ask leave of Rulers that Christ may be Christ, and souls may be saved; as if the Keys of Heaven and Hell were theirs. None that we write for, Protestants or Papists, will assert this.

But if All must not lay down their Ministry, why must a thousand or two thousand do it rather than all the rest? We suppose it will be said, that if a thousand should refuse Conformity, all might continue their forbidden Ministry; but if two thousand only of ten thousand should deny Conformity, these two thousand must lay down, because the rest are a competent supply to the Churches.

Answ. But these be but unproved words.

1. How shall we be sure that other mens sinning will absolve the two thousand innocent from their duty? If in the first Instant it be confessedly the equal duty of all, how will the weakness and sin of one part change the obligation of all the rest? 2. If the Churches be somehow supplied by mens sin, will it follow that truth and righteousness in souther blameless men will not mend their supply? but must be cast out by others sin? 3. And where can the wit of man ever set bounds to such power of sinners? It will here be granted us, that if the most in France conform to Popery, it will not disoblige all others from the exercise of their Ministry: And who then can say, what those untruths and sins are which a weak and erring Ministry may be guilty of, which shall serve to disoblige the rest? No man here can set us any certain measure.

4. Would it have an honest sound if it should be said to the people, The greater part of the
Ministers by sin (yea gross deliberate sin unrepented of) have procured the liberty of their Ministry; and they are now for you, and therefore you must hear none of those that refused so to sin, and are cast out, e.g. suppose it were the subscribing of the Covenant against Prelacy that were made the Condition of our Preaching here by Law: Or subscribing to the Divine Right of unordained Elders and their power in Presbyterian Classes: If most of the Ministers take that Covenant, doth that prove that all the rest if forbidden to Preach must be silent? This was an easie way to introduce any Error, by forbidding any, but the defenders of it to Preach? If Julian might not thus have put down the Gospel, nor Valens have put down the Homousians (as they called the Orthodox,) nor the Papists so put down the Protestants, why may Calvinists or Lutherans so put down one another? As if I were bound to be a Minister only till other men will sin!

Obj. But suppose that the sin be on the silenced Ministers part, and the other be in the truth.

Ans. 1. Then the silenced Ministers are not guiltless of the Schism. 2. But if it be so, if their error be in a small and difficult matter, not deserving silencing (as theirs Rom. 15. about meats and daies &c.) it may be far greater Schism in the silencers, then in them.

Obj. But suppose it a doubtful case, and one party take consenting to be a sin, and the other part and the greater take it to be none. If you may preach on because you think that you are in the right, then no Heretic should be silenced.

Ans. This was answered before 1. If men will still
so the Protestants disowned the Papist Bishops; And Bugenhagius Pomeranus a Presbyter re-formed and ordained Bishops in Denmark. Bishop Vther himself told one of us, that being asked by his Sovereign whether he found that ever Presbyters ordained Presbyters; he answered, I can shew your Majesty more, even where Presbyters made Bishops, citing the Alexandrian custom out of Jerom to Evagrius. The Judgment of English Bishops and Divines for the validity of such Ordination by Presbyters, and of the Ordination in the Reformed Churches abroad, some of us have proved heretofore at large. 4. Christ having made a Law which conferreth the Pastoral Power on him that is made a due Receiver (as the King's Charter doth the Power of the Lord Mayor on him that is duly chosen to it) it followeth that no more is absolutely necessary to such reception of that Power, but that the person be duly qualified, and have consent and opportunity, and the best investiture which the time and place will afford: Of which Voetius de desperata causa Papatus, and one of us in a Dispute of Ordination, have long ago said that which we suppose will never be well answered. 5. And Grotius de Imperio summ. Potest. circa Sacra (an excellent Book) hath shewed, that he that is the sole Pastor of a Church, is in effect a Bishop. And indeed Dr. Hammond (as is said) in his Differ, and Annotations asserteth de facto, that in Scriptures one Bishop without any Presbyter under him was setled in each Church; so that every Pastor of a particular Church, then was a Bishop (as far as can be proved:) And if that was the Apostolical institution that every Church have a Bishop;
Bishop, and that there was no sole Pastor (at least) but Bishops, then he that is ordained the Pastor, (at least sole or chief) of a particular Church is ordained a Bishop: The reason is, because his Office and Power followeth the Law and Charter of Christ that made it, and not of the investing Ministerial Ordainer if he would alter it, or pronounce it otherwise.

LXVI. 22. Not to obey Lay-Chancellours where they govern the Church by the power of the Keys, decreeing Excommunications and Absolutions, and performing the work of Exploration and Admonition belonging to Bishops in order thereto, we take to be no Schism; nor to refuse subscribing or swearing to such a Government.

LXVII. 23. Not sacrilegiously to desert the sacred Ministry when vowed and consecrated thereto, is no Schism.

LXVIII. 24. Where such sins are made the Condition of Ministration by men in power, as that all the whole Ministry of a Kingdom are bound in conscience to deny consent and conformity thereto, it is the duty of all the Ministry in primo instante, to forbear their Ministerial Office or none; for the reason is the same to all: For example; If ten or twenty untrue or unrighteous forbidden things, must be subscribed, declared, covenanted, or sworn, or as many sins practised; yea were it but one, no doubt but the whole Ministry is bound to deny Conformity to any one such thing. Now if all these must forbear or lay down their Office, because forbidden by men to exercise it, then it is in the power of a Prince to cast out Christiinity when he pleaseth,
15. When the Parliament's Armies were worsted and weakened by the King, and they found themselves in danger of being overcome, they intreated help from the Scots, who taking the advantage of their straits, brought in the Covenant as the Condition of their help; which the Parliament rather accepted than they would lose them, which at first was imposed on none by force: But (to pass by all other Considerations) was judged by many wise men, to be an occasion of division, as making the opposition to Prelacy, to be the terms of the Kingdoms Unity and Concord, when they might know that the King and a great, if not the greatest part of the Kingdom, were of the contrary mind, and so it was thought to be (as the Papal terms of Unity) a means of unavoidable division: But others thought that because it tied them to no endeavours, but in their Places and Callings, they might take it.

16. The Assembly of Divines at Westminster were men that had lived in Conformity, except about eight or nine of them and the Scots: But being such as thought Conformity lawful in case of deprivation, but the things imposed to be a snare, which should be removed if it could be lawfully done, they also received the Covenant, but were divided about the sense of the word [Prelacy,] many professing their Judgment to be for Moderate Episcopacy; whereupon the describing additions [Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons] were added. And upon such a Profession that it disclaimed not all Episcopacy, Mr. Coleman is said to have given the Covenant to the House of Lords. And they complained of the
Parliament which tied them to meddle with nothing but what they offered to them.

17. This Covenant and Vow was taken by the Parliament, and by their Garrisons and Souldiers that would voluntarily take it, as a test whom they would trust; the rest being had in suspension: And after the wars; by such as were ordained Ministers, and by the Kings adherents when they made their compositions; so far was it afterward imposed. But many Ministers and Gentlemen refused it, and so did Cromwel’s Souldiers, and in many Counties few did take it.

18. How far the Parliament was from being Presbyterians, may partly be seen in the Propositions sent from them by the Earl of Essex to the King at Nottingham, and partly by their defeating all the desires and endeavours of those that would have Presbytery settled through the Land: We know of no places but London and Lancashire where it was commonly taken up, and some little of it at Coventry, and some few such places. And that was only as a tolerated or commended thing, without any imposition that ever we knew of: And accordingly it came to nothing in a short time.

17. Till their new modelling their Army, the Parliament had given out all Commissions to their Souldiers to fight for [King and Parliament.] But then the King’s name was left out; which seeming to many thousands an utter change of the Cause, from that time many did desert them: And thereupon the Party called Sectaries flowing in to Cromwel, and his Army conquering, the power fell into their hands, who imprisoned the King, accused and drove away eleven
Scots, with the other changes there attempted, the designes charged on the Marq. of Hamilton, the fear of the Lords losing the Tyths, &c. which Dr. Heylin mentioneth as the causes or occasions of their arming there, with the progress thereof, and their entring into England, and the advantage thence taken by some English Lords, to advise the King to call a Parliament once and again, and the discontents and proceed- ings of that Parliament against the two Ministers of the King; for former things with such other matters we had rather the reader took from others, than from us. We are unwilling to be the mentioners of any more than concerneth our present cause, and the things are very commonly known.

9. On the 23. of October, 1641. The Irish suddenly rose, and murdered no less than two hundred thousand persons, and Dublin narrowly escaped them, of which we refer the Reader to the examinations published by Dr. Henry Jones, since a Bishop in Ireland, and to the history of Sir John Temple, and to the Earl of Overy's Answer to Mr. Welsh.

10. The dreadfulness of this Massacre (so far exceeding the French) & the news sent over that the Irish said that they had the Kings Commission and the foregoing jealousies of the people and the Parliament's Declarations, raised in multitudes of the people a fear that the Irish when they had ended their work there would come over hither and do the like; and that they had partakers in England of whom we were in danger, and that there was no way of safety but to adhere to the Parliament for their own defence, or else it would
would quickly be too late to complain.

11. In 1642, the lamentable Civil Warr brake out: At which time as far as ever we could learn by acquaintance with some of them and report of others, excepting an inconsiderable number, the Houses of Lords and Commons consisted of those that had still lived in conformity to the Church of England and the Episcopal Government and were such Conformists as Dr. Heylin describeth Archbishop Abbot and the Clergy and Parliaments of his times to have been, crying out of the danger of a new partie, that said they would shake our Religion, Liberties and Property. And such were they when the War began, Presbytery being then little known among them.

12. Their fear of being overpowred by the party of whom they seemed to think themselves in sudden danger, caused some of them to countenance such Petitionings and clamours of the Londoners, Apprentices, and others, as we think disorders and provocation of the King.

13. The first open beginning was about the Militia: And whether the Lord Lieutenants whom the Parliament chose, were not almost all Episcopal Conformists, we intreat the Reader but to peruse the Catalogue in the ordinance for that Militia, and to ask any that well knew them (as some of us did many of them) and he may certainly be satisfied.

14. The same we say 1. Of the far greatest part of the General Officers, Colonneis, Lieutenant-Colonneis, and Majors of the Earl of Essex's Army. 2. And of the Sea-Captains. 3. And of the Major Generals of Brigades, and Counties through the Land.

15. When
Divines to the Synod of Dort, who owned and helped to form those Articles: And he tells us that Bishop Laud had no Bishops on his side but Bishop Neale, Bishop Buckeridge, Bishop Corbet, and Bishop Howson, and after Bishop Mountague, and thought it not safe to trust his Cause to a Convocation; the major part, called then The Church of England; 1. Cryed down Arminianism as dangerous Doctrine; 2. Cryed down any nearer approach to the Papists, and the Toleration of them; 3. And were much for the Law against absoluteness in the King; and Dr. Heylin's and Rushworth's Collect. will tell you the full story of Manwaring & Sibthorp, and Archbishop Abbots refusing to license Sibthorp's Book, and the Consequences of all. Thus these two Parties grew into jealousies, the Old Church-men accusing the New on these three accounts, and the New ones striving, as Dr. Heylin describeth them, to get into power and overturn the Old.

5. In this contention the Parliaments also involved themselves and the Majority still clave to the Majority of the Bishops and Clergy (then called the Church of England:) And in all or most Parliaments cried up Religion, Law and Propriety and the Liberty of Subjects, and cried down Arminianism, Monopolies, Connivence and Favoring of Papists, and their increase thereby; expressing by Speeches, and Remonstrances, their jealousies in all these points, till they were dissolved.

6. The writings of Bishop Jewel, and much more Bishop Bilson, and most of all Mr. Richard Hooker, and such as were of their mind, shew us what Principles there, and then were by the Laity
Laiety that followed them, received. We will not recite their words, lest our intent be misunderstood; neither Bishop Bilsons instances in what cases Kings may be resisted by armses Nor Mr. Hookers that maketh Legislation the natural right of the Body politick, and governing power to be thence derived, to depend upon the Body, and to returne to it by escheats, when heirs fail, and that the King is singulis Major and universis Minor, &c. (His eighth Book was in print long before Bishop Gauden published it, who yet vindicateuth it to be Hookers own.)

7. In 1637, 1638, 1639. A. Bishop Land using more severity against dissenters than had been used of late before, and the visitations more enquiring after private fafts and meetings and going out of mens own Parishes to hear, and such like, and also the Book for sports on the Lords daies being necessarily to be read by all the Conformable Ministers in the Churches, and Altars, Railes and Bowing towards them being brought in, and in many places afternoon Sermons and Lectures put down, the minds of men before filled with the aforementioned jealousies, were made much more jealous than before. And after the imprisonment of some, the stigmatizing of some, and the removall of many beyond the Seas, and the death of more, the Nonconformable Ministers were reduced to the paucity before mentioned; but the minds of many people were more alienated from the latter set of Bishops, and the old sort of Conformists more jealous of them, and more afraid of Popery, &c. than before.

8. The new Liturgy then imposed on the
5. Queen Elizabeth and King James discon-
tenancing and suppressing the Nonconformists, they attempted in Northamtonshire and Warwick-
shire a little while to have set and kept up private Churches and governed them in the Presbyterian way; But that attempt was soon broken and frustrate by the industry of Bishop Whitgift and Bancroft: And the Nonconformists lived according to their various opportunities: some of them conformed: some were by conve-nence permitted in peculiars and small impropriate places, or Chappels that had little maintenance, in the publick Ministry, which kept them from gathering secret Churches: some of them had this liberty a great part of their lives, as Mr. Hildersham, Mr. Dod, Mr. Her-
ing, Mr. Paget, Mr. Midley senior and junior, Mr. Langley, Mr. Slater, and Mr. Asboat Bremisbham Mr. Tailor, Mr. Pateman, Mr. Paul Bayne, Mr. Fox of Tewksbury, John Fox, and many more. Some had this liberty all their lives, as Mr. Knewstub, Dr. Chadderton, Dr. Reignolds Dr. Humphrey, Mr. Perkins, Mr. John Ball, Mr. Barnet, Mr. Geeree, Mr. Root, Mr. Atkins Mr. Gilpin, John Rogers and many others: some were fain to shift up and down by hiding them-
selves, and by flight, and these preached sometime secretly in the houses where they were, and sometime publickly for a day and away, where they could be admitted, so did Mr. Parker, Mr. Braischaw, Mr. Nicols, Mr. Brightman, Mr. Brumskil, Mr. Humphrey Fen, Mr. Sutcliff, Mr. Thomas, and many more; and after their silencing Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and many more that went to America, Mr. Cartwright was per-
permitted in the Hospital at Warwick, Mr. Harvey, and Mr. Hind at Bunbery in Cheshire, and many more kept in (having small maintenance) being in peculiar or privileged places: Mr. Rutherford, Mr. Angier, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Gee, Mr. Hancock, and many others oft silenced, had after liberty by fits. Mr. Bower of Manchester, Mr. Broxholme in Darbyshire Mr. Cooper of Huntingtonshire (at Elton) and many others suffered more, and laboured more privately. Dr. Ames was invited to Franeker, some were further alienated from the English Prelacie, and separated from their Churches, and some of them called Brownists, were so hot at home, that they were put to death; Mr. Ainsworth, Johnson, Robinson and others fled beyond seas, and there gathered Churches of those that followed them; and broke by divisions among themselves. The old Nonconformists being most dead, and the later gone most to America, we cannot learn that in 1640 there were many more Nonconformist Ministers in England, than there be Counties, if so many.

4. The Conformists shortly fell into division among themselves, especially about three things, Arminianism (as it was called) and Conciliation with the Church of Rome, and Prerogative: Dr. Heylin in the Life of ArchBishop Laud doth fully open all these differences, and tells us that Arch bishop Abbot was the Head of one party, and in point of Anti-arminianism even Arch bishop Whitgift before him, with Whitaker and others had made the Lambeth Articles, driven the Arminians from Cambridge: King James had discountenanced them in Holland, and sent six Divines
eleven Members of the Parliament, and afterward imprisoned and excluded the major part of the remaining House, and with the rest cut off the King, cast down the House of Lords, pretended a while to set up a Commonwealth (as they called it) imposed an Engagement to that Commonwealth as established without King and House of Lords; ordered the sequestration of the Ministers that refused it, and of those that kept not their daies of fasting and thanksgiving, for the Scotifh wars which then they made. After which they cast out with scorn that remnant of the Commons that had joyned with them; and chose themselves some men called a Parliament, who attempting to put down all Parish-Ministers, Tythes and Universities (the first put to the Vote, and carried but by a few against them) they were broke up by delivering up their Commiffion to Oliver, who was made Protector, and had the honour designed of saving the Ministry, Tythes and Universities from the Sectaries; even from that danger into which he had brought them.

20. From the time of these New Causes and Changes, especially the destroying the King, violating and casting out the Parliament men, imposing the engagement &c. the Ministers called Presbyterian in England, some few compliers excepted (many of whom since Conform) declared themselves against all this, and were lookt upon as enemies; though kindness was offered to reconcile them. Some were imprisoned, many cast out of their places in the Universities, some sequeftred, and Mr. Love and Mr. Gibbons (a Gentleman) beheaded, Mr. Gee with the Ks.
Lancashire Minifters, with some of us, wrote againft these proceedings of the then Power: Many Preacht againft them, fo that the sober Religious people of the land grew commonly disaffected to them: And what the Scots did and how they were conquered, we need not here relate.

21. The Minifters who were then in poftfession of the Parish Churches were of many minds about Church Government. 1. Many were for the old Episcopacy and Liturgie 2. Many were for a reformed Episcopacy: 3. Many were for Presbytery (that is, Church-Government by Presbyteries, Claffes and National assemblies, of Teaching and of Governing unordained Elders Conjunct, as jure divino) 4. Some were for that which is called Independency. 5. Some thought that no form of Church Government was jure divino. 6. But the moft of our acquaintance were peaceable, moderate men that thought several parties had somewhat of the right, and that the points of difference were so few and small, that they might well live in peace and love, and that none of the parties was so right as that in all things they should be followed, and others trod down to set them up: And many of these were young men that, being at the Schools, had not been engaged in the firft quarrels, and desired not to fide with any dividing parties, and modestly profefled that they had not maturity enough to study themselves to any great confidence in the Controverfies.

22. This laft fort of men beginning in Worceftshire fet on foot a work of reconciling
Association, in which the Episcopal, Presbyterians and Independants, agreed to practice so much of Church Government and Ministration as they were all agreed in, with mutual Love and affisting concord, and to forbear one another in the rest, till God should bring us nearer. (And after they added another Agreement, to Catechize every person in their Parishes old and young, that would come to them, or receive them thereto; and personally to instruct and exhort them about the practicalls of Religion, and preparation for death and the life to come.)

This example was presently followed by the Ministers in Cumberland and Westmorland, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Essex, and going on in other Counties, till the confusions 1659 interrupted it, and the return of the Prelacie ended it and many such endeavors.

23. When Oliver was dead, many sorts of Government were set up in one year: First his son Richard (who having never been in Arms, and being famed to be for the King, many thought he would have been ready when he could, to resign the Kingdom to him, and spoke him fair on that account, and others because they thought he would quiet the violent, and keep out utter confusion:) After his ejection the Remnant of the Commons called the Commonwealth was restored. After this they were cast out again, and a Council of State Chosen by the Army; till the Kingdom grew to scorn them all, and was weary and ashamed of the confusions, and revived their designs to restore the King.

24. The first open attempt of united endeavours
against the Army, to restore the King, was by the Cheshire, Lancashire, and Northwales men, under Sr. Georg Booth (now Lord De lamere) and Sir Tho. Middleton, who had been commanders for the Parliament; and was broken by the Armies Conquering them. Mr. Cook, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Kirby, Mr. Scaddan, sent up Prisoners, and in danger of death, and other Ministers, who since are silenced and ruined by those they helped.

25. But the attempts being renewed, at the same time, the division of the Opposers (the Army and the Commonwealth Members) shook them all to pieces, and ruined them, and the new closure of the Old Parliamentarians, and the Royalists, and the Presbyterians, and other Ministers with the Episcopal, strengthened them, and restored the King: The Presbyterian Officers and Souldiers of General Monk's Army concurring with the rest, and Sir Thomas Allen then Lord Mayor (many London Ministers on their part counselling him thereto) with the Aldermen and others, inviting General Monk to joyn with the City herein against the Opposers; from which very day, the scales were turned, and all went on without any considerable stop, and the old ejected Members of Parliament first, and the Council settled pro tempore after, prepared for His Majesties return; and Dr. Gauden, Mr. Calamy, and Mr. Baxter Preaching at the Fast of the next Parliament, (as their Printed Sermons shew) the King the next morning was voted to return, and to be invited to his Fathers Throne.

26. In preparation for this, some Ministers now silenced, had treated with some Gentlemen firm to the King, and with Bishop O'shur, Bishop Browrig,
Brownrig, Dr. Hammond, and others, who all encouraged them (though some much more than others) by professing moderate, healing principles and intentions: And in London, and several Counties, the Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen that had still adhered to the King, profest and published their peaceable desires of Concord, and resolution against revenge; And Letters were written from France to divers here, to take off all the unjust suspicions that some had raised about the Kings Religion; all which promoted the Concord that accomplished the Change.

27. Those that saw the marvelous success of this reconciliation and concord, and knew that the Clergies distance was most likely, if anything, to hinder the happy perfection and settlement of a full desired peace, did presently attempt an agreement among them: And upon the motion of some of the since silenced Ministers, the Earl of Manchester, and the Earl of Orery mentioning it to the King, they told us, that it was well pleasing to His Majesty: Whereupon His Majesty vouchsafing them audience, and great encouragement, several persons on each side were appointed to treat of the necessary terms of settled Concord and to yield to each other as far as they could, and offer their mutual concessions: What was done in this is not now to be mentioned, save that part of it was published by some body, which declareth it, and the first part being about Church Government and worship, issued in the publication of His Majesties Gracious Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs, by which all our breaches seemed at
the present to be almost healed, and the House of Commons gave His MA J E S T Y Publick thanks.

28. At this time the Lord Chancellor as a token of His Majesties Gracious favour and acceptance, offered *Bishopricks* to three that then treated for Reconciliation, and *Deanries* to two or three of them. Of the three first, one did the next day save one refuse it, but in a letter to him professing his gratitude, and that he was so rejoiced in His Majesties Gracious Declaration, that if it might but be settled by Law, he resolved to use his utmost endeavours to perswade all men to conformity on those terms, and therefore would not disable himself thereto by taking a Bishoprick, and making men think that it was not for just concord, but his own interest that he wrote or pleaded: Another of them soon accepted: The third and the two or three that had Deanries offered them, only suspended till they saw whether His Majesties Declaration would live or dye.

29. what was done in the next attempt upon His Majesties Commission to agree on such alterations of the *Liturgie* as were necessary to tender Consciences, &c. we are to make no further mention of, then is made by the writings given, in which some body shortly after (in part and with many false printings) published; An *Addition to the Liturgie*, A *Reply to some former Papers of the Bishops*, and an *Earnest Petition* to them for the Churches Peace, which were given in and never answered by them (that we know of) some one printed. And being in writing required by a Right reverend Bishop then in the Chair, as from superiours to lay by meer
Inconveniences, and to give in those points which we took to be flat sin, we gave in eight particulars the next day as part; and by that time but one of our arguments about one of them was half handled, and the rest of the arguments untouched, and the rest of the Controverted instances not medled with, our Commission was expired: And the Bishops argumentation as Opponents, afterward, on another occasion printed.

30. Shortly after the convocation of the Clergie setled the Liturgie as now it is setled: The Kings Declaration dyed: The Parliament made the Act of Uniformity, by which many Ministers for not conforming to that Law were on August. 24. 1662 ejected and silenced, on severe penalties. About Eighteen hundred of their names from several Counties were shewed Mr. Calamy and others; and some say about 200 were omitted, and that they were in all above 2000.

31. They that had treated for Reconciliation foresaw what sad divisions were like to follow, if we were not healed and united; and therefore in their Petition made a solemn Protestation that nothing but the fear of sin and Gods displeasure should hinder them from Conformity, deprecating the woful effects of the division, which could not possibibly be otherwise avoided, than by some necessary abatements of the Impositions: and foretelling much that hath since come to pass, which common understanding might easily see in the Causes.

32. The persons that were silenced were not of one mind and measure about all the things imposed on them. Some of them were
Episcopal, and for as much as Richard Hooker writeth for, and were against the Covenant (and never took it) and the Parliaments War, and were for the Liturgie and Ceremonies, and had Conformed had these been all that had been imposed, who yet were cast out of Fellowships and Ministry: Yea some had suffered for the King, and been ruined in their patrimony, some imprisoned for him, and some had been in arms for him. 2. Besides these, and other Episcopal Nonconformists, some and very many, and we think the greatest part of any one, were such disengaged pacificators as we before mentioned about associations: 3. Some were for the Presbyterian Government, and 4. Some for that called Independent, which were comparatively but few.

Also some were (as heretofore Dr. John Reynolds, Dr. Humphrey, Mr. Perkins, Mr. Paul Bayn, &c. for some part of Conformity (Kneeling and Liturgie, and some for the Surplice) & against other parts: Many would have come in to all the old Conformity, had it not been for that one sentence in the Canon-subscription [Nothing Contrary to the word of God] (which kept out Mr. Chillingworth himself, as is reported, till some dispensation let him in.) But the New Conformity was such as satisfied them all against it. Many purposed to have yielded to Prelacy, Liturgie and Ceremonies, and gone to the utmost that Conscience would tolerate, rather than lay by their Ministry. But when they saw the new Act for Uniformity, their deliberations were at an end.

33. Their interest, honour or somewhat else led
led many persons of those times, when they had made the name of Presbyterians odious, to call all the Nonconformists that were Episcopal or neutral, by the name of Presbyterians, even those that had declared themselves against the Presbyterian frame, so they were not Independents. And they continue that practice to serve their ends to this day.

34. The elder sort of the Nonconformists were ordained by Diocesan Bishops: The younger sort were ordained by Assemblies of the Parish Pastors of Cities and Countries, no other ordination being then allowed by those in Power.

35. As to the late Civil Wars which some most lowdly charge on the Nonconformists, this is the truth, that the several parties charge the beginning of that war on one another: One party faith that the Presbyterians begun it in England: Another party lay it on the old Church of England men that followed Archbishop Abbot, and such like: Both these accused Parties laid the beginning on Archbishop Laud as an Innovator, and those that followed him: And some think that every side had too much hand in it, and were to be blamed. The truth is, 1. That more by far of the Nonconformists than of the late sort of the Prelatists were for the Parliament in those times: 2. That some that were Sectaries, and some that were hot for the Parliament did conform: 3. That some few that had been in the King's Army or Cause, and that were sufferers for him, and were against the Covenant and the Parliaments War, were Nonconformists: 4. That many more of the old Episcopal Conformists,
5. That the Archbishop of York (Williams) who had some time been Lord Keeper, was one of the Parliaments Commanders in North-Wales (as it is reported without denial.) 6. That most Ministers are dead that were in that War. 7. That the Westminster Assembly, as is said, came thither almost all Conformists. 8. That so small is the number of the present silenced Ministers who had any hand in those Wars, that if no other were ejected and silenced but they, the case would be judged comparatively very easie, and it would be thankfully accepted, as hath oft been told. For most were then youths at School, and in the Universities, and many lived in the King’s quarters and garrisons, and many other never medled with Wars at all; it being now about thirty four, or five years since the War began. 9. That all the Wars that have been since their opposition to the Parliament and violence done to the person of the King, were far from being owned by the common sort of the now Nonconformists, as was said. 10. The Doctrine of Bilson, Hooker, and such like, containing such Principles as Parliament-men then usually professed is before mentioned, though not fully recited, and is commonly known; and that the main body of the Parliament, Assembly, Army, Commanders, Lord Lieutenants, Major Generals of Bragades, and Sea-Captains, were professed Conformists of the Church of England. 11. Lastly, We had hoped that His Majesties prudence had by the Act of Oblivion long since ended this part of the Contention; but we find still some conformable Ministers
nisters whom in other respects we much esteem and love, who (as if Truth, Charity, Justice and Humanity had been forgotten by them) affirm in print that All the Nonconformists were guilty of the King's Death; passing over what is aforesaid of the Conformists; and others of them crying out to Magistrates to execute the Laws on us, by the urged Motive of their late sequestrations and sufferings: as if they knew not, or would not have others to know, how few Nonconformists in Parliament or Militia there were at the beginning of the War in comparison of the Conformists; and how much the second, third and following Causes, Parties, and Tragedies in that War, were disliked by the now Episcopal and Presbyterian Nonconformists.

36. The people who now adhere to the Nonconformists, who were at age before the Wars (whom we that write this were acquainted with) had very hard thoughts of the Bishops persons, and some of Episcopacy itself, because of the aforesaid silencing of Ministers, and ruining of honest men, about Sunday-Sports, Reading that Book, and other such things, besides Nonconformity: But when the Ministers that guided them, began to seem more reconcile to the Episcopal Party, and upon the reports and promises which they had heard, had put them in hope that the next Bishops would prove more moderate, peaceable and pious, than the former, and would by experience avoid divisions and persecution, the said people began to be inclined to more reverent and favourable thoughts of Episcopacy and the Bishops; and were, upon experience of the late confusions, in a far fairer way
way to union & submission to them than before: But when they saw their Teachers taken from them, and some such set over them against their wills, who were better known to them than to the intruders; and when they heard of about 2000 silenced at once, this so much alienated them from the Bishops, that it was never since in our power to bring them to so much esteem of them, and reverence to them, as might have been; but multitudes by this were driven further from Conformity than the silenced Ministers.

37. The 2000 silenced were not a quarter of the Ministers of England, who were in possession before the return of the Bishops: so that it is evident, that above three fourth parts of the Ministers that kept in under the Parliament and Protector (notwithstanding Covenant, Directory and all) did prove Conformists.

38. The New-altered Liturgy was not printed and published till August 24. or near it, when the Ministers were to be silenced that subscribed not, and consented not: so that we must needs suppose that they were but few Ministers in England in comparison of the rest, who ever saw and read (much less long considered) that Book before they declared their Assent and Consent to all things in it. Sure we are, that we that lived in London, who had it at the first publishing, found the time past, or so short to examine all things in it with due deliberation, that had it been blameless, we must have been silenced, unless we had consented upon an implicit faith.

39. Since we were silenced, His Majesties Declaration for more Liberty in Religion came out 1673, but soon died: And since then we have been
been called to many attempts for Unity, in which we have twice come to an agreement with those honest, peaceable, pious and learned Divines of the Church of England, who were appointed to treat of it with us. But that signified nothing as to our healing, while Reasons unknown to us, or ineffable prevailed.

40. Yet still we have been called on to Tell what we stuck at, and what we desired, and what would satisfy us, (who desire nothing but leave to excercise the Ministry to which we were ordained) and the Cant still goeth on among the ignorant at least, as if we had never told them to this day; or as if since the new conformity we had ever been called or had leave to tell them, or as if the same men would endure us to tell them our case of dissent and the reasons of it to this day. But the Judg is at the door.

SECT. VIII.

The Matters of Fact, as to what is required of us, by Laws and Canon, to which we must conform; And first of Lay-men.

I. Of Laymen that will have any Government or Trust in any City or Corporation, is necessarily required the taking of the following Oath and Declaration by a Law.

"I Swear that it is not Lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King: And that I Abhor that Trayterous position that Arms may be taken by His Authority against his Person, or against those that are
"Commissioned by him.] And the Declaration is "[That there is NO OBLIGATION "upon me or ANY OTHER person, from "the Oath Commonly called the solemn League and "Covenant.

1. By this Oath and this Declaration the Government and Trust of all the Cities and Corporations of England are constituted or qualified.

2. Part of this Vow and Covenant is [against Popery, superstition, and profaneness and all that is against sound doctrine and Godliness: that we will Repent of our sins, unfeignedly, and amend our lives, &c.] which the Nonconformists take to be Lawful and Necessary things.

3. Thousands of people lived in the Kings Garrisons, or Quarters, and thousands were then unborn or Children, who never took this Vow or Covenant, nor ever heard or read it, or know what is in it.

4. The Parliament that imposed it on others took it voluntarily themselves, as did many thousand more.

5. Many thousands took it that never saw the faces of each other, nor know in what sense, or with what mind all others took it: The sense being doubtful, all took it not in one sense: and many thought themselves not bound to take it in the imposers sense, where the words might bear another; And so, its like, thought the Royal party of the Nobility and Gentry, who took it at their compositoin.

6. It was a Vow to God, as well as a Covenant with men (as the words shew.)

7. The Controversie is not, 1. Whether it was
was Lawfully Imposed, 2. Or whether it was Lawfully Taken, 3. Or whether it bind as a League, 4. Nor whether it bind to any unlawful thing (which all renounce). But, 5. Whether as a Vow made to God, it bind to things necessary (as against Schism, Profaneness, Popery: to Repent, &c.) to which men were before bound by other obligations. Nor whether they that took it not be bound by it to repent, &c. but whether no one person in the three Kingdoms who took it, be so bound: And that since the Scots drew his Majesty to seem to own it (which we judge they did unlawfully.)

II. All Parents who will have their Children baptized, must submit them to the sign of the Cross, as it is after described. And so must all that are to be baptized at age submit themselves to it.

III. All persons that have Children to be baptized must conform as followeth 1. They must procure three persons to be Godfathers and Godmother, who must personally present the Child to be baptized, and must promise and Vow to God in the Child's name the duties of the Covenant, and must in the name of the Child say [that he renounceth the Devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world &c., and that he stedfastly believeth all the articles of faith, that he will be baptized and that he will obediently keep God's holy will and Commandments, &c.]. Not that they believe, consent &c., but that he (the Child) doth believe, desire, &c. And it is not a meer promise for the future [I will believe and renounce, &c.] but a profession for the present time: [I do believe stedfastly and I do renounce] And in the Catechism it is said that [Repent-
The Child is baptized upon the undertaking of the persons as sponsors or Covenanters, whole parts and duties are thus expressed:

2. To see that this Infant be taught as soon as he shall be able to learn, what a Saviour is, from whom and with whose promise he may know these things the better, i.e., shall provide that he may learn the Lord's prayer and the ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue, and all other things which a Christian child ought to know and believe to his soul's health, and that this Child may be brought up to lead a godly, and a Christian life.}

3. The Conformists here are not agreed among themselves, what that objective individual Faith, profession and profession are which the Infant professeth by his sureties. It is not that the Infant doth actually believe himself, for the Catechism professeth by his sureties: It is not that the Infant doth actually believe himself, and it is not said that he doth, unless it be, whether the Church or the sponsors, whether the Godfathers, or the ecclesiastical Churches, are required of the Child to be baptized, and yet that Infants that cannot do this are to be baptized, because they promise to do them by their sureties, and it is not said because they profess to do them at present by their sureties.
tional Churches, or the Universal Church? or whether it must be the Parents, Adopters or Owners of the Child.

4. Though the Godfathers be not by words to promise their Parts, yet standing purposely there as undertakers of it, and hearing the Minister expressly tell them what their PART and DUTY is, their coming and standing in that relation, is a plain signification of consent, and rendereth them obliged Covenanters or Sponsors.

5. These Sponsors are not obliged to profess that the Child is theirs by Adoption or any propriety: And so far is any such adopting or owning from their purposes, that we never in all our lives knew any Godfather or Godmother as such, (not having before taken the Child as theirs on other reasons) that ever became a Sponsor with such a signified intent.

6. In most Country Parishes that we have known, a great part of the Communicants, seem Ignorant themselves of what is to be undertaken for the baptized, (as we judge by our tryal where we have lived, and the credible report of other Pastors:) And too many notoriously live themselves in a course of life contrary to what is to be undertaken for the Child.

7. In all our lives we never knew one person that undertook this Office of Godfather or Godmother who beforehand gave the Parents any credible promise or signification, that they had any purpose at all to perform, what the Church Chargeth on them, and they there undertake as their parts and duties.

8. Nor did we ever know one in all our lives that as a Godfather or Godmother did perform its
viz. [To see themselves that the Child be taught his Covenant as soon as he is able to learn, and to provide that he be taught all before recited, his Creed, &c. and all things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soule health, and that he be virtuously brought up to leada godly and a Christian life: But they leave them to the Parents.]

9. No man can compel another to be Godfather or Godmother.

10. All such undertakers that we have known have been of some of these following sorts:

1. Either ignorant persons that knew not, or careless that considered not what they did: 2. Or persons that mistook the sense of the Church, and thought that they were but the representatives of the Parents, and that what they promised, it was not they, but the Parents that were bound to perform: 3. Or Nonconformists (in this point) who purposed beforehand to be but the Parents' Representatives, and that the promise and obligation should all be devolved from them on the Parents, though they knew the Church meant otherwise; and that they were not bound to the Churches sense; and therefore their standing to hear [this is your part] was no consent to take it for their part. And none of all these do answer the Churches sense in their undertaking: And if we are commonly baptized and made Christians in a way of false Vowing or Covenanting of such persons, or of delusory Equivocation, it is not well.

11. We know not where Parents can procure any to undertake this Office as the Church imposeth it, that credibly signifie themselves able and willing to perform it: we could not do it our selves were we never so desirous: Perhaps
some Rich men might hire others to take their Children into their Care and Education, as must be promised; but who would do so for the poor? yea for all the poor of England? And the Non-conformists are not satisfied that it is lawful to engage any in a pernicious covenanting before God, when before-hand they have no credible signification of any purpose to perform it. Nay, when the Parent resolveth to educate his own Child, and not to trust him to the Provision or care of others.

12. The Minister Covenanting [to use the form in the Book of Common Prayer prescribed in administration of the Sacraments, and no other] Can. 36. No Parent may speak a word in the name of his own Child, nor to enter him there into the Covenant of God, nor profess that he offereth him to Baptism by virtue of, and in confidence in the promise [I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed in their Generations;] Nor to promise himself what the Godfathers are to promise: The words also of the Can. 29. are these; "[No Parent shall be urged to be PRESENT; nor be "admitted to answer as Godfather 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.

13. It is the Godfathers work also (by the Liturgy) to take care that the Child be brought to the Bishop to be confirmed by him (in the manner of the Church of England) as soon as he can say the Creed, Lords Prayer, and ten Commandments, and be further instructed in the Church Catechism; which Godfathers use not.
at all to perform; nor do the Parents use to ex-
pect it: Nor doth one Child of a multitude un-
derstand what the Baptismal Covenant is, of ma-
ny a year after they have learned to say the
said Catechism.

14. That the Godfathers stand not there as
the Representatives of the Parents is evident (ac-
cording to the sense of the Church) because the
Parent himself is not suffered to do it, or speak
one covenancing word; nor must be urged to be pre-
sent; nor are they to speak in the Parents name in any of their undertakings; Nor is there
the least intimation that the Church taketh the
Sponsor for the Parents Representative.

15. The Parents are to be admonished not to
defer the Baptism of their Children longer than
the first or second Sunday, unless upon a great
and reasonable cause to be approved by the
Curate (whether they can get understanding,
credible Godfathers or not :) These are the Mat-
ters of Fact.

Here note 1. That there is no Controversie
between the Conformists and Nonconformists,
whether Christians Infants should be baptized:
2. Nor whether a Conformists baptizing be valid:
3. Nor whether the Parents presence be abso-
lutely necessary, and another may not speak in
his name: 4. Nor whether Adopters, or any
Proprietors may not covenant for the Child:
5. Nor whether the old Sponsors be lawful, who
1. Witnessed the credibility of the Parent; 2. And
undertook the Christian Education of the Child,
if the Parents should either die or apostatize:
The Nonconformists are against no such Spon-
fors, though they think that their Children have
right to Baptism without such. 6. Nor do they deny that Baptism in the Parish-Churches is valid and lawful as to the Parents and Godfathers, if they do but agree on the Nonconformists way, that the Sponsors shall but represent the Parents, and that they be not bound by the contrary judgment of the Authors of the Liturgy to the contrary. But the questions are 1. Whether a Christians Child, whose Parents have no way forfeited their credit, have not right to Baptism, without other Godfathers. 2. Whether the Parent should not solemnly enter his own Child into the Covenant of God (as well as in times of Circumcision.) And whether any Parent should be forbidden it, viz. to appear and speak as the Representer of the Child, or Undertaker for him, and Promiser of his Education. 3. Whether that Child must profess by another, that He Himself Believeth, Renounceth, Repenteth and Desireth Baptism: And it be not rather to be professed that he is the seed of a Believing, Penitent Parent, whose Will is as his Will, and is under God’s Promise [I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed.] 4. Whether a Christian Parent may consent to the perfidious undertaking of any Godfathers, who give him not the least reason to believe that they intend that provision for the Children which they undertake: Or else may let his Child be unbaptized till he can get such a credible Undertaker; which is never like to be with most, or many. 5. Whether the Children of Heathens, or Infidels, or Atheists, have right to Baptism upon the presentation of any Godfather, who never adopteth them, or taketh them for his own, nor giveth any credible notice
that he really intendeth to educate those Children as pro forma he seemeth to undertake: Or whether such Children are truly saith to believe, because the Godfather, or Minifter, or Congregation, or Dioces, or Nation, or Catholic Church believe.

III. The Nonconformifts are not of one mind about receiving the Lords Supper Kneeling: Many judge it Lawful, though neither necessary nor most eligible were they free; some judge it also most eligible: And some judge it, as things stand, unlawful: Their reasons are.

1. In doubtful cases duty lieth on the surest side: But this to them is a doubtful case on one side, and to imitate Christs institution by such sitting as men use to do at meat, is certainly Lawful.

2. Because they think this Kneeling violateth the reasons of the second Commandment, being used where, by whole Countries of Papifts round about us, and many among us it signifieth Bread-Worship or Idolatry by the same Action at the same Reason used. For they suppose that the second Commandment forbiddeth Images, as being External, Corporal, Idolatry, and Symbolizing scandalously with Idolators, though the mind intend the worshiping of the true God alone. And such they think this kneeling is, and that it encourageth the Papifts (as is instanced in a story in the Life of Bishop Hall.)

3. Because they think that the Tradition and Custom of the Catholic Church and the Canons of the greatest General Councils not repealed by any other (as Nic. 1. Can. 20. & Can. Trull. &c,) are of stronger obligation than the
the Canons of our Convocation. And those Canons, Customs and tradition prohibite all Adoration by Genuflection on any Lords day in the year, and on any week day els between Easter and whitsontide; And this custom continued 1000 years as the Tradition of the Universal Church; and was never repealed but changed by degrees by contrary practice: They that think not that they are bound by these Canons or Customs at all, yet think that they are enough to nullifie a contrary Canon of a lower power; or ad hominem may excuse them. Yea the Constitutions called the Apostles, seem to Command all the people to receive the Sacrament standing and to go for it Lib. 2. Cap. 57. Having prescribed the order of worship (that after the old Scriptures read, they sing a Psalme and then read the Acts and Epistles and the Gospels, and then that the Presbyters one by one exhorte the people first and the Bishop last (for in those time, every Church that had an Altar had a Bishop) he conclueth [Postea vero fiat sacrificium, cuncto populo Stante & silentio precente, & oblatione saeta, quisque ordo scorsim corpus Domini & preciosum sanguinem sumat, accedentes ordine cum pudore & reverentia ut ad corpus Regis. Item mulieres opero capite, ut ordinem eorum deecet, accedant that is [After let the sacrifice be made, all the people standing and praying in silence: And the oblation being made let every order apart take the body of Christ and his precious blood: Coming to it in order with modesty and reverence as to the body of the King. And let the women approach with covered heads as becometh their order.]
For such reasons as these set together, some Nonconformists, (Lay and Clergy) take this Kneeling (while Papists about us by the same gesture adore the Bread) to be unlawful, who yet profess as great Reverence to Christ and the Eucharist as any others.

But other Nonconformists say that they can answer all these arguments. But that they truly render the scruples of the dissenters tolerable, and the persons unmeet to be therefore excommunicate.

2. By the Canon and Rubrick, no one of these dissenters must be admitted to the holy Communion, Can. 27. Saith [No Minister when he celebrateth the Communion shall wittingly administer the same to any, but to such as kneel, under pain of suspension.] And the Ministers Covenant to use "no form of administering the Sacraments but according to the Liturgie.

V. The Rubrick after Confirmation saith [There shall none be admitted to the holy Communion, till such time as he be confirmed, or be Ready and Desirous to be confirmed. So that desire of Confirmation in the English way, is made a necessary Condition of Communion.

2. The publick owning of the Baptifinal Covenant, is that which the Nonconformists are so far from being against, that they take it with a serious Confirmation, thereupon to be the meet way of transition from the Infant-state of Church-membership, into that of the Adult; and the most Congruous means of uniting dissenters about Church discipline, and of preventing Anabaptistry that can be found out. But many sober Christians are unsatisfied with the English way
way of Confirmation, 1. Because they find it so
like to that Confirmation which the Papists
have made a Sacrament, and which very many
beyond-Sea Protestants have written against:
vide Dalleum de confirmat. 2. Because it is made
the proper work of a Diocesan, and wholly
denyed to the Parochial Pastors; And because
those Diocesans know not ordinarily whether
the persons be meet or unmeet to be confirmed,
being strangers to them; for how can they know
all the persons, men, women and such Chil-
dren of so many Parishes as a Diocese doth
contain: (some Dioceses having above a
thousand Parishes others many hundred: One
above 100 miles in Length, and others, very
great) ? Its true, that the Minister of the Parish
is bid to Catechize them, and to bring or send in
writing the names of such as he thinks fit for
Confirmation. But i. This is not ordinarily done:
but Children in our time have used to run toge-
ther to a bishop when he came into the Country
on that work, without the Ministers Certificate
or Godfathers; and none, that ever we knew of,
that came for Confirmation in this manner, was
refused: And as the Bishop never saw or knew
one of the multitude whom he Confirneth, so
he taketh not time so far to examine them as to
give him rational satisfaction of their fitness:
Nor indeed can he possibly do it for one of a
multitude of so large Dioceses, when most great
Parishes are too big for a present Minister who
is acquainted with them better than a strange
Diocesan can be: How can a man that hath so
many other employments as Diocesans have
find leisure, were he never so willing, to examine
so,
so many hundred thousands as are in this Diocese? or so many score thousands as are in many others? 3. And as the Ministers rarely certify according to the Canon, so the Bishop is not tied to take his consent, but may thus impose confirmed persons on his Communion, though he know them to be never so ignorant or unmeet. 4. And it is Children that are thus to be confirmed, who rarely ever come so young to own with any tolerable understanding and seriousness, their Baptismal Covenant. Few of us by experience can say, that we did it of many years after that we had learned the Lords Prayer, &c. 5. And no other qualification is necessary, but that he learn the Creed, Lords-Prayer, Decalogue, and Church-Catechism, the bare words of which are learnt by rote by multitudes of Children, who understand little or nothing of what they say: We do not find, that if persons stay unconfirmed till they are adult, that any Herefie or wickedness of life, is a bar to their confirmation; much less are they required to bring any testimony, that they live according to their Baptismal Covenant. 6. And as far as we can learn, it is but a very small part of this Kingdom in comparison of the rest, that ever were confirmed. 7. Nor know we many Ministers that ever examined their people generally, whether they were ready and willing to be confirmed.

VI. The Nonconformable Laity are ejected from the Communion of the Church, and their Children (that are disposed of by them) from Baptism, Christendom and Christian burial, if not from salvation, as far as in the Church lyeth,
2. That no Minister is to admit them to the Sacramental Communion is before shewed from Can. 27. And also that their Children are not to be baptized, unless they will submit them to the dedicating sign of the Cross; nor nor to be buried with Christian Burial (of which more afterward.)

3. If they have a Minister in their own Parish that never preacheth, or so bad as that they dare not commit the Pastoral care of their souls to him, they must not be admitted to Communion, in any other neighbour Parishes, Can. 28. That they are ipso facto excommunicated, shall be anon shewed.

SECT. IX.

The Matters of Fact that concern the Conformity and Nonconformity of the Ministers: And 1. of Assent, Consent and Subscription that nothing is contrary to God's Word.

1. The Canon to be subscribed (36th.) willingy and ex animo is [That the Book of Common-Prayer, and of ordaining of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, containeth in it NOTHING CONTRARY TO THE WORD OF GOD; and
and that he himself will use the form in the said
Book prescribed in publick Prayers and Admini-
stration of the Sacraments, and none other.

2. The meaning of this subscription is not agreed
of by the Conformists that take it: As to the
first clause, some say that by [Nothing Contrary
to the word] is meant as it is spoken, [Nothing]
indeed. Others say by [Nothing] is meant
[Nothing which I have discerned so to be: Or
[Nothing, except such failings as all humane
writings are liable to.] And by [Contrary]
Some say [Contrary in the Common sense of the
word] is meant: But others say that by [Contrary]
is meant [so far Contrary as should drive us
from Communion with the Church] or [Contrary
to any great doctrine or precept of the Word
of God. And the Nonconformists interpret it as
the first sort: do, according to the usual and
proper meaning of the words.

3. So the later clause, [that he himself will
use that form in publick prayer and administration
of the Sacraments and none other;] Dr. Heylin
and very many others suppose is meant properly
as is spoken viz. That by the form is meant all
the words and orders, and that by publick prayer
is meant as is spoken, All publick prayer used by
a Minister in the publick assemblies] And that
by [None other] is meant [neither wholly nor
in part.] But others think that by [Form] is
meant only [the form of words, and not the
orders] And that by [none other] is meant only
[No other Book of Common-Prayer or set Litur-
gie.] Or [No other entire form and order exclud-
ing this:] And that it doth not mean [No other
form before or after Sermon in the Pulpit, or in
some
some parts of Worship, so it be of our own Composition: Nor yet that we may not use sometime some other order than is prescribed in the Rubrics, viz. 1. Sometimes read other Chapters than the Calender prescribeth, because that Liberty is expressed in the Preface to the second Book of Homilies: 2. Sometimes to give the Sacrament to some that kneel not: 3. To baptize some without the Cross, &c. (of which more hereafter) Because the Rubrick saith only [you shall do thus] but faith not [you shall do no otherwise.] But to this the former sort answer 1. That if any universal Negative (none other) may be particularly or limitedly interpreted upon our own surmises, no Laws, Covenants or Promises signifie any thing, and no words are intelligible: 2. That we subscribe strictly to this Article (to use no other form,) But not to the Book of Homilies, but only that we take it for wholesome Doctrine: 3. That if the Rubrick for Croffing, Kneeling, &c. exclude not all other inconsistent forms of administration, it signifieth nothing, but leaveth every man to his own will.

4. It is yet a greater doubt with the Conformists themselves, whether these words be not at least a Covenant that They will use no other printed prescribed Liturgy. And so some think that it plainly obligeth them not to use those printed Forms which the Archbishops and Bishops have used to draw up and impose, for several Publick Fasts, Thanksgivings, and particular occasions. But others think that it doth not bind them to disobey the Bishops therein: but that such exceptions were intended though not express, or at least had been inserted if not forgotten.

I. The
II. The Act of Uniformity requireth that every Minister that officiates "Do openly and publickly before the Congregation there assembled, declare his unseigned Assent and Consent to the Use of all things in the Book contained and prescribed, in these words and no other [I A. B. do here declare my unseigned Assent and Consent to all and everything contained and prescribed, in and by the Book entituled, The Book of Common-Prayer, & 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.]

And page 10. [He shall declare his unseigned Assent and Consent unto, and Approbation of the said Book, and to the use of all the Prayers, Rites and Ceremonies, Forms and Orders there contained and prescribed according to the form aforesaid.]

2. The Conformists themselves are not agreed of the meaning of these plain words, One party expounding them as the Nonconformists do, according to the properest and ordinary use of the words, and the other party otherwise. The former hold that as many Acts of Parliament Contain more in the body of the Act than in the Title, and make the means more extensive than the end, so here the Assent and Consent to the Use of the Book is the End in the first clause, and Approbation also in the second: And that the Declaring that form of words is the Means to that end: That Assent
Affent signifieth Affent to the Truth and [Con- sent and Approbation] relate to the Goodness, restitude and use, ] And that this is not only of the Prayers and other parts which the subscriber is to Read to the people, but as is exprest [ of all things (without exception] Contained in and prescribed by it; particularly [ to all the Prayers, Rites, Ceremonies, Forms and Orders; ] without collusion or equivocation.

The other part hold, that all this signifieth no more, but that [ I Affent that I may lawfully use, and I Consent to use, so much as belongeth to my place, and that I will not unpeaceably oppose it.] Their argument is, Because [ to the Use,] is mentioned before the Form of words. To which the other answer as before, that 1. That Approbation is mentioned after as well as Use.

2. That the Means are larger than the end: As in the Corporation Act, the end is the preventing of Rebellion; but the Means is Declaring that [ There is no obligation on me or any other from that Oath.] 3. That without gross violence Affent can be judged to mean no less than [Assenting that it is true.] 4. That there is not a word in the Book which was not intended for some Use: And therefore, to Affent, Approve and Consent to the Use, is more than meerly to Affent to the Truth: The Preface hath its Use; and the Calendar its Use, and the Rubrick its uses, and the rest of the parts their several Uses; But did we believe it to be false, how could we Approve it, or of what Use would it be? 5. To put all out of doubt the Parliament-men long ago told us (none Contradicting it to us) that into another Bill, the house of Lords added a Provifio that the Decla-
Declaration in the Act of Uniformity should be understood but as obliging men to the Use of it; and that the House of Commons refusing, at a Conference about it, they gave in such Reasons against that sense and proviso to the Lords, upon which they did acquiesce, and cast it out:

III. By this General Declaration we are obliged to Assent to (as true) to Approve and to Use these words after the Calendar, "[Rules to "know when the Moveable Feasts and Holydays "begin. Easter-day (on which the rest depend) is "always the first Sunday after the first full Moon, "which happens next after the one and twentieth "day of March.]

2. This Rule is false: As 1. Every Almanack will shew: 2. The Table following to find out Easter-day for ever: 3. And the practice of our Church, that keepeth Easter on another day.

3. To consent to Use this, is to consent to keep Easter-day, contrary to all Christian Churches, and contrary to another Rule in the same Book; and to consent to use both Rules, is to consent to keep two Easter-days in one year; and so of Easter Term.

4. Hereupon some Conformists say, that [Assenting to, Approving of, and Consenting to All things contained and prescribed,] signifieth but [as to humane, fallible writings, so far as there is no mistake] or [Assenting and Consenting to be peaceable.] But others say that it is but [to Assent that it is true where it is not false, and Approve it as good where it is not bad; and to Consent to use it where I have no cause to the contrary.] And they ask, 1. Whether this be the usual or proper signification of such words? 2. Whether any Non-
Nonconformists would refuse it in that sense. 3. Whether they will give leave to the Papists and all other subjects to take the Oath of Allegiance in such a kind of sense and exposition.

But there is one that hath defended this as true, and tells us that by the [full moon] is not meant that which we call the full moon, or the same that's meant in the other parts of the Book, but by the full moon is meant [the mean Conjunction] and [the fourth of April that year 1664. Or [14 days after the ancient new moon found by the Golden number the 14th day of the Ecclesiastical Cyclic month] For an old Mass Book faith [Post veris equinodiium Quære plenilunium & Dominica proxima facrum celebræ Pascha: Non verius inveneris simile legas Codices.]

Quest. 1. Are we sure this Mass Book meant not pleniluniam as we do properly?

Quest. 2. And are we sure they erred not that wrote this?

Quest. 3. And yet are you sure what they meant?

Quest. 4. Would you persuade us that our Convocation now borrowed their Direction from this Mass Book?

Quest. 5. Are you sure that this Mass Book should be our rule herein of speaking or interpreting?

Quest. 6. And yet not in the Calendar and other passages in our Liturgy?

Quest. 7. Did the the Convocation intend that we should not here understand [The full moon] properly, nor as in all the rest of the Book?

Quest. 8. If this defender be in the right, was there ever a plainer way made to bring all men...
to an Implicit Faith, to believe as the Convocation believeth, even in Calendars, when we know not what they believe themselves. For my part I must confess that after all this Dr. (Pell they say) hath said of another sense of the word [full Moon] I know not yet what he meaneth. Qu. Whether the Convocation meant that none should Preach Christ's Gospel that understood not this strange sense of the [full Moon] that is [no full Moon] and yet would not by one line expound it to us, to keep us from being cast out and ruined? Or whether they meant that all men should be forced and taught to subscribe or declare assent to that which they never understood? when I had never yet the advantage of speaking with one Bishop, or conformable Dr. that understood the word [full Moon] as this Doctor taught them (whether in good earnest I know not.) And if our Conformity must be thus performed, by equivocation implicitly, contrary to the common sense of mankind, we shall yet suspend it, till we know how much further we have to go, if it be blindfold that we must be led; and refer all to God our final Judge, whose judgment we are near.

4. We Assent to, Approve of, and Consent to, these words in the Preface [we are fully persuaded in our judgments (and we here profess it to the world) that the Book as it stood before established by Law; doth not contain in it any thing contrary to the Word of God, or to sound Doctrine, or which a Godly man may not with a good Conscience Use and Submit unto, or which is not fairly defensible against any that shall oppose the same, &c.] 2. Psal. 105. 28. The words in the
the Liturgy and old Translation are [They were not obedient to his word.] And the new Translation according to the Hebrew is [They rebelled not against his word.] Clear contrary: Therefore the Nonconformists think that one of them is Contrary to the word of God (and this old Translation is Continued still in the Church.) 3. In the old Book in the Gospels these texts are thus translated Rom. 12. 2. Epist. to 1. Sunday after Epiph. [Be ye changed in your shape:] The new Translation is [Be transformed by the renewing of your mind] Phil. 2. 7. Epist. for Sunday next before Easter [found in his apparel as a man:] In the new Translation it is (Was made in the likeness of men.) Gal. 4. Ep. to 4th Sunday in Lent, It is [Mount Sinai is Agar in Arabia and bordereth on the City which is now called Jerusalem.] In the new Translation it is [For this Agar was mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem which now is.] Matthew's day Ep. 2 Cor. 4. The old Book has it [We go not out of kind.] The new is [We faint not.] John. 2; for third Sunday in Lent [When men be drunk] is the old Books Translation: But the new is [When men have well drunk.] Luke 11. for third Sunday in Lent, the old Book hath [When one house doth fall upon another] the new hath [A house divided against an house falleth.] 1. Luke, for the Annunciation; the old Book sayeth [This is the sixth month which was called barren:] in the new Translation it is [This is the sixth month with her who was called barren. If one of these be God's Word, the Nonconformists think that the other is contrary to it.] 4. In the old Book in the Psalms there are whole verses left out, which
are in the Hebrew Text, and our new Translation, and divers translated in a quite different sense the former following in the Septuagint. 5. The Rubrick for Christmas day is [Then shall follow the Collect of the Nativity, which shall be said continually unto New-years day.] And the Collect for all these several daies is [Almighty God, which hast given us thine only begotten Son to take our Nature upon him, and THIS DAY to be born of a pure Virgin. So the Collect on Whit-sunday is [God which upon this day, &c.] The Rubrick is, [The same Collect to be read Munday and Teesday.] So on Christmas day, and seven daies after [Because thou hast given Jesus Christ thine only Son to be born as on this day for us, &c.] And on Whit-sunday, and six daies after [According to whose most true promise the Holy Ghost came down this day from Heaven.] These things, and such other we must approve in the forelaid Approbation of all things in the old Common-Prayer-Book. V. We must Assent, Approve, and Consent to all the mis-translations in the present Liturgy, as well as to justifie the old Edition: That before-cited Psal. 105. 28. is in the present Book, and so are the rest of the omissions and differences in the Psalms before mentioned, which are many. Different Translations which have all the same sense, may be all called God's Word, because their sense is so: But where they have different senses, so far one of them is contrary to God's Word: For God's Word is one and true, and not contrary to it self. The question is not whether these faulty Translations were not a good work, and a great mercy to the Church, till we had a better?
better? Nor whether they may not be lawfully used where there is no better? Yea or where there is a better, if the Command of Governours, or Concord, make it best for that time and place. But it is, Whether all the faults of the Translation may be Assented, Approved and Consented to? We commit some failings and sins every day, but we may not Approve of them, and profess that we Consent so to do.

2. Some Conformists here think that the Declaration is to be taken properly, without any force or distorting, and they say that both Transformations are justifiable, because one followeth the Hebrew, and the other the Septuagint, and Christ and his Apostles have justified both by using them. But others of them hold that this instance proveth that by [All things] Assented and consented to, must be meant only [All things that are not by humane frailty mistaken, or erroneous] or else, that by Assenting and Approving must be meant no more than Assenting that they may be Used: And so they consent with the Nonconformists in the matter, but not in the exposition of the words. And to the former they say, 1. That there are other mistranslations, besides those that follow the Septuagint. 2. That Christ and the Apostles by citing some Texts according to the Septuagint, do not thereby approve of all the rest; for they cite others otherwise. 3. That by citing them, they justifie not alwaies the translation, but only the sense so far as it is cited for, it being that scripture which the people then commonly used.

3. And they say that if this objection should hinder mens Assenting to the Liturgy, it might
as well hinder their Assenting to the Bible in our translations. And indeed we know no Nonconformist who would declare or subscribe that he doth Assent to, Approve and Consent to all things Contained in the Bible according to any Translation, but only all things Contained in the Bible as it was delivered by the Sacred Writers; and in all Translations so far as they truly signify or express that to us. But if they might but say, as one part expounds the Declaration, [We Assent, &c. To all things Contained, &c. That are not by humane frailty mistaken] they would soon Conform herein.

6. The Calendar in the Common Prayer appointed for the publick reading of the Books called Apocrypha beginning September 28. And so Continuing to November 24. Every day of the week, except the proper Lessons interposed. Part of the Apocrypha to be read are the Book of Tobit, Judith, Bel, and the Dragon &c.

2. Learned Bishops and Divines of the Church of England have written to prove that these Books are not only Apocryphal but fabulous, and have manifest untruths; As that the intralls of a fish will drive away all Devils and keep them from returning: When Christ faith [This kind goeth not out but by Fasting and Prayer] And when the Angel faith that He was the son of Ananias of the tribe of Napthali, &c.

3. These Books are to be read just in the place and order as the Sacred Scriptures are; and under the same title of the [First Lesson] Only called Apocrypha in the Bibles. But 1. It is not appointed that the Priest tell the people so: 2. If it were, they understand not Commonly what [Apocrypha]
[Apocrypha] signifieth: 3. If they were sometime told it, they forget it; and apply not that name to every Lesson that they thence hear. 4. It is not denied that the founder Books that are Apocrypha may be read in the Church as a Homily may be with due notice of their difference from the Canonical Books: But the question is whether not only they, but the Books proved fabulous by many Protestants, may be there read, and that instead of so much of the holy Scripture then omitted, and that without any better notice given to the Common people of the difference. 5. And the chief doubt is, whether this may not only be done, but also the Calendar as so appointing it, may be Approved of and Consettend to by us all.

7. It hath been before opened, that no Parent is permitted to be Godfather to his own Child; or to speak one word at his baptizing, to enter him into the Covenant of God, or dedicate him to him, nor to promise in his name, nor to undertake any part of his Christian education, nor so much as to be urged to be present. Nor is there a word to intimate that the Godfathers represent the Parent, or speak in his name or stead, but the contrary is implied. [Though the Parents are to procure these Godfathers.]

2. It hath also been before shewed how great a Controversie it is, whether Infants Right to Gods promises and Church state, be not by that Covenant [I Will be thy God and the God of thy seed; ] implied in 1. Cor. 7. 14. [els were your Children unclean but now are they holy. ] And so whether Infants have any right upon a Godfathers words there, who never took them for,
his own; if on the Parents account they have no right. And whether such Godfathers act be truly the Childs in Gods account; 3. And it was before enquired, In what sense this Godfather doth (not promise only that the Child shall believe at age, but) in the Childs name profess that he doth at present believe: And whether it be not enough [and much more necessary then the Godfathers faith] that he be the Child of a believing Parent, dedicating him to God. 4. And it hath been shewed that Godfathers promise themselves partly to teach the Child, and partly to provide that he be taught all that a Christian should learn as necessary to his souls health. 5. And that these Godfathers never ordinarily, give the Parents the least reason to believe that they have any purpose to do any such thing as they undertake: Which is perfidiousness in the weightiest business: And 6. also that (as such) they are no adopters or owners of the Child. 7. And also how hard it is for any Parents ever to get better, seeing wiser and better will not undertake it in the foresaid conformable fence. 8. The fence and use of Godfathers is partly known by the Practife of Princes and great men, (who must be supposed to know best, and be most righteous and exemplary) who usually by a Proxie are Godfathers to the Children of Foreign Princes, or Great men, (perhaps Papists) whom they never saw, nor ever are like to see their Children. 9. Ministers must Assent, Approve of and Consent to, all this exclusion of the Parents, and presentation, profession, undertaking and promise of the Godfathers, which the Liturgy mentioneth;
Conformists are not agreed themselves, of the true Office and undertaking of these Godfathers, nor of the Parents part, nor by whose right it is that one Child rather than others is to be baptized, and whether any at all should be refused, by whomsoever (that is a Christian) offered thereunto.

8. The Rubrick to which we must declare our Assent, Approbation and Consent, hath this Article of faith. [It is certain by Gods Word, that Children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin are undoubtedly saved.] And the Rubrick at Buryal, excepteth all the unbaptized from Christian Burial, according to the Office.

2. The Canon 68 and 69, suspendeth any Minister who shall refuse or delay to Christen any Child without exception which is brought to the Church on Sundays or Holydays to be Christned, according to the Form in the Common Prayer; or if in case of danger he be desired to do it privately. Neither Rubrick nor Canon here except from Baptism and certainty of salvation, any Children of Turks, Infidels, Heathens, and Atheists, or those whose Parents renounce Christianity, and consent not to their Childrens Baptism; so be it any Godfathers as aforesaid bring them.

3. The Conformists agree not of the sense of this Article of Faith: Some hold that the word [Children here meaneth not [All Children that are Baptized] but some such only]: But others affirm that this exposition is false, and contrary to the plain importance of the words, for it is an Indefinite, say they, in re necessaria, in the sense
sense of the Book. And if the meaning be not
[Children that are Baptized, qua tales] it hath
no intelligible sense, the certainty of their Sal-
vation being Asserted as from Scripture, and not
any other reason of it given. But if this be the
meaning (as it is) then a quattuor ad omnes va-
let consequentia; unless any exception had been
added, which is not.

4. Some say that it is implied that Children
that had no right to Baptism are excepted. But
others say, That ubi lex non distinguuit non est
distinguendum. The Church could have excepted
if they would. 2. And that quod fieri non debet
fattum valer. 3. Yea that all Children have right
to Baptism, if any Christians offer them to it.

5. Some confound the Ministers right to
Baptize them, and the Infants right to be Bap-
tized; And this right as only in foro Ecclesiae, and
as in foro Cali; As if all Baptized upon any of
these rights were undoubtedly saved. But others
distinguish these, and say, 1. That the Minister
may have right to Baptize one if offered, that
yet ought not to have been offered; which will
not save an incapable subject: 2. That the
Children of Hypocrites have right Coram Ec-
el dia, and that their Baptism ascertaineth to them
no more than external or common priviledges;
3. And that only the Children of true believers
have such a right coram Deo, as certainly saveth
them. But others say, that both the last four are
saved.

6. Some of them hold that All Infants in
the world Baptized or not, are saved by universal
redemption, if they dye before actual sin: And that
the Article therefore affirmeth it of the Baptized.

But
But others say, this cannot be the fence: For 1. To say [All baptized] and mean [All unbaptized] or any [not as Baptized] were not intelligible nor candid. 2. And the Burial Rubrick excepting the unbaptized from that Christian burial, sheweth the meaning of the Church in this Article.

7. Also about the [undoubted certainty] they differ; some think that the subscriber or Declarer doth not by these words, profess that he himself is [undoubtedly certain] of the salvation of all dying Baptized Infants; but only that the thing is certainly revealed to be so in God's Word. But others say, that both objective and subjective (or personal) certainty must needs be meant: And that it were too hard an imputation to say that the Church commandeth uncertain, doubting men to profess that the thing is certain and undoubted of; for how can they tell that it is so? And if they know it not to be so, why should they declare it to be so? The meaning is not [I declare that the Convocation faith it is certain;] for that were but the part of a cryer or reader: Nor is it I declare that it is certain to others, though not to me. [For no man knoweth another's certainty; Therefore it must mean that [I am certain and past doubt by the Word of God] or [I see ascertaining evidence in God's Word putting it past doubt.]. So that no uncertain or doubting person can truly thus declare or subscribe.

8. Divers of those Divines who are furthest from the Nonconformists, hold that by the Scripture alone we cannot prove that Infants are at all to be Baptized; and the jns Baptismi must be
be proved before the salvation of the Baptized as such: Others think it hard for that man to be certain by the Word of God that all Baptized dying Infants are saved, who is not certain by that word that any Infants should be Baptized.

9. Many of the most rash or self-conceited Ignorant men are readier to profess [undoubted certainty] than they that are more humble, and know much more than they. And it is not he that Hath most certainty, who is now capable of the Ministry, but he that dare profess most, whether he have it or not.

10. They that shew less Learning, especially less knowledge in the Scripture, far than many that dare not profess this undoubted certainty, are not like to be more certain then they in this particular Article of faith.

11. We take it for Arrogance and Fanaticism in the Pope and his Council to pretend Infallible certainty by a peculiar privilege, in those points in which they are unstudied and unlearned, as if they knew them by prophetical inspiration. And when young, unstudied men have in this point attained to an [undoubted certainty] which their wiser seniors cannot attain, it behoveth them to convince us of the truth of their Inspiration or special endowments, either by a proportionable excellency above us in other things, or by some Miracles or Testimonies from Heaven.

12. There is no one Word of God cited in the Rubrick which tells us that It is certain by the Word of God.

13. Among Christian Divines there are all these various opinions about the salvation of Infants.
1. Some hold that the Covenant being to the faithful and their seed, and their children being holy, all the children of sincere Christians are certainly in a state of salvation, being by the parents intentionally dedicated to God before or without Baptism: And that Baptism is but their solemn investiture in that state which was theirs by right before.

2. Others think that this right to salvation belongeth to the Children of all confessed Christians godly and ungodly,

3. Others think that it belongeth to all Infants in the world.

4. Others think that it belongeth only to sincere believers Children that are Baptized.

5. Others, that it belongeth to found and unfound Christians baptized Infants.

6. Others that it belongeth to all Baptized Infants whose soever.

7. Others hold that it belongeth also to the Children of sincere Adopters or Proprietors.

8. Others that it belongeth to such as even bad Christians adopt or own.

9. Others that they that have sincere Godfathers, though not Proprietors, are saved.

10. Others that even unfound or hypocritical Christian Godfathers, may suffice to their salvation.

11. Others that the Ministers or the Churches sincere (or confessed) Faith is hereto sufficient.

12. And others think that only the Elect are saved, of whom some are baptized, and some unbaptized, but no man knoweth who they are. Out of all these Opinions the Convocation hath chosen one, as an Article of Faith of undoubted Certainty by the Word of God.

13. The
13. The Nonconformists know of no Word of God which ascertaineth Salvation to any known determinate Infants, but the great Covenant of Grace, [I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed;] which seed God useth as if they were parts of the Parents, Exod. 34. 6, 7. and second Commandment: And faith to Believers [Else were your children unclean; but now, &c.

14. Many Divines say, that Faith itself hath not evidence; (though we think that it hath evidence of the Truth of the Revelation, though the thing revealed be not visible or evident in itself;) And more confess that [undoubted certainty] is not Essential to the saving belief of Christ, and of a life to come: And that true Faith may be saving, though weak: And that Christ silenced not his Disciples when he reproved the weakness of their Faith: And that to doubt of this Article about Infants is not so dangerous as to doubt of Christ or Heaven.

IX. All Ministers must deny Baptism to those Infants that have no such Godfathers and Godmothers as aforesaid, though their Parents be true Christians, and offer them to Baptism. For this is the only order or form of Baptizing there described, all other is forbidden, and we subscribe to use no other form in administration of the Sacraments. 2. Yet some Conformists say, that the Book bindeth them to do thus, but not to omit it, and baptize no otherwise. But others of them say, 1. That the Rubrick determineth that [for every child to be baptized, there shall be three as Godfathers and Godmothers] and that the whole Office respecteth them as Parties, and speaketh to them, and admittest no Parent to speak; and
that if Assenting to, Approving and Consenting to this form and Rubrick, and subscribing a Covenant to use no other form, signify not that we will use no other, no words can bind such equivocators.

3. In the sense of the Liturgy, to put Infants from Baptism, is to deny them Christendom, membership of Christ, to be children of God, and to be heirs of Heaven: For the Catechism faith, that we are made such in Baptism, which with the Rubrick which denyeth them Christian burial, and that last mentioned which affirmeth the undoubted salvation of the baptized, import a denying salvation to all that have not such Godfathers, without Parents spousion: or at least a denying them [certainty of undoubted salvation] when it was in the power of the Convocation or Priest to have given them such certainty. 4. The Conformists do not affirm (that we know of) that any word of God doth institute or command the use of such Godfathers, or the foredescribed exclusion of the Parents, much less both: And least of all that it maketh these necessary to Christendom and Salvation, yea or Church-reception: But it is used as a Tradition or Law of men. 5. The Nonconformists therefore dare neither Assent to, Approve, Consent to, Covenant, or Practice the refusal of the Children of true Christians from Baptism, the Church and Salvation, on such a cause as this. 6. The Anabaptists hence are hardened, and say, that if Infants may be denied Baptism, till they have such Godfathers as God never instituted they have no right to it; at all, and they may deny it them till we prove God's institution of Godfathers; especially where their title is laid upon such Godfathers.
thers. 7. Some say that *It is not the Minister that refuseth them, but the Church which maketh the Law:* But others say, that it is both the Lawmakers, and the Minister, unless we could prove that Baptizing and judging whom to Baptize is none of the Ministers office, no nor the Bishops; but that the Priest is to baptize all, and only such as the Law or Convocation bids him baptize, as a meer executioner, and the Bishop also such as he is appointed by the same Law. That else the same Rule would hold for his Preaching, Praying, &c.

X. The like proofs (which we need not repeat) will shew, that no Minister must baptize any person, Infant or Adult, without the transient Image of a Cross, and that to this we must assent and consent, and subscribe to baptize in no other form.

2. And the same reasons aforegiven shew how great a penalty this is, as excluding them from Christendom and Salvation in the Churches judgment, or from certainty at least.

3. Some Conformists say here also, that they assent only to baptize with the Cross, but not to baptize no otherwise: But others of them reprove this exposition from the Rubrick, and the aforecited Canonical Subcription, as that which would leave the Priest at liberty to do almost what he list, when the Church thinks that they have obliged him, and his Subscription hath secured his Obedience.

4. And some of them say, that it is not the Priest that refuseth them, for he would Baptize them (with the Cross) if the parent sent the Child or the Adult person e.m.c. But we need not strive
strive about the word: The thing we are agreed of, viz. That the Priest consenteth not to Baptize them, who dare not receive it with the use of the Cross: Whether this be to be called a rejecting them, or denying them Baptism, unless they will be so crossed, we need not call for extraordinary accurateness to judge.

5. No Conformists do pretend that this use of this Image of the Cross, is of divine institution: But all confess that Baptism is of divine institution; and that Christ hath Commanded Math. 28. 19. 20. That they that are discipled should be Baptized; and that one may be a disciple of Christ, without the Image of the Cross:

6. Some of the Nonconformists hold their use of the Cross itself here unlawful: But others that would venture to use it rather than be silenced, yet fear the guilt of denying Baptism, Christendom and certain salvation (as the Church judgeth) to all that dare not receive it, or present their Children to receive it; believing that murdering natural life is a less hurt than undoing souls.

7. But Covenanting by deliberate subscription and declaration to do it, how oft soever, they fear more than the actual doing of it rarely; not daring to do their part to damn the Children of all that are against Baptizing with the Cross, nor all the unbaptized adult that are of that opinion.

XI. And as they fear rejecting such as will not be so Cross from Baptism; so they much fear the English use of the Cross themselves; and that much more than Crossing our selves on ordinary occasions, or setting up Crosses on our doors or Churches or by the high waies; and yet much more
more than they fear such using of the Cross as Augustine de Civ. Dei, and other ancients mention, as an open Indication to Heathens that we are not ashamed of a Crucified Christ: Much less are they against civil uses of a Cross.

2. The name [Sacrament] signifying primarily any solemnization of a Covenant by Oath and Ceremony (as the sacramentum militare among the Romans) especially a Covenant which engageth one in a new relation, and more largely any sacred mystical Ceremony, the question here is whether the Cross be not made (not only a sacrament in a larger sense, as ordination and Matrimony may be called sacraments) but even a sacrament of the Covenant of grace, or so very near it as to have the greatest part of that sacramental nature.

3. The Church Catechism defineth a Divine "sacrament thus, (An outward and visible "sign of an inward and spiritual grace given to us, "ordained by Christ himself as a means whereby we "receive the same, and a pledge to assure us there-"of.

4. That it be ordained by Christ himself is not essential to a sacrament in generc, but to a sacrament of God's making in specie as distinct from one that's made by man; as is evident in the reason of the name.

5. The true nature of this Crossing is known by the Liturgy. 2. And the Canon. 1. The Liturgy appointeth it to be used at Baptism, not as a part of our Baptism, but as a thing added, immediately after the words [I Baptize thee &c.] even in our Covenanting with God: 2. It thus describeth and appointeth it, [we receive "this
this Child into the Congregation of Christ's flock, (here the Priest shall make a Cross upon the forehead) and do sign him with the sign of the Cross, in token that hereafter 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 unto his lives end, Amen.

2. The Rubrick to which we Assent and Consent, referreth us to the 30th Canon, as giving us the true explication thereof, and the just reasons, &c. The Canon saith [Christians signed their Children therewith when they were Christened, to dedicate them by that badge to his service, whose benefits bestowed on them in Baptism the name of the Cross did represent.] The Church of England accounteth it a lawful outward Ceremony, and honourable badge, whereby the Infant is dedicated to the service of him that dyed on the Cross, as by the words used in the Common Prayer it may appear.

3. The Liturgy's Preface of Ceremonies saith [that they serve to a godly discipline, and are such as be apt to stir up the dull mind of man, to the remembrance of his duty to God by some notable and special signification, whereby he might be edified.]

4. We suppose that here 1. The sign is the transient Image of the Cross used in God's service. 2. The particular service in which it is used, is our Baptismal Covenanting with God: 3. The thing signified by the sign itself is the Cross, and passion of Christ. 4. The thing signified by the Receiving of it is, that we do as Covenanters
profess and oblige our selves not to 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 servants and soldiers to our lives end. And that by this we are dedicated to God; And that we take it as an honourable badge hereof. 5. Note that the Minister speaketh as God's Officer from him, and doth not represent the Child, nor speak as in his name; that being the part assigned to the God-fathers; And the thing signified by him in his using this sign is, that he doth as Christ's Minister dedicate him by this sign, to the service of him that dyed on the Cross, the name whereof represents the benefits bestowed on him in Baptism, (which are all the benefits of that Covenant) and to oblige him to this end, not to be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ Crucified, and manfully to fight under his banner (as aforesaid;) And that this be a badge or symbol of his Christian profession.

5. The great fear of the Nonconformists is, left this be a second sacrament of the Covenant of grace made by man added to Baptism, or at least have most of the nature and uses of it; And left Christ will take it as an invasion of his prerogative to use it, and to make a new badge or symbol of our Christianity; As the King would take it ill of one that would without him, make a badge or symbol for his subjects as subjects, or of the order of the Knights of the Garter as such. And the rather, because it is the use of an Image, (though transient) in God's Worship, and to such high ends.

XII. The Rubrick which we must Assent, Approve and consent to, faith, that [There shall be ]
none be admitted to the holy Communion, till such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed, that is, In the manner prescribed by the Liturgy. This, as it concerneth the Conformity of the Lay-receiver, is spoken of before. But now as it concerneth the Ministers Assent and Consent. 2. Some that take this for a very useful passage, as it enableth them to hold back some incapable persons, dare not approve it, and consent to it, as it denieth the Church Communion which Christ giveth & commandeth, to persons of unblemished uprightness and piety, if they will not profess themselves willing to be confirmed by our Bishops in the manner before described; though they are willing to own their Baptismal Covenant; and few in most places are confirmed.

XIII. The Liturgy faith, that [No man should come to the holy Communion but with a full trust in God's mercy, and a quiet Conscience.] To which we must declare Assent, Approbation and Consent.

2. The sense of these words remaineth dubious, whether it speak de necessitate præcepti, vel mediis: Some think that the meaning is, that it is the Duty of all that come to the Communion, to have a full trust, and a quiet Conscience: Others think that the meaning is only, that all should seek these: Others think that the meaning is, that they should not come without them. Their reasons are, 1. From the plain signification of the words: [No man should come but with, &c.] which must differ from [They that come ought to be such] 2. Because the necessitas præcepti may be affirmed of perfect obedience since our use of reason: It is every mans duty not to sin at all: And it is
every man's duty to believe, and love God, not only sincerely, but with a stronger Faith and Love; and it's every man's duty to seek after perfection. And yet no man will say that we should not come to the Communion, but with high degrees of grace, or with perfection. 3. And the words are not that they should seek it, but that they should not come without it.

3. The Nonconformists confess that all men ought to have a full Trust, and a quiet Conscience: But they think that many 1000 good Christians have but a weak Faith or Trust, and an unquiet Conscience: And that the Eucharist is a Confirming and Comforting Sacrament, and that those that have a weak Trust, and unquiet Conscience, should come for strengthening and comfort, and be encouraged to come.

4. Therefore seeing no entreaty will prevail with the Imposters after so many years time to explain these, and many other such words, they think that the usual sense of such words must be the measure of their exposition; and therefore they dare not profess Assent, and Approbation, and Consent, till they are better explained to them.

XIV. The Liturgy requireth that the Priest deliver the Communion to the people into their hands, All meekly kneeling.

2. The 27th. Canon saith, [No Minister shall wittingly administer the same to any, but to such as kneel under pain of suspension.

3. The Conformists differ among themselves about the sense of the Liturgy herein, viz. whether [All kneeling] include a prohibition to deliver it to any that kneel not: some say No: that it
it only bids them give it to such as kneel, but not to deny it others, though the Canon do. Others say, yea that it requireth us to give it to no others. Their reasons are 1. Because else the precept signified nothing, if men were after it left at liberty. 2. Because [All] plainly exclud-eth others. 3. Because the Canon being the decrees of the same Church, expoundeth the Liturgy; and it is absurd to say that their Rubrick leaveth the Minister at Liberty to do that same thing for which the Canon suspendeth him.4. Because we must also subscribe that we will use no other form of administration, but that of the Liturgy; which Reasons we judge to be cogent.

4. The Nonconformists differ among themselves about kneeling; some taking it to be sinfully scandalous on the reasons before given; and some taking it for lawful. But they commonly hold that it is sinfull, cruelty and Schism for them as Ministers to cast any true Christians out of Christ's Church and Communion of Saints, and to deny them the body and blood of Christ, which he hath commanded his Church to deliver and receive, on so small a reason as this not kneeling: 1. Considering the three reasons which are before mentioned as the cause of their doubt. 2. And that the Holy Ghost Rom. 14. commandeth both Pastors and People to bear with, and receive each other, notwithstanding such kind of differences: 3. And that good mens judgments in such cases are not in their own power: 4. And that to tie Communion to such doubtful Circumstances will certainly cause Schism; and such doings have long distracted Christ's Churches through the world. 5. And

N 4  Christ
Christ hath commanded all his true Disciples to live in loving concord and communion: But kneelers and not kneelers are his true Disciples: 6. And men must not be cast out of the Churches Communion even for gross and heinous sins, unless they add obstinate impenitency. Therefore they dare not Assent, Approve, Consent to, or Practice, this rejecting of godly Christians for not kneeling in the act of receiving, from those priviledges which Christ by his testament hath given them.

XV. By the Liturgy every Parishioner is to communicate twice a year, and by the Canon and statute to be compelled so to do: and the Churchwarden to present them that do not. And those that do not in a certain time, are to be EXCOMMUNICATED, and after laid in Gaol during life, unless they conform. To the Liturgies Imposition we must profess Assent, &c.

2. Not every Parishioner (yea in our experience not one of many) hath a full trust in God's Mercy, and a quiet Conscience, without both which they are not to come.

3. Many good Christians have so great a sense of their sins and unworthiness, that they dare not communicate till they are fitter: And some are so timorous and melancholy, that hearing the Liturgy threaten men to be given up to the Devil, and eat and drink their own damnation, if they eat and drink unworthily, it would drive them by fear into distraction should they take it, till they have better thoughts of their title and preparations; so that their dilemma is sad, when they are either to go to Bedlam, or to the common Gaol.

4. To
4. To say that all these doubting and timorous people should be otherwise minded, and that this is their error, is true, but as impertinent, as it is to tell all men that they should never sin or all ignorant carnall ungodly men that they should be wise and godly: But to conclude that men should receive the sacrament, because they ought to be prepared, though they are not prepared, is somewhat like telling the sick that they should work and eat, as they ought to have done if by intemperance they had not disabled themselves.

5. There are many among us who are conscious of Infidelity, Atheism, Sadduceism and Heresie, and some of many secret heinous sins; some of these in their hearts deride Christiinity and the sacrament; And the other are afraid of increasing their damnation: But yet do not make known their sin: But it is notorious that abundance of such there be: And the doubt is whether these should be compelled to the sacrament thrice a year.

6. The Nonconformists hold, that to deliver a man, that sacrament, is to deliver him the body and blood of Christ, and therewith a sealed pardon of sin, and gift of life eternal; And they think that the terms on which these are to be received, are wholly devoting our selves to Christ, denying all, and taking up our Cross and following him. And therefore that to say [Receive the sacrament, or lie in a Gaol] seemeth much to alter the terms of the Gospel, which faith [If thou canst not suffer a Gaol for Christ, thou art unworthy of him. It is he that can forfake all for Christ, that is fit for the sacrament, and not he that would not Communicate without the fear of a prison
prison or other punishment. To give the sacrament, is to give more than all the riches of the world, which none but volunteers and desirers are fit for.

7. The ancient Churches made delinquents long beg for such great privileges and gifts, knowing that to give them to those that are unwilling, is to subvert the Gospel. But they never said [Receive them or go to Gaol.]

8. Were it but granted in England that the great gift of Christ's body and blood, and holy Communion should be administered and received freely, that is, only given by and to voluntary agents and receivers, it would heal almost all the English differences, between Episcopalian, Presbyterians and Independents.

9. Yet the Nonconformists are not against the encouraging of Communicants by special favours, nor the prudent compelling of Ignorant men to hear the truth, nor the hindering of pernicious heresies moderately. But the foresaid compulsion of all Parishioners they dare not Approve.

XVI. The Minister according to the Liturgy is himself to give the Eucharist to many, to whom the Nonconformists dare not give it: For they must give it thrice a year to all the Parishioners, except such as are proved (to him that hath no power to examine them or witnesses) to be in malice towards others, or to be in any scandalous sin, and that but for that time, till they are accused and acquit, or still permitted, viz.

1. They must give it to many that consent not to be any part of their charge, nor take them for their Pastors, but bid them deny them the Sacrament
ment if they dare, though they consent not to the relation. 2. They must give it to multitudes of the greatly ignorant, who know not the essentials of Christianity or the Sacrament, nor will come to them to be taught: When by fame, yea or personal knowledge, they know them to be such, yet without proof (nor we think with proof) they cannot refuse them. 3. It is known that Infidels and deriders of Scripture and mans Immortal state, do swarm more among us. And yet they must all Communicate till we can bring proof of it against particular persons: When few men that report it will accuse their neighbours and prove the accusation for fear of their displeasure: 4. We must give it to all the ungodly that are dismisft by a Lay-Chancellor after accusation, 5. We must give it to all that are unwilling to receive it, sobeit they had rather take it than lie in a Gaol and be undone. 3. On these terms the Nonconformists dare not dissent, Consent to and Approve the giving of it as is prescribed. 4. It is confessed that compelled Receiving is not commanded by Christ, nor was used by the Church, for many hundred years, even after Emperours were Christians.

XVII. The Liturgy requireth Ministers at Burial, to use these words, importing the salvation of the person: [Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of his great mercy, to take to 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 the miseries of this sinful world] And [That we may rest in h.m as our hope is this our Brother doth.] 2. The Conformists are not agreed of the sense of
of these words: One sort of them say, that all these words import not the salvation of the person: But the rest have more ingenuity, and confess that else the words are not intelligible, and that such equivocation is not tolerable.

3. Some of them say that these passages are good, supposing Discipline well exercised; which if it be not, it is not the fault of the Liturgy. But others consider that 1. We know that Discipline is not so exercised as they suppose: 2. And that these passages are not to be approved and used whether Discipline be so exercised or not: The meaning is not [I approve of this where Discipline is well exercised.] 3. It is known that the Bishops will not have every Priest to be Judge.

4. The Canon (which is the work of the same Church) thus expoundeth the Churches meaning; Can. 14. [All Ministers shall observe the Orders, Rites and Ceremonies prescribed in the Book of Common-Prayer, as well in reading the holy Scriptures, and saying of Prayers, as in administration of the Sacraments, without either diminishing in regard of Preaching, or in any other respect; or adding any thing in the matter or form thereof.] (This also concerneth most of the cases before instanced in, as Expositions of the Churches meaning.)

5. And Can. 68. it's said [No Minister shall refuse or delay to bury any Corps that is brought---in such manner and form as is prescribed in the Book of Common-Prayer: And if he shall refuse---to bury such, except the party deceased were denounced excommunicated Majori Excommunication, for some grievous and notorious crime, and no man able to testify of his repentance, he shall be suspended by the Bishop.

6. The
6. The new Edition of the Liturgy increaseth the exceptions thus [The Office ensuing is not to be used for any that die unbaptized, or excommunicate, or that have laid violent hands on themselves.]


8. Note, That Atheists, Infidels, Sadduces, Blasphemers, Whoremongers, &c. swarm now among us, and we rarely hear of any one of these multitudes that are excommunicated; so that they are not excepted.

9. It cannot be denied, that exceptio firmat regulam in non exceptis; so that no other must be excepted.

10. It is known that all England consists of all the individuals, and all the people are all England.

11. We commonly Preach that without Faith and Holiness none shall see God; and that Whoremongers, Drunkards, &c. cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

12. Therefore either we consent to pronounce almost all such to be saved (at a time when our words take the deepest impression,) or else more exceptions must be made.

13. Some say that the Excommunicable are included in the Excommunicated; But the Canon and the express words of the Liturgy, and the Churches abhorrence that the Priest shall be Judge, do so notoriously confute this bold assertion, that by such stretches almost any thing may be said or sworn, and it shall not be known by authority, when, or how far any Subject is obliged by Covenants or Oaths.
XVIII. The Liturgy requireth that such ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof at all times of their Ministration, shall be retained and in use, as were in this Church of England by the authority of Parliament in the 2d. Year of Ed. 6.

2. The Canon of the same Church expoundeth their meaning, cap. 58. Thus every Minister saying the publick prayers or Ministering the Sacraments or other rites of the Church, shall wear a decent and comely Surplice &c.

3. We suppose in the 2d. of King Ed. 6. The Cope, Alb and other vestments were in use, which seem forbidden by the Common-Prayer Book in the 5th. and 6th. of Ed. 6.

4. The Conformists agree not of the sense of this Rubrick, 1. Whether all these are hereby reduced or not. 2. Whether it forbid all Ministers to officiate without a Surplice, or only Command the use of it, without an implied penalty: But the words, and the forecited Canons shew that the Church intended an exclusion of all that will not use it. And we must subscribe to administer in no other form.

5. The Nonconformists differ about the Surplice; some taking it to be Lawful, and others to be unlawful: But they Commonly hold that Preaching Christ's Gospel is commanded by God, and that Ministers by their ordination are obliged to do the work of that Office, and that Surplices are not commanded by God; and therefore, if a man mistakingly should take the use of the Surplice to be sinful, he should not therefore be ejected and silenced: And therefore they dare not declare Approbation and Consent to the Rubrick or
XIX. The Damnatory sentences in the Creed called Athanasius's, are to be Assented, Approved and Consented to.

2. If they referred but to the Doctrine of the Trinity, and not to the particulars of that explication, it would not be excepted against: But some R. Reverend Conformists do profess that those sentences are untrue, and not to be approved.

3. But such think that the Churches meaning is not to require us to Assent or Approve them as true, but only to Consent to use them: And they prove it, because the same Church requireth us to Read the Books of Tobit, &c. which have palpable untruths, and not to believe them to be true.

4. But that reason seemeth null and vain; 1. Because the Apocrypha is no part of the Book to which we must Profess Assent, Approbation and Consent, nor to which by the Canon we must ex animo subscribe, that there is nothing in it contrary to the Word of God. But Athanasius's Creed, with those damnatory sentences are part of that Book. Indeed the Liturgy requireth us to read those Apocryphal untruths, but they are no part of the Book: 2. And it being not the sense of the Liturgy, but of a Statute of Parliament, which we here doubt of, it seemeth insufficient, if not impertinent, to tell us what is taken for the sense of the Church; for the doubt is What is the sense of the Parliament, which we can no otherwise know but by the plain words, till they will otherwise declare their meaning.

5. And indeed if the passages in Tobit, which some Reverend Bishops call Lies (about the Angel's
Angel's saying that he was the Son of Ananias, of the Tribe of Napthali, and the fishes driving away all Devils, that they shall never return) were but to be read, we know not how to approve of that Law, Calendar or Rubrick, that commandeth such reading of them. But yet that is much less than the Assent required to Athanasius's Creed, which yet we take (save those damnatory sentences) to be the best explication of the Mystery of the sacred Trinity, which in so short a summe is extant in the Church.

XX. The Liturgy saith [All Priests and Deacons are to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer, either privately or openly, not being let by sickness, or some other urgent cause. And the Curate that ministreth in every Parish-Church or Chapel, being at home, and not being otherwise reasonably hindered, shall say the same in the Parish-Church or Chapel where he ministreth, &c.

2. The Conformists agree not of the sense of this; some think that the ordinary incommodities of such a commanded use, may pass as those hinderances or urgent causes mentioned in the exceptions: But the more plain and ingenuous dealers hold, that the urgent causes and hinderances here mentioned, must be somewhat extraordinary, and not any thing which is the usual case of most Ministers.

3. Cathedrals and some other Churches have many Priests and Deacons of whom one only can daily officiate in publick. And many are Chaplains in such mens houses as will have other free prayers used. And most Ministers have great and necessary work to do, which must all be left undone, while the Common-Prayer is said.
said over by them twice a day. They have Sermons to study, many Books to read, that they may be furnished with necessary knowledge for their work: They have abundance of ignorant parishioners to instruct, exhort or comfort; They have the sick to visit, the dead to bury, the Sacraments to administer, families to govern, instruct and provide for. And many find free prayer from the immediate sense of their case and wants, to be so profitable to them that they cannot spare it: All which and more require the strictest improvement of every minute of their time: And if the Liturgy be read over by every Priest and Deacon twice a day, it is certain that much of these aforesaid must be omitted. And it is a great part of our Christian duty, when two good things come together, to choose that which $hic et nunc$ is the greater; to choose the lesser then being a sin.

4. Therefore the Nonconformists dare not Assent, Approve and Consent to the tying of every Priest and Deacon ordinarily to read over the Liturgy twice every day. And they are the more averse to such Approbation by seeing so very few Conformists, Comparatively, to practice this themselves; which sheweth that they take it to be unlawful; seeing it is their judgement that our Rulers must be obeyed in all things which are lawful to be so done. And if they that make such declarations of Approbation think it unlawful ordinarily to keep them, we may doubt whether it be lawful so to make them, as is required of us.

5. If God ask us why we did not teach our families, visit the sick, instruct ignorant neighbours
hours, study better for to discharge our Ministerial work, than we might be men of knowledge, and such like, the doubt is whether it will pass for a good answer to say, we had not time, because we must twice a day read the Common-Prayer.

XXI. Assenting, Approving and Consenting to all things, even to all forms, orders, &c. includeth the order of the Liturgy. Two Rules of the order of Prayer are commonly acknowledged.

1. The nature and order of the matter to be expressed.

2. The Lords Prayer as a directory delivered by Christ.

2. The Nonconformists that think that for the main there is nothing but good contained in most of the Prayers of the Liturgy; yet think that they are greatly disordered and defective; neither formed according to the order of matter, nor of the Lords Prayer, but like an immethodical Sermon, which is unsuitable to the high subjects and honourable work of holy worship.

3. They have oft offered, whenever it will be well taken, to give in a Catalogue of the disorders and defects of the Liturgy: Which yet they think it lawful to use, in obedience, or for unity, or when no better may be used: But not to approve of such disorder; as we do not approve of the failings of any of our own duties, though we are daily guilty of them unwillingly.

XXII. The Preface to the Book of Ordination

faith, that ["It is evident to all men diligently reading holy Scriptures and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles time there have been these Orders in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, as several OFFICES, which are
are repeated oft in the Collects at Ordination: To this all must Assent and Consent.

2. Some of us are conscious that we have diligently read the holy Scriptures and ancient Authors, and yet three ORDERS and OFFICES are not evident to us.

3. We have great reason to believe that Calvin, Beza, and many more Reformers, Blondell, Salmatius, Robert Parker, Gerson, Bucer, Calderwood, Cartwright, John Reynolds, Ames, Ainsworth, and multitudes of such Protestants, did diligently read both Scriptures and ancients: As also Dr. Stillingfleet, Bishop Edw. Reynolds, and many such, who thought that Scripture instituted no particular forms of Government: As also Armachanus, and many other Papits, who think that Bishops and Priests do not differ ordine, but gradu, which the R. Reverend Archbishop Usher ordinarily professed: We cannot assert that none of these diligently read Scripture or ancient Authors.

4. But especially when we find that even the ancient Church of England was of another mind, as is legible in the Canons of Ælfrick to Wulfine in Spelman, pag. 573. 576. which conclude that (in the old large sense) there were but seven Ecclesiastical Orders or Degrees, and that the Bishops and Presbyters are not two, but one: Hanc plus est interest inter Missalem Presbyterum & Episcopum, quam quod Episcopus constitutus sit ad ordinationes conferendas, & ad visitandum seu inspiciendum curandumque ea que ad Deum pertinent, quod nimia crederetur multitudini si omnis Presbyter hoc idem faceret. Ambo siquidem UNUM tenent EUNDEMQUE ORDI-
5. And Dr. Stillingfleet hath proved by sufficient evidence, that the same was the judgment of Archbishop Cranmer, and other Reformers of the Church of England. And it is the judgment of some of our Bishops and Conformists now. All which we speak not to chew which side we think to be in the right; but that the state of the question is, Whether we can assent to this as true, and approve and consent that it be used, as is appointed. [That it's evident to all men diligently reading, &c. that de facto there were three OR- DERS and Offices from the Apostles times.

XXIII. The ordering of Priests requireth the Bishop to speak to the people at the Ordination of Priests, calling them [to come forth in the name of God; and shew what crime or impediment they know in the persons to be ordained, &c.] In imitation of the ancient Churches, when the Congregations over which they were set, had their voice in his election or reception.

2. The doubt is, whether such a solemn invitation, as in God's name, be not too vain to be Assented, and Approved, and Consented to, in a Church, where the people over whom he is set, never use to be present, nor invited to it, nor have any notice of it, or any call to meddle therein; being usually many miles, and often many score miles distant; nor any other people called to that work; and rarely any people there
there that have any knowledge of the man and his conversation.

XXIV. The Ordaining of Priests, and the Consecration of Bishops both use these words as concerning the Office \[Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office and work of a Priest, of a Bishop, &c.\]

2. It is not doubted but that the Holy Ghost must set Pastors over the Flocks; 1. By qualifying men for the Office, and making them desirous of it: Both Grace, Ability and Willingness are of him: 2. By giving the Ordainers a discerning skill to know whom to ordain: 3. By giving the flock a discerning and a willing mind. We yet know not of any other Collation of the Holy Ghost, which Ordination can make. Nor know we that in any of these senses these words can be well understood: For 1. Grace, Gifts and Willingness, are the dispositio recipientis presupposed: we see not how it can be lawful to ordain him that seemeth not before to have them: what else are they examined about? Nor know we that God hath given any power to the Ordainers now, by the laying on of hands, to make an ungodly man godly, or an unlearned or ignorant man to be learned or wise, or a man of ill utterance to have a better tongue, or an unwilling man to be willing. The Apostles had a miraculous power of giving the Holy Ghost for extraordinary works, and for abilities suddenly infused; and they did it: we never knew of any in our age that did it; and therefore suppose that they have no promise or power so to do. 2. And to give a discerning skill to the Ordainers; 3. Or to give a discerning or willing mind to the people, are neither of them a giving
the Holy Ghost to the Priest. The doubt is, whether this be not an abuse of the words which Christ himself or his Apostles used, and so not to be assented to, approved and consented to.

3. Yet is it not denied, but that Ministerial Authority is given by the ordainers as Ministers, Deliverers or Investers: But Authority is not the Holy Ghost so called.

4. Nor is it denied but that as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost do enter into Covenant with us as Christians in our baptism, so do they with Ministers, as such, in their ordination-covenant: But such a Relation to the Holy Ghost as the Ministers future helper in his work, cannot well be supposed to be all that is meant by the words [Receive the Holy Ghost, ] both Scripture and common use, taking them in another sense.

XXV. This Oath in the Consecration of Bishops is to be taken by every Bishop [In the name of God Amen. I. N. Chosen Bishop of the Church and See of N. do profess and promise all due reverence and obedience to the Arch-Bishop, and to the Metropolitical Church of N. and to their successors, so help me God through Jesus Christ.

2. It is not pretended that any such Oaths of obedience were instituted by Christ or his Apostles; or were used in the Churches for many hundred years, nor till the Papacy was rising, which was furthered by such Oaths.

3. They that suppose Bishops to be successors of the Apostles, cannot make them subjects to any other Ecclesiastical Rulers, without asserting that the Apostles were Governours over one another; which we find not that they do.

4. It
4. It was many hundred years before Archbishops had any Governing power over Bishops, or exacted any obedience from them; being not Epsicopi Episcoporum (as the Carthage Fathers in Cyprian professed.) But were only such as had the first seats and voices in the Synods.

5. The question therefore is, whether such Oaths, as necessary to a Bishops consecration, be to be Approved and contented to?

XXVI. An Oath of Canonical obedience also is put upon all that are made Priests and Deacons: And Priests at their ordination must make this Covenant, that they [will reverently obey their Ordinary, and other chief Ministers, unto whom is committed the charge and Government over them.]

2. The ordinary is not only the Bishop, but also the Chancellour, Officials, Surrogates, Comisfaries, Arch-Deacons, and all that are Judges in the Ecclesiastical Courts.

3. to obey them that are thus de facto set over us, is no less than to obey them in the excercise of that power which is given them as so set over us.

4. The doubt is, whether they that take any of them to be Usurpers of an Ecclesiastical power, which indeed they have not (and can prove it to be so) should swear or Covenant obedience to them as such. e.g. It is commonly confessed by the Conformists that the true power of the Keys, of excommunication and Absolution is appropriated by Christ to the Clergy: And yet our Chancellours being lay men, do decretively excercise that power. The question is, may we swear or Covenant to obey them?

5. And seeing Christ never gave one Presbyter the
the Government of others, as Archdeacons, Surrogates, Officials, &c. whether all the rest may swear obedience to them, or Approve of and consent to the use of such Oaths? And divers Councils have condemned it as a dangerous practice for Bishops to tie subject Presbyters to them by Oaths.

XXVII. Ministers that live among the people have greatest advantage to know the penitent from the impenitent.

2. But it is the foresaid lay Chancellours, who usually know nothing of them but by reports, that excommunicate and absolve them. And the Parish-Minister must (as a cryer readeth a proclamation or sentence of a Judge) openly read these excommunications and absolutions.

3. These excommunications must pass according to the Canons, against all that shall affirm that there is anything in the book of Common-Prayer repugnant to the Scripture or any of the 39 Articles erroneous, or any of the Rites and Ceremonies such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe to, or that the Government by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans, Arch-Deacons and the rest that bear Office in the Church of England, is repugnant to the word of God, or that any thing in the form and manner of making & consecrating Bishops, Priests or Deacons is repugnant to the word of God, &c.

4. The present doubt is whether a Minister who knoweth such of his Parish to be godly, peaceable men, whom the Chancellor decreetively excommunicateth, may both openly read and declare such excommunications and also swear or Covenant so to do, in obedience to the Ordinary. And whether when he knoweth that a wicked
Impenitent man is absolved, he may pronounce such absolutions.

XXVIII. The Oath of Canonical obedience seemeth to mean obedience according to the Canons: And he that Covenanteth to obey his ordinary, must be supposed to mean no less than [According to the Canon Laws by which he is known to govern,] and as Government thereby is exercised:

2. And if so, then there are more things in the Canons and present Government, which the Non-conformists dare not swear or Covenant to obey (besides those already named,) than we will now stand to enumerate.

XXIX. The Rubrick faith that [the Minister who repelleth any from the Sacrament,] shall be obliged to give an account of the same to the Ordinary within 14 days after, at the furthest.

2. If all that by gross ignorance, Atheism, Infidelity, Sadducism, Heresie, Schism, Drunkenness, Whoredom, Stealing, Malice, &c. are uncapable of the Communion be presented to the Ordinary within 14 days, no charity that is guided by knowledge of the common state of the people, can think, that in London Diocese there would be few than many thousand thousands presented at once. And in other Diocesses many score hundreds at least,

3. Some Ministers dwell a hundred Miles or near from the Bishops. And the Bishops are divers of them so much at London or abroad, as that it cannot be expected that all these must be presented to the Bishop himself, but to the Chancellours court, as is usual.

4. The Chancellours Court is so far from most Ministers
Ministers in the Land, and the prosecuting so many when proof is demanded, will be so chargeable and take up so much time, as that it will undo many poor Ministers, that have scarce enough to maintain their families; and it will take up the time which they should use in the necessary labours for their flocks.

5. The Chancellour is a lay man to whom they must be presented: And the issue will be but a lay mans excommunicating them, if obstinate; or absolving them: Which is not justified by the Bishops themselves.

6. At the said Chancellours court things are managed as at a civil judicature: There is not that endeavour to convince sinners by Scripture, and to draw them to true Repentance, by humbling evidence, intreaties and prayers for them, as should be for the saving of a soul from sin: But the charges of the court fees, and the fears of a prison after excommunication, maketh it an unacceptable and as unlikely means to convert men as the stocks.

7. Therefore for a minister to present all his Parishioners to such courts, whom he is bound to deny the Sacrament to, were but to make him seem their greatest and cruellest enemy, and to render him uncapable of ever (probably) profiting them by his Ministry any more; and consequently, greatly to promote their damnation and make them almost hopeless as to recovery. And if by this terror they tell the Chancellour that they Repent, how little satisfaction is that to the Minister, that never saw himself, any signs of their repentance.

8. The doubt is then, whether the use of this Rubrick
Rubrick may be Approved and Consent to.

9. Especially considering that all the Parish who receive not thrice a year, (of which Easter must be one for them all) must be presented to the said ordinary, and also all that come not to Church; By which means divers Parishes about London must have some 10000, some 20000, some 30000, some 40000, or 50000, that have no room in the Church, all presented if this Law were executed.

XXX We have reason to doubt whether the Act of Uniformity it self be not part of the Books which we must subscribe Assent and Consent to; because it is so said in the Book it self: The Contents of the Book are first named in general, and then this Act named among the Contents. Either it is part of the Contents, or it is not; if it be not, we must not assent and consent to that falsehood (that it is;) If it be, O far be it from us that believe a God, a Judgment, and a life to come, and the sacred Scriptures, to Assent and Consent to that Act with all its penalties, silencing and ruining such as conform not. One of us that was oft with the great, wise, just Lord Chief Justice Hales, hath heard him lamenting the Schisms and discords of the Clergy, seriously say, that [There was no right way to heal us, but by a New Act of Uniformity.] (And hath his late Writings against laying Concord or Religion upon mens unnecessary additions.) And the Reporter taketh not himself to be wiser than him, nor meet to Assent and Consent to such a Law, considering the experience of these seventeen years, and the consequents on mens divided and exasperated minds, upon
upon the Congregations, upon Ministers and Families, and upon the state and security of the Christian Religion, and the Protestant Cause, &c.

As to them that say that the Act nameth the Book as distinct from it self; we answer, 1. So do the Titles of Acts of Parliament name the Act it self as distinct from the Title, and yet we suppose that Title part of the Act. 2. The Book nameth the Act as part of its Contents, as is aforesaid.

If we should by mistake think some of these passages to be unlawful that are not, or to have a worse sense than indeed they have, let these things be considered.

1. We judge as well as we are able; and whatever sense another takes them in, we that so understand them cannot take them.

2. We judge of the sense by the plain words; the force and stretch is not by us, but by those that conform and contradict our sense.

3. The Law-givers will not otherwise expound their own words, after 17 years waiting for it under Compulsive Executions: Certainly if they would have us understand their words contrary to common use, they would rather tell us so after seventeen years time, than ruine us, and forbear so easie a means to heal the Churches.

4. Some of us so highly value the excellent Prelections of Bishop Sandersen de juramento, and his judgment, against taking and expounding Oaths (and consequently professions and promises) in a stretched or a doubtful sense, and his Counsel to refuse them, when the sense is doubtful, if the Rulers or Imposers will not expound them (though
(though they should bid us take them in our own sense;) with much more which he hath excellently said to such purposes, that we thankfully acknowledge that he hath much helpt for to fortifie us against the guilt of perjury, and falsehood, and prophaning the holy name of God, and deceiving our Governours by equivocations and false expositions, and scandalously tempting others to perjury, lying, or such other sins.

We take an understanding, serious (and if it may be publick) owning of the Baptistmal Covenant in age to be of so great moment to the reviting of true Christianitie and the honour of Baptism and cure of Anabaptism, that it greatly grieveth us that we must despair of its effectual practice, when we meet with few that seem not to approve it. The words of a very Learned and Great Conformist Mr. Elderfield of Baptist pag. 48. marg. We think worthy our recital.

"Upon score of like reason (faith he) whereto, and for such after tryal, may have been taken up in the Christian Church, that examination which did sift the constancy or rather consistency of those that had been taken in young, to their presumed grounds, that if they wavered they might be known and discharged, or if they remained constant, they might by imposition of hands receive what the Commoner name of that Ceremony did import, of their faith (at least a sign of) Confirmation. Vásquez hath from Erasmus (in the Preface to his Paraphrase on the Gospels) a word of most wholesome grave and prudent advise, that those who were Baptized young, when they begin to write man, should be examined, an ratum habcant.
habeant id quod in Catechismo ipsorum nomine profectum: Quod si ratum non habeant, ab Ecclesia jurisdictione liberos manere; in Theod. disp. 154.

To. 2. c. 1 sect. 2. If they did then stand to what their sureties promised for them. If not they should be discarded. Most necessary! and of unimaginable benefit! Such a scrutiny would shake off thousands of rotten hypocrites, and purge the Church of many such Infidels believers or professors, upon whose dirty faces a little holy water was sprinkled when they knew not what it was; but they no more mind the true sanctification appertaining than the Turks or Saracens (who shall rise up in judgement against their washed filthiness,) or than those of whom St. Peter [It is hapned to them according to the true proverb: The dog to his vomit, and the washed swine to wallow in the mire.] Such discipline of awakened Reason is that the world groans for; that men would become Christians. O that the truth of faith, and power of true Christian belief might be seen in those that knowingly put the neck in Christ's yoke.] So far he. See also Dr. Patrick of Baptism. And of our selves Mr. Hanmer and Baxter have written Treatises only on this subject, to shew that such true Confirmation would be the most excellent means to heal most of our enormities and divisions.

And shall such Jesuits as Vasquez, such moderators as Erasmus, and Protestant Conformists, and Nonconformists, all thus speak for it, and yet no hope? No wonder if a word or ceremony that we disagree in, can make our wound so sad as we have felt, when that which we in words agree
agree for, and that not as a thing indifferent, but so necessary, cannot yet be obtained though we perish. Dead Images of all good things, is but the last and most effectual means of destroying the life and real good: Dead shews and Images of good, are Hypocrifie; sincerity is reality, seriousness and life. We take our Baptism to be our Christening, or the summe of the Christian Religion: And it is but for men to do that seriously at Age, which they did in Infancy by others authorized (or others for them) which is the Conversion which we daily preach: And it grieveth us to see what multitudes, when aged, never seriously think either what they did or received in their Infancy; and how many hate such a life as they have vowed, and yet think that they stand to their Baptismal Covenant. And till the Pastors of the Church make a serious work of it, to bring all their Parishes to a serious understanding and consideration of their Baptism, and a serious owning it, and renewing of that Covenant, we cannot hope that the people will be serious Christians; or that men will not think that serious Anabaptists are better than Hypocriftes that contemn their Baptism.

SECT. II.

The Second Part of the Matter of Conformity.

THE First Part de facto, being contained in the Canonical Subcription, and the Declaration, hath been opened: The Second Part is the
the case of Reordination. Either they that require Episcopal Ordination for all that were otherwise ordained when Bishops were put out, do intend it a second Ordination or not. If yea, then it is a thing condemned by the ancient Churches, by the Canons called the Apostles, &c. and by Gregory M. and others likened to Anabaptistry. If not, then they take such mens former Ordination to be null, and consequently no Ministers to be true Ministers that are so ordained, and not by Diocesans; and consequently all such Churches to be no true Churches (while they take the Roman Ordination to be valid.) To speak of the consequences of this as to the nullity of Baptizings and Consecration of the Lords Supper, &c. and of the taking of God’s name in vain in the Office if it prove evil, would be to go further than the Matter of Fact.

S E C T. III.

The Third Part of Conformity.

The Third Part of Conformity is the Subscribing against the obligation from the Vow [To endeavour any change or alteration of Government in the Church,] with the Oxford Oath [That we will never endeavour any alteration;] and the Articles for our Prelacy; and the Ordination-promise, and Oath of Canonical Obedience before-mentioned, as to this point together.

2. Even those Nonconformists that are for the lawfulness, yea the need and desirableness of Bishops,
hops, and Archbishops, have so much against this Subscription, as that to avoid prolixity, we will forbear reciting the particulars, any further than to tell you, that while a thousand or many hundred Parish Churches are all without any particular appropriate Bishops (great Towns and Villages) when in Ignatius's days the Unity of each Church was known by having One Altar, and One Bishop, with the Presbyters and Deacons. And Jerome defineth a Church to be Plebs unita Episcopo; and consequently they are without the Discipline and Pastoral oversight of such Bishops; and while all these Parishes are in the old sense become No Churches (for ubi Episcopus, ibi Ecclesia) but only Parts of a Diocesan Church: And while the old form of Churches, Presbyters and Bishops is thus changed: And while one Bishop hath now more work of Discipline (besides Confirming and all his other work) than an hundred of the ablest and best men can do; and so such Discipline is necessarily undone: And while the Case is as if the Bishop of Carthage had put down six hundred neighbour Bishops, and become the sole Bishop of all their Churches; or as if all the Schools in a Diocese have but one Governing School-master, who had power to judge what Scholar to receive or to refuse: And while the Keys are to be exercised by Lay-men, these will be unsatisfying things.

3. The Conformists are not agreed of the meaning of these Subscriptions and Oaths; some think that they covenant only to submit to them (though they dislike them:) But others think that it is also to approve the Government. Some think that it is only Bishops that they are bound to
to: But others say, that the word Ordinary certainly signifies more than Bishops, even Lay-Chancellors. And that the forecited Canon expressly nameth many others, even with an & cetera, [the rest that bear Office] And [any alteration] must needs mean more: as [any alteration in State] sure extendeth to more than not endeavouring to [change Monarchy or the King himself.] Some say that by [not endeavouring] is meaning only [not unlawfully endeavouring]; but not that all endeavours are, forbidden, viz. not petitioning, speaking when called, &c. Others say that if exceptions had been allowed, the Law-makers would have made us know it, and not have spoken universally: And that if you expound it of [unlawful endeavours] you leave all men at liberty to judge what is unlawful, and all Schismatics will take the Oath or Subscription, because they hold their endeavours to extirpate Prelacy to be lawful. Some say that one may endeavour in his place and calling, to take the Church-Keys out of the hands of Lay-Chancellors, notwithstanding this Subscription and Oath. But others more ingenuously say, that the very actual Government or Keys being in the hands of Lay-Chancellors, if it bind us not against endeavouring to change these, it binds us to nothing that can be understood. And that if Subjects thus take liberty after Universal Oaths and Promises to make such exceptions, they reproach the Law-makers, as if in such tremendous things as these they knew not how to put their Laws in words intelligible, and of common sense: And they relax all such sacred bonds. Some say that in [not endeavouring] is excepted [unless the King com-
mission or command us: ] But others say, that if the Law-givers would have had such exceptions, they had wit enough to have put them in: And that if you leave it to men to except from universals, you cannot tell them where to stop: And that the use of the Oath and Subscription is, that the Church-Government be taken for unalterable.

SECT. XII.

The Fourth Part of Conformity.

IV. The Fourth Part of Conformity is the Subscription against the obligation of the Oath called the Solemn Vow and Covenant. Corporations are constituted by Declaring, that there is no obligation from it to any one without exception: But Ministers must only subscribe that there is no obligation on me, or on any other person, from the Oath, --to endeavour any change or alteration of Government in the Church.

2. It is none of the Controversie here, 1. Whether that vow was lawfully imposed or contrived, 2. Nor whether it were lawfully taken, 3. Nor whether part of the matter was unlawful. But supposing all these unlawful, 1. Whether all alteration of Church Government be unlawful? whether it be not in the power of the King and Parliament, to set a Bishop in every Market-Town: or to take the use of the Keys from Laymen: or to take down Archdeacons, Officials, Commissaries, Surrogates, &c.? Whether all Reformation be out of the power of the King, or not to be desired by the people?

P 2 2. Whe-
Whether that which is Lawful may not be done by the Law makers, and be endeavoured by speech in Parliament, or by petition by the people; Especially if the King Command it?

3. Whether men be not bound by a Vow to that which is Lawful: much more to that Which is antecedently a duty?

3. The Conformists are here disagreed among themselves; some say that the Vow bindeth not because it was unlawfully imposed: But others better say, that this proverb no more, but that the Imposers could not bind me to take it by any authority of theirs; And that if I had taken it in secret without imposition I had been bound by it: Els, no private Vow should bind. Some say that it binds not because it was falsely taken. But others truly say that if Oaths bind not wherever men take them sinfully, no wicked man should ever be bound by Oaths or Vows, because they usually make them sinfully by an ill end and intention, wrong motives, or ill principles or manner: Or at least a bad man might choose whether ever he will be obliged: But all good causists agree, that if the matter be lawful the unlawful taking binders not the obligation. A man that is Baptized with ill motives or intentions, is yet obliged by his Baptifinal Vow. Some say that it binds not because the matter itself is unlawful. But its granted that it bindeth to no unlawful matter: Others therefore truly say that he that Voweth six things whereof three are sinful, is not disoblige by the conjunction of these from the other three that are Lawful: Els a Knave may keep himself disoblige as to all Vows, by putting in some unlawful thing. Some say that
it binds not because we were antecedently bound to all that is good by other bonds, and therefore not by this. But others truly say, that this is a most intolerable reason and would nullifie our Baptifmal Vow, and all our sacramental Vows renewed; and all Covenants that ever man can make to God of any duty. For God's own Laws first bind us to every duty: But for all that our own Vows, Covenants and promises secondarily bind us also: And a man may have many obligations to one duty; Yea indeed the Covenanters ordinarily profess that they think not that a man should Vow any thing to God but what God first hath made his duty. And they are against the Papists for making Religions and duties to themselves which God never made: And therefore they profess that if some things in the Covenant were not their duty before, they would not think that they are bound to it now: And they profess that if they had never taken that Vow they had been bound to all that by it they are bound to: And therefore condemning that Vow doth no whit secure the Government of the Church (e. g. Lay Chancellours use of the Keys, or the destruction of discipline) from their Lawful endeavours to alter it. And they profess that seeing the King hath power to command them Lawful things, if they had Vowed any thing meerly Indifferent it would not have bound them against the Kings Commands; Because it is not in subjects power, by Vows to withdraw themselves from their obedience to authority. Some say that the Proclamation of King Charles the first against the Covenant null'd the obligation. But others truly say, t. That it could null no
more than the *Imposition* to take it, and not the obligation when it's taken, in necessary things: 2. That this is nothing to all them that took it afterward, and that when Charles II. had (though injudiciously) been drawn to declare for it. Some say that it binds not because men took it unwillingly. But others truly say, 1. that this would leave it in the power of a bad man to nullifie all Vows and contracts, by saying that he did them unwillingly: 2. That man hath *free will* and cannot be compelled: And a Vow of a thing Lawful to save ones life bindeth: Men mult rather die than lie. 3. This would teach Subjects to say that they take all Oaths of Allegiance to the King unwillingly, and therefore are not bound. 4. Its true that no man that for-ceth another injudiciously to a promise can *claim to himself any right* from that which was not free but procured by his own injurious violence or fraud; But *God* wrongeth none, and a *Vow to God* bindeth though procured by sinful force by men. Some say that It was only a League and Covenant with men, and not a Vow, and therefore ceaseth *cessante occasione*, and by the consent of Parliaments, &c.  *Ans.* There is no place for the belief of this objection to any that knoweth a Vow otherwise than by the name: Indeed an Oath that is but an appeal to God, that I will faithfully perform my Covenant with a man, obligeth me not when that man hath discharged me from any obligation to him. But this in question was primarily a promise or *Covenant made to God* (which is a Vow,) and a League and Covenant of men with one another that they will perform it; as is notorious to any man that readeth.
readeth it with common understanding.

II. The second thing questioned about that Vow (and the main) is, whether every Minis-
ter must or may become the judge of all other mens Consciences and obligations in three King-
doms, even of many thousands whom they never saw nor heard of, and that so far as to absolve
or justify them from all obligations by that Vow to endeavour any Church reformation.

2. It is here supposed 1. That though men ought to take an Oath in the sense of a Lawful Gov-
ernour so far as they know it, yet that they are not bound beyond the plain meaning of
the words to the sense of Usurpers: There-
fore they know not but the King and Lords, &c.
might take the same words in another meaning
than the obtruders did intend; e.g., to reform
according to Gods Word and the example of the
best reformed Churches might signify to them an
opposition to Presbytery.

2. That if men mistake the sense of the Im-
posers, they are bound to keep an Oath in the
Lawful sense in which they took it. And then
how knoweth every Minister in what sense
every man in the three Kingdoms took it? And
how is he able to say that no one man of them
all is obliged by it to endeavour a lawful and
necessary reformation?

3. And as to the former Argument that men
were forced to it, many of the Old Parliament are
yet living, and many others, that then forced
others to it, and were not forced to it themselves.

4. And if the present Parliament-men could
(upon what compulsion soever) Vow to reform,
e.g., scandalous Ministers, Swearing, Drunkennes,

P 4

Popery,
Popery, &c. and then would command all Ministers on pain of silencing to subscribe that no man is bound to perform that Vow, this would not do them any service, but involve each Subscriber in the guilt of a multitudes perfidiousness.

SECT. XIII.

V. The Fifth Part of Conformity.

The Fifth Part of Conformity is the subscribing of the said Declaration, and taking the Oxford Oath, as it concerneth Civil Government, viz. [It is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking Arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him.] in pursuance of that Commission.

2. Here the Question is not of the first Clause, of taking Arms against the King; but only of the last [against those that are commissioned by him] the Ministers being mostly ignorant of Law, and not knowing what is called a Commission, and what seal maketh it such: For as they are satisfied that no true Legal Commission of the King may be resisted, so while the unexpounded words have no limitation or exception, they dare not think that a Lord Chancellor or Keeper hath power at his pleasure to depose the King, by sealing Commissions to any to seize on his Forts, Garrisons, Magazines, Treasure, Navies or Guards; nor yet to destroy the Kingdoms,
doms, Cities, Laws and Judgments, and seize at pleasure on all mens estates or lives. And they dare not swear or subscribe that which the generality of Learned men. Heathens, Papists and Protestants, Politicians, Lawyers, and Divines are commonly against, it being too great presuming on their own wits to say or swear, that almost all the world are in the wrong (even men in their own profession) and that yet they are wiser than all these. An Oath therefore being to be taken understandingly, their not understanding this, causeth their refusal; and it pleaseth not the Law-givers to explain it to them.

3. But though this be a very important business, we are so unwilling to meddle with matters of our Rulers Power, as being less pertinent to our function, and the late debates in the House of Lords (as some body hath published them) have said so much in this case, that we think it best to say no more of it.

SECT. XIV.

VI. The Sixth Part of Conformity or Obedience consequently required of Ministers.

1. The Sixth part of Obedience required of us consequently is, that till we can do all aforesaid, We must desert our former flocks, though they desire us to continue our care of them, and that we give over our preaching the Gospel of salvation to any but our families, or four more; and that no man not ordained by Diocesans administer the Lords Supper, &c.]

2. The
2. The question is not whether we should give up the Temples and Tythes, and all public Maintenance when ever it is required of us: Though St. Ambrose would not obey the Emperor Valentinian, in giving up one Temple which he could spare, to the Arians; yet the Nonconformists are of another judgment, and think them all in the Magistrates power: But it is the Office, Relation and Work, that they dare not renounce or cease from, without a better discharge.

3. Yet they judge, that where truly there is no necessity of their labours, or they should do more hurt than good by Preaching, it is their duty, when forbidden, to forbear: But not because any will say, we are Judges, and it is so, when notoriously it is not so.

4. But this requireth a larger disquisition than we may here stay to make.

SECT. XV.

VII. The Seventh Part of required Obedience.

1. The Seventh Part of the Obedience required of us, is that we come not within five miles of any City or Corporation which sendeth Burgesses to Parliament, or to any other place whatsoever, where we have ever preached since the Act of Oblivion, except on the Rode or summoned.

2. Many Ministers have their friends, houses, and all that they have, in those forbidden places.

3. The greatest places being most populous have
have most need of Preachers, many souls being more precious than few, and the publick Teachers that have many thousands, needing more help than they that have but little charges.

4. Few Ministers are rich enough to be able to sell their houses and goods at loss (when perhaps none will take them,) and to take houses in other Countries.

5. A great part of the Land is feared so near Corporations, that it is hard to find a place that is above five miles off them; And some Ministers have Preached about in so many places, that it is hard to find a place within their reach, above five miles from the places which they have preached in: And in such places, it is rare to find empty houses, and Landlords that will let them on terms which they are capable of: So hard to them is this confinement.

6. They think that men can no more disoblige them from preaching to many in Cities and Corporations, than to four or five in Villages; seeing the Churches of old were planted most in Cities, and Christ faith not, [for sake all the souls in Cities if they bid you,] but [When you are persecuted in one City fly to another.]

7. Though we live not to eat, we must eat to live; and when Ministers that have nothing, are like to beg or famish among strangers in poor Villages, and bigger places do more call for help, and will allow them bread, they think it no sin to eat bread any more than to give bread to others that are in want.

8. The former Laws send them when they are in beggary, to be kept by the Parishes where they last lived; and this Law forbids them to come within five miles of them.
The Adjuncts and other Matters agreed on, which affright the Nonconformists.

I. AS there are some sins far greater, and more terrible to conscience than others, so aggravating Adjuncts oft make them such: And these here seem very frightful. We are not now charging any others with sin, nor proving the unlawfulness of what we fear, but expressing the Matter of Fact agreed on, which doth affright us.

I. Both sides agree, that it is a great aggravation of sin to be done by a Minister of Christ, a person consecrated to holy work, to preach truth and holiness, and serve at the Altar: For our Doctrine will be the less regarded, and men will be tempted to follow our bad example, who are bound to be to them patterns of purity and obedience to God: And Christian and Protestant Religion is most injured by Ministers' sins.

II. It is agreed that our Ministerial sins, which we do as if they were part of our Office in the publick Assemblies, have a special aggravation differing from mens secret personal crimes.

III. It is agreed that Lying and Perjury are sins of so heinous a nature, as that they tend to overthrow humane trust and converse, and all Societies, and deprive Princes of part of the security due to them for their lives and Crowns; And that in a Preacher of the Gospel they are intolerable, tending to tempt the hearers to believe nothing that we say.
IV. It is agreed that by assertion to absolve thousands of persons known or unknown, and justify them, if they should prove guilty of such a crime, and so to draw on our selves the guilt of many thousand perjuries, would be a sin of as heinous a nature as most we can imagine.

V. It is agreed by Protestants, that all Oaths, Covenants and Laws, must be understood according to the plain and usual sense of the words, unless our Rulers otherwise expound them, and tell us that they mean somewhat else.

VI. It is agreed that though Judges must determine of the fence of Laws, so far as to decide the cases that are brought to them; yet none can make an universal obligatory exposition of a Law, to bind the subjects conscience in understanding it but the Sovereign and Lawgivers themselves: Else a Judge might become a Legislator and frustrate the Kings Laws by his expositions. If Judgements be the expouters and preservers of Common unwritten Laws which are Customs, it is because it is the Law-makers or Sovereigns will that it shall be so.

VII. It is agreed by all Protestants that stretching the words of Laws, Oaths and Promises to meanings quite differing from the Common use of the words, without the direction of the Law-makers to so do, and taking such Oaths or Covenants with equivocations and mental reservations on pretence of Charitable interpretation, for our own ends and interests, is more suitable to Atheists than sincere Christians, and would overthrow humane trust, and the end of Laws and Princes safety, as well as other sorts of perjury. For instance, if one take the subscribed Decla-
Declarations that [Its unlawful on any pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King and so on] and will thus equivocate, as they say some do; viz. [It is unlawful] that is, against the Law of the Land but not against Gods Law; [To take Arms against the King] that is, as King; but faith Suarez, and such others, when he is excommuni cate by the Pope he is no King; [On any pretence] that is, say they, [unjust pretence] [by his authority against his person, and Souldiers] that is, say the equivocaters, [Its well said that we may not do it by his Authority, but we may do it by the Law of nature and so by Gods Authority whose Law that is; [against any Commissioned by him] that is, say they, lawfully commissioned, and we are judges when his Commissions are unlawful: So [We will not endeavour any alteration of Government in Church or State] that is, say they, 1. Not of Monarchy, or the King, but we may yet disturb any of his Officers: 2. Not of the Essentials of Episcopacy; but we may seek to take down their wealth and Lordships, and reduce them from Dioccfans to Parochial or Corporation Bishops: 3. Not by unlawful means; but we take not that to be unlawful which they do. What good will Oaths or Covenants taken with such Latitude or Equivocation do? Do they secure any of the ends of Governments? Rulers should abhor such Equivocations and stretching Latitudes as these.

VIII. It is agreed on both sides, that if we might go on this supposition, that our Rulers can require nothing that is unjust or impious, or against the Law or Common good, or their own interest, and therefore that no exposition is to be put on their Laws
Laws or Impositions which is of any such importance, by this rule any Oath or Covenant or promise in the world which Governours shall impose upon us, may be taken: For we must put a good sense upon them all: And the sense is the Oath or Covenant.

IX. It is commonly agreed that a man may not deliberately tell one lie to save his life, or his Ministerial liberty: And that if any one only of all the things imposed on us be a sin, it is the duty of all the Ministers of England rather to suffer any thing, or to dye than to Commit it. And that if it be one mans duty to be silent in such a case, it would be the duty of all the Ministers in the Land, if the things be sin.

X. And all are agreed that to silence all the Ministers of the Nation, is a thing that God hath not given any man authority to do, because of the necessity of their Ministry; and consequently not to silence any necessary Ministry at all.

XI. It is agreed that Satan would fain corrupt States and Churches with the most heinous sins, to expose them to Gods judgements and the enemies scorn: And that common Perjury or Perfidiousnes is one of those greatest sins: And that as the Belief of the Truth is the beginning of Christianity, so Satan is a Lyer and the father of Lies: And he that thinketh that Satan is endeav'ring to stigmatize Persons, Churches or Kingdomes with his brand of PER should the more carefully avoid the receiving of that mark.

XII. It is agreed that God hath within these fourteen years exercised very grievous Calamities on Cities and Corporations, by such a Plague (on London and many Corporations) and such fires on London, Southwark, and many Corpora-
porations) and such increase of Poverty, (though
we have more liberty at Sea and Land for trade,
than almost any Nation neer us) as that the like
hath not been known in our forefathers daies:
And that if this should be the Voice of Christ, as
a reproof of our perfidiousness, and perjuries,
saying (except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish)
it would leave the impenitent without all just
excuse.

XIII. It is agreed by us all, that God will not
hold him guiltlesse who taketh his name in vain;
especially by perjury or false Vows or Covenants;
And that for Oaths (broken) the Land may
mourn: And that he is the grand enemy of
Church or Kingdomes, who would by such sin
bring them under the judgments of God: And,
as Achan, bring in an accursed thing.

XIV. None can deny that it is better to cherish
honesty and conscience, especially about Oaths and
Covenants which secure Converse and the lives
of Princes, than to teach men to stretch Conscience
in such matters; and to make every seared Con-
science capable of the holy Ministry, preference
and honour; and a fear of such sin, to be the way
to silence and ruine.

XV. we agree that when Jesuites and other
Papistes have contracted the shame of equivocation
and perfidiousness, Protestants should not partake
with them, and take the shame on their religion,

XVI. It is agreed that when the Scots Coven-
nant is so greatly decryed, and the violation
of the Oaths of Allegiance and other Oaths and
Covenants was found necessary to the killing
of the King, and other late confusions and
iniquities, we should not after such warning
either
either involve men in unnecessary Oaths & Covenants, nor harden such men against Repentance; by doing any such thing our selves, much less by commanding it.

XVII. We are agreed that to commit a sin by passion or sudden surprize, is not so wicked as to do it on deliberation: Nor is the doing it only so bad, as undertaking to justifie it, and encourage others to do the like.

XVIII. We are agreed that God is jealous about holy things, and that wilful corrupting his Church, worship or discipline, to the disgrace of religion and encouragement of wickedness is a heinous sin: Especially to Approve such things.

XIX. We are agreed that to make a deliberate Covenant that I will sin against God, and to subscribe and declare this, is a heinous aggravation of the sin: e. g. When the high places were kept up in Judea if any had Covenanted to keep them up, and purposed to transgress, the wilfulness had been the greatness and dangerous signification of such sinning.

XX. We are agreed that Repentance is God's condition of forgiveness; and that for a man to resolve and Covenant to sin and to profess it openly to all the Church, and that oft times, and so to renounce Repentance, is—alas—

XXI. Most sober Christians are agreed that Christians should be united upon the terms which Christ himself hath made in the baptismal Covenant, and in their obedience to his Laws; and that Papall Usurpations and imposing of things unnecessary as necessary to Union, Communion or Ministration, hath been the great cause of Schisms through the Christian world.
for about 1000 years at least: And that they who will still obey such dividing Imposers, do continue Schisms in the world by encouraging the causes of them.

XXII. We are on both sides agreed, that it were heinous hypocrisy, and profaneness, if we should make our sacred Ministerial work the pretended reason for our sinning, and should swear, declare or subscribe that which we take to be false, and do that which we take to be sin, that we may have leave to preach against sin in others; and so offer God a Sacrifice of iniquity, and put a beam into our own eye that we may have leave to Preach against the mote that is in our brothers eye.

XXIII. We are afraid of making Separatists and Arminians, and tempting men to avoid us, as scandalous men.

XXIV. We are afraid left by such willful sin, we should by a carnal interest, to defend what we have once done, be tempted to impenitence, and to persecute the just.

XXV. We are agreed that they that will run into willful heinous sin, as they deserve to be forlorn of God, so they cannot expect such a blessing on their Ministry, as Conscionable upright men may do.

XXVI. It is agreed that the ancient Christian Pastors Preached against the will of Princes for 300 years; and after that against the will of Christian Princes (Constantius, Valens, Theodosius Junior, Valentinian, &c.) And not only Apollines said, that God was to be obeyed rather than men, but such as Timothy who was ordained by man, were charged before God and the Lord Jesus
Jesus Christ who will judge the living and dead at his appearing and Kingdom, to preach the Gospel and be instant, in season; &c.

XXVII. We are agreed that the Children of Christians, when they grow up, know no more of God, of Heaven, of Christ, without teaching, than the Children of Heathens do: And therefore that the opening and applying the Gospel is needful in England as well as in America.

XXVIII. It is so far from saving unbelievers or ungodly persons, that they are the Children of Christians, and in the visible Church, that it maketh their case more miserable; if not worse than that of Sodom and Gomorrah.

XXIX. As of old every single Church had usually many Presbyters and Deacons with the Bishop, so it is undeniable that many of our Parishes have work enough for many Ministers, and only want of maintenance is pretended for our present paucity (with the want of worthy men.)

XXX. It is granted us, that to alienate consecrated persons from the holy Ministry causeth more Sacrilege than to alienate consecrated Lands, Goods or Temples, which are but means to the use of the said Ministry. We are not here accusing our silenceds of this heinous Sacrilege: Their Righteous Judge and ours, will quickly pass the final sentence: But we dare not, we will not sacrilegiously silence and alienate our selves, left we forsake our Lord, and betray mens souls, and be doomed as the slothful servant that hid his talent, Mat. 25. and bring down more plagues upon the Land: We fear when we read 1 Thes. 15, 16. the signs that wrath was come to the utmost on the Jews; even their forbidding men to preach.
preach the Gospel of salvation, lest we should contribute to such a dreadful defection of this Land.

**SECT. XVII.**

*The Case of the Ministers since they were silenced, and their Practice (with the People.)*

We humbly crave of those narrow Seers, who venture to censure the generality, for somewhat which they dislike in some persons that are neareft to themselves, that they would truly understand the case and practice of their Brethren, before they any further in Sermons and Writings provoke the Magistrate to execute the Laws upon them, as Schismaticks, Seditious, or what accusation is readiest at hand.

I. That the elder sort of the Nonconformifts are ordained by Bifhops, and most of the reit by such Pastors of Churches, of Cities, Corporations and other Parifhes associate, as the times then allowed; and that in this Ordination (be the Ceremonious part right or wrong) they are all by Consent or Covenant devoted to the sacred Ministry, and that not for a time, as hirelings, but for life: this is denied by none that we know of.

II. It is known to all Faithful Ministers and others, who converse with the common sort of men, that a great part of the people of England are ignorant of the very Essentials of Christianity, and a great part dull and worldly, neglecters of all seriouf religiousnesf; and a great part sensual, drowned in filthy fleshly sins: Beside the ignorance, weakness, and unwarrantable opinions.
opinions and passions of many that are more seriously religious than the rest. And that it is a hard work to cure one ignorant, erroneous, vicious soul: And each one is precious, and not to be left in sin as desperate; considering the everlasting consequents.

III. It is certain that most great Parishes, especially in Cities and great Towns, have more souls which call for Ministerial help, than Conformists and Nonconformists, if they lovingly joined, are able well to afford necessary help to.

IV. The Ministers that dwell in Cities or Corporations, when they were cast out, did quietly surrender Temples and Tythes: But many of their people claimed the continuance of their Relation and Ministry; and many professed that they could not trust their souls to the Pastoral guidance and care of many of those who were placed in the Temples in their stead; and charged the neglect of their souls on such as refused.

V. The Bills of Mortality shew us that the 97 Parishes within the walls of London are not the seventh part of the whole, including all the outer Parishes: And of the 97 there were very few Churches left unburned; and there are but few that are yet built up; and instead of many, there are small Tabernacles, and instead of others nothing: And the outer Parishes are mostly so great, as that the Temples will hold but a small part of the people: It is conjectured by the Inhabitants, that in Martins Parish are about three-score thousand souls, and in Stepney and Giles's Cripplegate, each about fifty thousand, and in Giles's in the Fields between 20000 and 30000, and in Clements Danes, Margarets Westminster.
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Andrews Holborn, Sepulchers, and the Churches in Southwark, at Aldgate, White-Chappel, Shoreditch, and divers others, there are in some six times the number that can hear in the Temples, in some more, and in others not much less. And in most Churches the Preachers' voice will not extend to above two thousand, if more can come in. So that take one with another, and it is conjectured that it is not above the seventh or eight part of the Inhabitants that can come to hear in the outer Parishes: And if the other six or seven parts should seek for room in the emptier Churches of other Parishes within the walls, it cannot be supposed that above one part of these six or seven would find room: So that all set together, there is supposed to be place but for about the fifth, or fourth part at most, of all the people within and without the walls: And London is to be denominated rather from three, four or five parts, than from One of these: And we all agree, that the famous and happiest City for Religion in the world should not be left to turn Infidels, Pagans, Atheists, or to be kept from all publick Worship of God. And it must be considered that the great Parishes where one of twenty cannot hear, are far off from the Churches that have room; and that such persons cannot easily know beforehand what Churches have room, and where to seek it: And that those that have most need, have least desire, and when they cannot be taught near home, will rather stay at home, or in the streets, or Ale-houses, than go far to seek room in the Alleys of other Churches. And it's known that by this means Papists have got opportunity of seducing.
cing multitudes, and many get them to baptize their children. And whereas it is said that some may go one day, and some another; it is answered, 1. That if they did go half the families by turns, still the greater part would be shut out. 2. It is all, that are bound by God constantly to hear and worship him. 3. And those that most value it will still crowd in, and keep out the rest, and will not bargain away their own duties and benefits for other men's sakes: Nor can Parishes come to agree upon such a bargain.

VI. Experience assurseth us that men are not usually brought to knowledge, repentance, faith and holiness, by the Gospel ex opere operato, or as by a charm; but as an apt moral cause; And that the Preaching of judicious, convincing, serious, affectionate Ministers hath incomparably more success, than the affected language, or dull reading speeches of injudicious novices or worldly formalists or hypocrites: God usually worketh according to the moral aptitude of the means (though not always.)

VII. It cannot be denied but that the number of raw cold, dry, yea and scandalous Ministers, in many Counties of this Kingdom is too great: And the more ignorant and bad the people are, the abler Ministers, and more diligent do they need: And those people who feel what profiteth their Souls, will not take up with cold, uneffectual teaching, if they can have better.

VIII. He that hath no Preacher but a Reader in his parish, is by the Church Laws forbidden to refuse his Ministry, and all such are forbidden frequent going to other parishes, communicating in them; what want soever they have at home.
IX. The Nonconformists that do but affirm any thing in the Liturgy, Ceremonies, Articles, Government, &c. to be unlawful, and such as they may not subscribe to, are by the Church Laws excommunicate ipso facto: And all that dare not take the Sacrament kneeling, are to be denied the Communion of the Church; And all that dare not submit their Children to be baptized by the foredescribed undertaking of Godfathers, and to receive the Cross as a dedicating badge of Christianity, must not have their Children Christened; And all that dare not commit their souls to the Pastoral Guidance of ignorant readers, or other men whom they think by their unskilfulness, unsoundness, averseness to a holy life, strangers to intimate cases of conscience, or notorious negligence and sloth, or non-residence, to be unmeet for them to trust themselves to, in so great a matter, in which their salvation is so much concerned, and so dare not take the Sacrament from such as their Pastors, all these are forbidden Communion with any other Parish Churches by the Canon, and all Ministers forbidden to receive them. And if they dare not say that they are willing to be confirmed (in the English mode) they must nowhere be admitted to communion: And being excommunicate, must not be buried according to the Church-Office when they are dead; so that they are cast out of the Church, before they Congregate in other Assemblies.

X. In this case the Nonconformists are not agreed what to do: One part and the far greatest say, 1. We will forbear affirming the unlawfulness of any of the foresaid impositions, till we are called to speak out: And because the case of
these times calls us often to it, we will do it as privately and modestly as we can: 2. And though we are excommunicated ipso facto, yet we are not bound our selves to execute their sentence; but may stay in Communion till they prove the fact and do the execution on us themselves by refuting us: And this we take to be the most peaceable way: But others say, That though in some cases for peace this way may be taken, yet ordinarily we are not bound to seek and expect Communion with that Church which hath already thus excommunicated us; especially when all the Ministry subscribe and declare their Conformity to the Church orders, and swear Canonical obedience to the Ordinaries, and are themselves to be suspended if they give us the Communion: We must not, say they, strive against their Laws, nor seek that Ministers should be perjured, false to their promises and professions to admit us to Communion against their Laws: Nor can any Church that first excommunicate us, call us Schismatics for not communicating with them, unless they prove that we give them just cause to excommunicate us. Here it is supposed that the Reader understandeth that [to be excommunicated ipso facto,] is sine sententia, without any need of a Judges sentence, to be actually excommunicate upon our fact done, so that the bare proof and notice of the fact is enough to warrant the execution (Though a Judge may also pass a sentence if he see cause,) vid. Calv. Lexic. Jurid. And others commonly. There are some others that go further, and think it unlawful to have Communion with the Parish Churches, because they thus excommunicate us first, without more cause,
cause, and because they take the Pastors to be scandalous by the foresaid Oaths, Declarations and subscriptions, and those that have not the peoples consent, to be no true Pastors. But these are herein disowned by the most; and very few Ministers are of their mind that we know of, though many of the people much incline to it; especially they that live where the Priests are ignorant, scandalous, fleshful, or malignant; because Paul faith, [With such, no not to eat. ] But others tell them that 1. It is not the Parish-Ministers that make the excommunicating Laws: 2. And if they sin themselves, it is ignorantly: 3. And we have not a call and opportunity to hear and judge them.

XI. Even those called Independents hold (if Mr. Ph. Nyes Manuscript to that end may tell us their minds) that it is lawful to hear the publick Parish Ministers, because the Magistrate may set Teachers over the People, and require them to hear them: Though they hold that the People should choose their Pastors, and that the Sacraments should be administered and received freely, and not by force. Yea such Anabaptists as Mr. Tomes (as is visible in his Book) hold that Communion with the Parish-Church is lawful, in the Word Prayer, and Lords Supper.

XII. We commonly hold that men unjustly excommunicated, are not thereby disobliged from publick worshiping of God, and living under Pastoral oversight and Church discipline, nor are bound to endanger their own salvation by neglecting such duties, and losing such helps and privileges; and therefore must be of such Churches as they can, if they cannot be of such as they would;
would, or as are allowed by the Magistrate.

XIII. It is not in the power of our selves to escape such excommunications: For we are not able to change our own understandings, so far as to hold every thing before named, to be lawful: Some of us are able to say that we have with a willingness to see the truth, studied the case of the old Conformity above forty years, and the case of the New-conformity now above seventeen years, and read almost all that hath been written for them, which we thought might add to our information, and prayed earnestly that God would not suffer us to err; and the longer we study it, the more we are confirmed: In this case we suffer publick and private obloquy and reproach, and not only these seventeen years the loss of all Ministerial Maintenance, but the danger of 40 l. a Sermon, and imprisonment in common Gaols, and the ruine of our estates and health: And in reason its as easie to think that they that hold their opinion on such terms, are like to be as impartial in their studies, as they whose way leadeth to preferment, wealth and honour; of which we were capable of a part: We say therefore again, that to Conform, or prevent the Canons Excommunication ipso facto, is not in our power. And they that say, God will not condemn men for that which they were not able to avoid or help, should not do otherwise themselves.

XIV. When the 1800 or 2000 Ministers were silenced, the far greatest part of them forbore all publick Preaching, and only taught some few in private at such hours as hindered not the publick Assemblies, and many of them lived as private men.

XV To
XV. To this day it is so with many of the Nonconformists: Those that live where they find small need of their Preaching, or else have no call or opportunity, and cannot remove their dwellings, do hold no Assemblies, but as other men content themselves to be Auditors. Those that live where are godly and peaceable Ministers in Publick, who yet need help, do lead the people constantly to the Parish-Churches, and teach them themselves at other hours, and help them from house to house: This is ordinary in the Countries, and even in London, with many Ministers that hold no Assemblies; yea many that were ejected out of City Parish-Churches.

XVI. Those called Independents do keep up such Churches as they had gathered before; when none of our present oaths, declarations, subscriptions or practices were imposed on them; which is not therefore to be taken as new.

XVII. As to the rest, it was the great and terrible Plague in 1665, which made this change in their Assembling and Ministration. When the publick Ministers forsook the City, and the rich left the poor to misery and death, and people lookt every day for their last; when they that heard a Sermon one day, were buried the next; when death had awakened the people to Repentance, and a regard of their everlasting state, divers Nonconformable Ministers resolved to stay with them; They begg'd money out of the Countries for the poor, and relieved them: They got into the empty Pulpits, and preached to them: And when Preachers and Hearers lookt every day for their last, it is easie to conceive that there was serious Preaching, and serious Hearing: By this many-
many that died were helpt in their preparations; and through God's great mercies, multitudes that survived, rejoiced and became the serious seekers of a better world. The men that did this were mostly unmarried, and could easier venture their own lives, than such as had families; and some of them that had families, yet trusted God, and most did escape. We know but of one (pious German Minister that died of the Plague in the City (and one of another Disease, if not through want) and two that fled from it in the Country.) And when God had blest these men's faithful labours with the conversion of many souls (especially Apprentices and young people.) the experience so engaged their mutual affections, that the Ministers resolved that they would live and die in such service as God had so blessed and preserved them in; and their hearers resolved that they would not forsake their Teachers: And thus the dreadful Plague began that which so much now offendeth men, as a dangerous Schism.

XVIII. And when some men out of excessive caution, were ready to think that when that Plague was ceased (having killed about an hundred thousand) the Ministers should lay by that publick work, and retire again into secret corners, God confounded them, by his next dreadful judgement, burning down the City the next year, 1666: So that there were neither Churches to go to, nor Ministers in the Parishes to Preach, nor rich men to maintain them: And could any soul that hated not Christ and men's salvation, have wished the Nonconformists then to desert the miserable people. When they newly came from
from under the terror of such a dreadful Plague; and when success and God's protection had so greatly encouraged them, and when presently they were deprived of their worldly treasure, and had not houses, or goods, or mony, but thousands utterly ruined in the world, and crept into holes and lived in poverty, when it was a wonder that they dyed not by hundreds of famine, and when such a sight as London in its ruins was before mens eyes, (which he that saw sure can never forget,) If then men, because that the Bishops or Parliament forbade them, should have refused to Preach the Gospel of Christ, and to teach men to lay up a treasure in Heaven, and to comfort such a ruined City, what excuse would such unfaithfull servants have had at the bar of their great Judge?  

XIX. These two great and notorious necessities succeeding in those two dreadful years 1665; 1666, calling the Nonconformable Ministers out of their retirements, and latent and silent state, resolved them to serve God more diligently and openly than they had done, whatever it cost them: And many Country Ministers were awaked to the like by the examples of those in London: Though yet a great number who are in places of less need, or not called out as aforesaid, still lie much silent.  

XX. WHILE THE DREADFUL FIRE WAS WASTING LONDON and OTHER CORPORATIONS, THE PARLIAMENT and BISHOPS WERE AT OXFORD MAKING AN OATH TO DRIVE ALL NONCONFORM MISTS ABOVE FIVE MILES FROM ALL CITIES and CORPORATIONS that send Bur-
geffes to Parliament, and all other places where ever they had Preached since the act of oblivion. So that, had they obeyed the Laws, London had been deserted in the Plague and in the ruines, and few people suffered puplickly to worship God: At the mention of which the heart of the writer of this trembling; especially to think how much further the Bishops went in this then the Synod of Ithacies and Ithacies went, from which Martin separated to the death by Gods marvellous instruction.

XXI. The Plague, Fire, Poverty, which have seized not only on London, but on many other Corporations of England, more than other places, and more than hath been known in our forefathers days, make many with that the Corporation-Oath and Declaration might be reviewed and that Gods Judgments as a Trumpet sounding REPENT O ENGLAND were heard by all the Corporations of the Land, before we hear that time is past: And that it might be considered whether either an Unlawful Imposing, or an Unlawful taking, or the neighbourhood of any Unlawful particulars, can warrant any man to declare that neither he nor any other person, is obliged by that Vow, to Repent of his sin, or to oppose prophaneness, Popery or Schism, or any thing contrary to sound Doctrine and Godliness. And to enquire in what Country or age of the world, Christian, Mahometan, or Heathen, there was ever such a Law before. It was that age of the Church in which Hell ruled most on earth, even in the Wars between Pope Gregory 7th. and the Emperour, when the Pope swore them on one side, and the Emperour on the other; and
men swore, and unswore, as the powers that they were under bid them; which made Abbas Urspergensis, Chron. p. 32. say [Ut omnis homo jam sit perjurus & prædictis facinoribus implicatus, ut vix excusari possit quin sic in his, sicur populus sic & Sacerdos. And that pleasant man (who knoweth his own name) who merrily derideth his adversaries, for gathering a doubt of our fundamentals from our differences, may more feelingly know one day that God will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain: And may consider that it was no more precise a man than Cotta in Cicero (de Nat. Deor. 1. 1.) that would prove men did not believe that there was a God; because they durst be perjured; instancing in perjured and ungodly Carbo: It was not a sign of Schismatics, but of very charitable moderate men, that could hear and regard such a perjured Ministry, as Urspergensis faith was then in the Roman Church, especially in Germany, where the temptation lay.

XXII. A little after the Plague and Fire, some Nonconformable Ministers about London, met, to consider whether our actuall forbearance to joyn with the Parish Churches in the Sacrament, might not tend to deceive men and make them believe that we were for separation from them; and took their Communion to be unlawful: And upon the Reasons given in, they agreed that such Communion was lawful and meet, when it would not do more harm than good: But because at that time a storm was coming on men, from the Act against Conventicles, and their judgment was against ruining those that in this were not of their minds (on the reasons aforesaid) and being credibly
credibly informed that their communicating at such an unseasonable time would not only per-

suade men that force compelled them, but also draw them to ruine others that durst not imitate
them, they resolved to delay for a fitter oppor-
tunity, because God will have mercy and not sa-
crifice; and our Liberty is not alwaies our Duty, nor must be used to other mens destruction. Thus violence crosseth the Authors ends.

XXIII. Shortly after, when such thoughts re-
turned, and many thought it meet to joyn in the publick Assemblies, the Oxford Oath and Act of Confinement was put in execution, and drove them all away: For the reasons aforesaid had sa-
tisfied them not to deffer the souls in all Cities, Corporations and places where they had Preached; and so they were fain to hide them-
selves to avoid six months imprisonment in the common Gaols (whither some of us were sent;) so that if they had come to the Parish-
Churches, to Common-prayer or Sacraments, they had exposed themselves to multitudes of witnefles, and so to certain imprisonment: Ex-
cept in some odd corners of the Country where they were strangers (about five miles from Cor-
porations or acquaintance) where their example would have wrought little on any in the Cities, or that had known them: So that the Oxford Act most effectually forbad them coming to Church, or holding Communion with any Parish-
Churches within five miles of any such City, Corporation or Village where they had Preach-
ed since the Act of Oblivion: This they could not avoid.

XXIV. Yet many Ministers were afraid of in-
troducing unwarrantable separations, by avoiding the severities of the Law and Bishops; and many that did retire to Country-Villages five miles distant, as confined, did there constantly join with the Parish-Churches in Liturgy and Sacrament: But this being far from Cities, and not in the sight of the people that were most disaffected to the Prelates and Liturgy, did little with them; and so they were disabled by the Bishops or Rulers to do what they desired against other mens extremes.

XXV. Before this, many Ministers had offered thankfully to accept the Liberty of Preaching in the Parish-Churches where the Liturgy is used, and being present at it: And some to this day that live in the Country, where they can get so much favour, preach in the Parish-Churches, and join in the Liturgy, and draw others to it, and go from place to place thus to avoid being taken.

XXVI. Many, seeing how we were thus driven not only from Preaching, but such Parish-Communion, were tempted to hard thoughts of such affairs, as if it came from the Papists, who would have equalled, and mass'd us up with themselves.

XXVII. Shortly after this, the Kings Clemency law cause to make an alteration, and to give us his gracious indulgence by his Licenses for places and persons: Upon this, Ministers boldly set up Chappels under the Parish-Churches; and in all the time of this their Liberty, when there were witnesses enough, if they had offended, we remember not that any were ever convict of any word of seditious or unsound doctrine, or any unpeaceable attempts. But while they had this leave to Preach themselves, they thought best to
take it at the same convenient hours that the Parish Churches meet at: Other times being so inconvenient, as that families cannot observe them without hurt. And they could not Preach, and hear in the Parish Churches at once.

XXVIII. All this while, though they had the Kings authority for their Assemblies, some Clergy men ceased not to accuse them of Schism, shewing that it is the want of something else rather than the Kings authority on which they ground their accusation.

XXIX. Some Nonconformists have these 17 years forborn to baptize or administer the Lords Supper, or to be Pastors of any Churches, but only Preached occasionally where the Parishes were so great, that one of ten or twenty had no room in the Church; and where some of many years had heard no publick worship of God: And they have published to the people that they assembled them not to separate from the Parish Churches or their worship, but for their meer necessity, persuading none to come to hear them, but such as cannot come into the Parish Churches to hear: Yet are they accused for drawing men from the Church.

XXX. These Ministers in these places have been prosecuted more severely than the rest, by imprisonments, fines and guards against their meetings; which induced others to Preach in the City where there seemed less need, because they found quietness no where else, and because some out of the remoter needy Parishes might come thither to them.

XXXI. Though they have lost all Ministerial maintenance, and are lyable to pay 20 l. the first Sermon, and 40 l. the rest, and 20 l. for the ground
for all that they Preach, besides six months imprisonment in the common gaols, and poverty disableth City and Country to maintain them; and some with Wives and Children have long lived on little besides brown Rye Bread and Water; and others, that can live of their own, expend all in the charges of the places and adjuncts where they Preach for nothing; and some never took any pay, from the first these 17 years, but patiently serve God and wait their strength under men's obloquy and reproach; yet are there not wanting persons of the Clergy, who represent their greatest and dearest services as their greatest sins, and accuse them as enemies of the Churches peace, and the leaders of Schism, and in pulpit and print provoke authority to execute the Laws more severely on them; Though the execution hath cost some excellent men their lives already, and they may know that no execution short of death or utter disablement will make the most conscionable forfake their duty, and sacrilegiously desert the Office to which they were dedicated and ordained: (As the late case of the Hungarian Ministers declareth :) And such courses never ended in the honour of those of the Clergy that procured them: Yea some as going to the bar of God, have undertaken to prove, that it is through pride and covetousness that we conform not. And because some Churches called Independent withdraw not their maintenance from their Pastors, and some few others have maintenance of their own, or friends that will not see them want, they would make strangers believe that the common sort of Nonconformists, whose families live in sufferings and
and wins, are gainer's by their Nonconformity.

Though themselves that have the most and richest on their side, would be loth to take up with such maintenance, and often Preach, how sad a case the Church would be in, if Ministers were left to the people's charity: While they live in fulness thus they envy their poor brethren, who that they may finish their course, would be glad of leave to labour for nothing, and live on alms, taking God's favour for their reward.

XXXII. And to compleat all, some blush not to accuse them, as the bringers in of Popery, by desiring Liberty; as if Preaching the Gospel did not do more to keep out Popery, than the ignorance of untaught people: As if our earnest requests eighteen years ago, that we might not be mass'd up with the Papists, nor a door opened to them by our divisions and sufferings, were all forgotten: As if the Nonconformists were nearer Popery than they that would have the Pope to be Principium Unitatis to the Universal Church: As if their Printed Morning Lectures against Popery, and many other Writings, did not sufficiently shew their distance from it: As if the Papists desired the Liberty, rather than the silencing of the Nonconformists, or desired any thing more than that so many hundred adherents to Popery, and all the Protestants of England who adhere to them, might be cast out, and brought as low as themselves, and put into the same condition, that they might stand or fall together. Nay, what is on such necessity they should accept of favour from any Papists that would save them? If one Party would bring men to such a pass that they must be hanged, imprisoned, ruined,
ruined, or worse, unless the favour of the Papists deliver them; and the other Party had rather be saved by Papists than be hanged or ruined by Protestants, which of these were more to be suspected of Popery? especially if the same men that give us this Alarm that Popery is coming in, undertook the sole teaching of those by whom they suspect its entrance, and yet would not abate a needless Oath, or covenant or ceremony to keep it out, or strengthen the Protestants by the Union, for which we have so long patiently begged and waited.

XXXIII. The most of our acquaintance take it for their duty to do their best to keep up the reputation of the publick Conformable Ministry, that it may further Love and Concord, and the success of their labours with the people; and they profess to take their own Assemblies but as Chapels, and not as distinct, much less as separated Churches: And those of them who do minister the Sacraments, and do that which is like the Separatists way, yet do it not on their principles, but pro tempore, till God shall give them opportunity to serve him in the established way (if ever it may be hoped for:) it being reformed or well ordered Parish-Churches under the Government and countenance of the Christian Magistrates, which are most agreeable to their desires.

XXXIV. When we go into the Parish-Churches, we find those that have able godly Ministers usually to be as full as will consist with the people, hearing the voice (which in many places will not reach to a great part of the Congregation:) we find such Preachers, whether Conformable, or
Nonconformable, everywhere almost crowded after; which shews that it is not meer faction that moveth the hearers; and that worthy men have no cause of discouragement: And if none of either side be valued much above their worth (for the bare Office sake) we cannot help it; nor would it be helped if there were no Nonconformists: Some of us well rememb'ring the time (1632, till 1640.) when we were troubled or threatened also for going out of our own Parishes to hear worthy, able men that were very con-
formable.

XXXV. It is very ordinary with Gentlemen and others that are zealous for the present Church-State in London, to go from their own Parishes, though the Canon be against it: so that it is not, sure, the breach of the Canon that they stick at.

XXXVI. We shall never dissuade men from making the strictest Laws to punish any Non-
conformist that shall be proved guilty of Sedi-
tion, Disloyalty, Drunkennes, Fornication, Swear-
ing, and any other immorality: but we know of none of them that was silenced, ejected, or pu-
nished on any such account: Nay, if they Preach against their Church Government, Liturgy, or Ceremonies, we must expect that they should be restrained. Our earnest desire is, that the Ma-
gistrate would keep up Peace and Order in the Church, that Popish Clergy men may not think that it belongeth to them alone to do it.

XXXVII. Whereas there is a sort of ignorant or ill meaning men, that still say [we know not what the Nonconformists would have, and why will they not tell us what would satisfy them,] While

we
we offer to beg on our knees for leave to do it; we humbly intreat them to weary men awake no more with that canting. 1. As long as the Kings Declaration about Ecclesiastical affairs is visible. 2. And as long as our Reply and our Reformed additions to the Liturgy, and our Petition for Peace which respected the old Conformity remain unanswered by those to whom in 1660 we did present them: 3. And till we are once called or allowed to speak for our selves against the new conformity; a favour which the justice of old Romane Heathens, yea and splenetick Jews did grant to all that were accused before they punished them, but since Popery prevailed in the world, is become a thing among them not to be expected. 4. And as long as men know that Bishop Wilkins and Dr. Burton appointed by the Lord Keeper Bridgman to treat with some of us of the terms of Union, (laying it was His Majesties Pleasure,) did come to a full agreement with us in terminis, which was drawn up into the form of an Act by no worse a man than that PILLAR OF JUSTICE the excellent Judge Hale, and the Parliament presently Voted that no such Act should be brought in and offered.

Dear Brethren, God is the father of Lights and with him is no darkness: Men may be mocked, but God is not mocked: If the day that will bring works of darkness to light, and finally clear the Innocent, be not the object of certain faith and hope, let our cause be bad, and let us as fools be judged such as have forsaken our best hopes: But that it is otherwise we believe, and therefore appeal to a righteous God from an unrighteous world.
XXXVIII. What harm our Preaching the doctrine of salvation can do to the Bishops or people of the Land (while they may punish us for any word that we speak amiss:) And why we should not rather speak openly (where men may bear witness of our errors,) than in secret (where men are tempted to too much boldness:) And what but a spirit of envy, or a carnal interest crost to the interest of Christ and men's salvation, should grudge at such Preaching, while we are responsible for all that we say or do amiss, we cannot tell.

XXXIX. Nor can we tell, if our not swearing, or not entering into the Bishops National Covenant, be as great a crime as our penalties import, why no other mulct or penalty will serve turn to expiate such crimes; but our ceasing to preach the Gospel of Salvation, while we are willing to do it under the strictest Laws of Peace and Order.

XL. It is visible that the Parish-Churches of those Ministers (ceteris paribus) are fullest of Auditors, who are most willing that the Nonconformists help them in due time and place, and desire to live with them in Love and Concord: For all that have the spirit of holy love and peace, do love those that have the same spirit: And such serious, holy Conformists as Bolton, Whately, Fenner, Preston, Sibbs, Stoughton, Gouge, and such other, were formerly as much crowded after as Nonconformists: But it is those that Preach against holy Love and Concord, and wrangle with the most Religious sort whom they should encourage, whose Congregations are thickest (usually) through the tepidity of their followers, and the distaste of others.

XLI. When we read in the Council of Calced. the
the Egyptian Bishops crying so long miseremini, miseremini, lying prostrate on the earth, even when they could say, Non dissentimus, and begging of their fellow Bishops for their lives and consciences, and their Brethren crying against all [Away with them, They are Hereticks] while they professed the same Faith; while the men that with such outcries were condemning those of their own confession, had newly cried, Ownes peccavimus, for condemning ElAvianus, and the Truth, and saying, that they did it for fear, and owned that Eutychianism, which yet these Egyptian Bishops now disowned, it mindeth us that even Bishops had need to be remembred, that while the wheel is turning, the upper side should not tempt men to forget what side will be uppermost shortly and for ever.

Additions: more particularly of National Churches.

§ 1. Here are some worthy persons who plead more specially for National Churches as of Divine Institution, whose Doctrine calls us to a special consideration of it. But though some of us have oft desired it, we have not hitherto obtained any satisfaction what they mean by A National Church, or any true definition which they agree in: Some of them deride us for doubting and asking the question, and some answer it to the increase of our doubt.

§ 2. It must be presupposed that we speak not of a meer Community that hath no Pastors, but strictly of a Society called by some Political, by others
others Organized, constituted of Pastors and People mutually related; which is the ordinary sense of the word [Church.] And we must premise what being commonly agreed on, is none of our doubt or question.

§ 3. The question is not whether any, or all Nations and Kingdoms should be Christians, and so be the Kingdoms of Christ: That's past doubt.

2. Nor is it whether in such Kingdoms the King be the Head, as to the power of the sword; that is, a Christian Civil Governour of a Christian People that are his Subjects. We daily pray that the Kingdoms of the world may all be Christian; and we believe that their Kings are the Governours by the sword, of all the Clergy, as well as others.

3. Nor is the question whether Kings may call all their Kingdoms into a holy Covenant with God (by lawful means) giving them an example first themselves.

4. Nor do we contend about an Equivocal Name, whether a Christian Kingdom, as such, may be called a National Church.

5. No nor whether a Christian Nation, governed by a Heathen or Mahometan King, may be called a Christian Church or Kingdom; or a Protestant Nation ruled by a Papist King, is to be called a Protestant Kingdom or Church; for this is but about bare names.

6. Nor do we question whether a Christian King may make such accidental disparity between the Pastors, as we have before described.

7. Nor yet whether the Pastors of one Kingdom may associate and hold Synods for Unity and Counsel, and be named a National Church, as they are such Associations, obliged to Concord.

§ 4. But our doubts are these; i. Whether
be in it specially instituted by God, that every Kingdom or Nation of Christians shall have [One summan Potestatem essentialiter Ecclesiasticam, or one Priest-Head, (whether a single person, or an Aristocracy, or a Common Synod) as a constitutive part of the National Church. 2. Whether this Priest-Head (whether High Priest, or Council,) stand in subordination to the King, as part of the same formal Church, as a General, or a Viceroy, that maketh not a distinct Kingdom, (though he may make a distinct subordinate Society as an Army, City, &c.) or is he Head of a coordinate different species, so as that the same Kingdom shall be two Policies formally, viz. a Christian Kingdom or Royal Church, and a Priestly Church; each being supream in their proper species, and both made coordinate by Christ; and so they are formally two Churches National. About the Jews the Controversie is made by Dissenters (e.g. Galaspie, Colman, Selden, &c.) exceeding difficult. 3. Whether the very Jewish Church-Policy be established by Christ for the Christian Church, or be repealed? 4 Whether the said Ecclesiastical Head must be One as the High Priest, or an Aristocracy of many, or a Synod of the whole Clergy? or whether it be left indiff erent which? 5. Or whether God hath ordained such a National Church-form, only by the general Command of doing all things in Order and Unity and to Edification? 6 Which is the Priestly-Head, or highest Governor of the Church of England, which is a constitutive part, as a King in a Kingdom? 7. Who is it that chooseth or authorizeth the National Priestly Head, that we may know when we have a lawful Chief Pastor, and
and when an Usurper? 8. Whether the King or he, is to be obeyed in Circumstances, or matters Ecclesiastical, if they differ, and make contrary Laws? Without the solution of these questions, the name of a National Church will not be understood, nor of any practical importance. Our own thoughts of them are as followeth.

§ 5. It is certain, that the Mosaical Law made for the Jews peculiar republick, as such, is abrogated; not only the Ceremonial part, but all: All that was not then made for all the world, is ceased; 1. Because the Common-wealth is ceased for which it was made: 2. The Holy Ghost expressly and frequently determineth it so; even of that Law that was written in stone, as such, 2 Cor. 3.7, 8, 9, 10. 11. Heb. 7. 12. 19. Gal. 4. 21, &c. 3. 24. The natural part, and that which was instituted positively long before for perpetuity, were both of them God's Laws before Moses's time, and as such, obliged other Nations, and so do still: The matter written in stone (except some few mutable particulars, as the seventh day Sabbath, &c.) is such as we are still obliged to, 1. By Nature, 2. By Christ: But not as it was part of the Jews peculiar Mosaical Law. Much less doth it bind all the world to its Policy.

§ 6. If the Jewish Law, either as such, or as established by Christ for his Kingdom, did bind all the world to this day, then it would bind them to their Civil Policy, as much at least as to their Ecclesiastical. But few Christians think that it binds them to their Civil Policy. For if it did, then, 1. All Nations that have varied from it to this day, have sinned: 2. No diversity of Govern-
Governments could be lawful: 3. Then it would perplex men, to be sure, whether it be the old Mosaical form by Judges, or the later Regal form that bindeth: 4. Then such a Civil Council or Sanhedrim as was appointed the Jews, would be a Divine Establishment and not variable at the will of Kings or People. Many other things would follow, which Kings would not easily believe.

§ 7. There may be much more said for the continuance of the Jews civil Policy than for their Ecclesiastical: For there is much more forbidden of the latter, than of the former; Though all nations be not bound to their civil policie, they may set it up if they please; They are not prohibited: For Christ hath not made new Laws for civil states as such; But he hath made new Church Laws, and thereby altered, yea prohibited much of the old.

§ 8. We know no more reason why the Jewish form should bind us, than that which was before the Jews: and particularly Melchezedeks, who was a King and Priest: God owned both and commandeth us neither, at least as in conformity to them.

§ 9. The Holy Ghost faith expressly Heb. 7. 11. 12. That perfection was not by the Levitical Priesthood, and that the Priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change of the Law, which is called, the Law of a carnal Commandment, verse 16. and that there is a dissolving of the Commandement going before for the weakness and unprofitableness of it; for the Law made nothing perfect, v.18,19. the Covenant or Law being not faultless a new one doth succeed it v. 7.8.9.10. The first Tabernacle is not standing which had their ordi-
ordinances of divine service and a worldly sanctuary: Heb. 9 1. 8. 11. He taketh away the first Law and Priesthood, that he may establish the second, Heb. 10. 8. 9. 11. 16. 17, &c.

§ 10. While it is agreed on, that the essentials of the work or office of the Jewish Priests is ceased, (as Heb. 7. and 8, 9, and 10 shew,) and their Title by birth, and the appropriation to one Tribe, &c. it followeth that the Jewish Priesthood is ceased. But yet we confess, that Christ, if he had pleased, might have setled a High Priest and Council like theirs in every nation for his own work. But if the old form bind us not, we are left only to enquire what new one is setled by Christ, and whether he have done so or not.

§ 11. We justly maintain against the Anabaptists, that Infants relation to the Covenant, and the universal Church (as members) was not repealed by Christ, because it was not founded only on the Law of Moses: which if it had, it were as such repealed.

§ 12. The Holy Ghost by the Apostles Acts 15. hath declared to all the Churches of the Gentiles that they are not bound to keep the Law of Moses, and hath absolved us from all, saving things antecedently, and on other reasons necessary. verse. 28.

§ 13. If the Jews form of Government be ours, then the High-Priest must have the power of the Sword, or sit in judgment for life or death, as Dent. 17. 12, 13. and other places shew: But many Papists and Protestants are agreed that the clergy have no power of the Sword, or force, unless the King make them also Magistrates.

§ 14. It is a matter of so great importance to the
the Church to know whom we must obey, that it is not to be thought that any way is made necessary by Christ, which he hath not made intelligible and certain to be indeed his will: Especially when the Apostles strove who should be the chief, and two of them made it their request; and when the Corinthians and others were ready to set up one before another, and say I am of Cephas, &c.

§ 15. Yea Christ on this occasion expressly forbade them to seek to be one above another, and told them that though Kings exercise authority, and have magnifying Titles, with them it should not be so, but their preeminence should consist as that of a servant, in humility and service unto others Luk. 22. which will not stand (as we suppose) with establishing the Jewish order.

§ 16. And Pauls reproof of their making a Church head of Cephas, Paul, or Apollo, or taking them to be other than helps of their faith, (and not Lords of it) and Ministers by whom they believed, even then when Schisms made it necessary to have known to whom they must appeal and adhere, if that had been the way, doth further confirm what we say.

§ 17. The argument that some worthy persons bring, from the Prophecies that Nations should be converted unto Christ; and that the Kingdom should be taken from the Jews, and given to a Nation that would bring forth the fruits of it Matth. 21. 43. and that the Kingdomes of the world are made the Kingdoms of Christ, and that Egypt and Assyria should be converted and equalled with the Jews, &c. do ineeed shew that there should be Christian Kings and Kingdoms; which
which the Apostles were sent to endeavour, 

\[\text{Matt. 28.19. to convert Nations : But here is nothing, that we can perceive, to prove that these Christian Nations must have the Jewish Church Policy.}\]

§ 18. Nay contrary, the Church is said to be built on the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, \(\text{Eph.2.20. and not of the Mosaical Policy of Priesthood, \text{Rev.21.14. It hath twelve foundations.}\)

§ 19. It is said, \(\text{Zech. 2.11. Many Nations shall be joyned to the Lord, and shall be my people. So Zech. 8.22. Isa.65.1. Rom. 10.20. Isa.2.2. & 55.5. Hos.2.23. Isa.66.3. & 49.22. But not a word in all this, of the old form of Policy or Priesthood, but Contrarily, that the Law should come out of Zion, and a new Covenant should be made: And it is certain that so large a history as we have of Christ's performances, is a far clearer light than obscure Prophecies; and darker texts must be explained by the plainer, and not contrarily.}\)

§ 20. We see not how the Synod \(\text{Act.15. maketh any thing for a National High Priest or Sanedrim, or any like Policy: For 1. It appear-}\)

\(\text{eth to be no act of proper National Government, but did bind other Churches as well as those within the Empire. 2. It was an arbitration at the request of doubting persons; and it was not the Relation of the Arbitrators to one seat of National Power (as the Metropolis) that was respected, but the quality of the persons sent to, who would have been equally obeyed had they dwelt in the least Village of another Land. 1. There were the Apostles that had the promise of}\)
of the Holy Ghost: 2. There were many whom the people must needs more confide in than in one; especially whose power was questioned by gain-slayers. 3. Both Apostles, Elders and Brethren there were such as had seen, or were near to Christ and his works, and therefore likeliest to know his mind. 4. They were Jews themselves, and therefore most impartial Judges in the point that Jewish Teachers troubled them about, so far as that they might well acquiesce when Jews themselves resolved them. And when the Apostles were dispersed, we find not any more Jerusalem-Councils Governing the Imperial Churches.

§ 21. If that Councils Authority were properly National, and arose from the prerogative of Jerusalem, then 1. All the Apostles, when scattered, would have been subject to James, the first Bishop of Jerusalem, (thought to be no Apostle:) 2. Then Jerusalem might have after claimed the Supremacy as of Divine right, before Alexandria, Antioch or Rome. But it is certain by experience that the whole Church was of another mind, when Jerusalem had not so much as the fifth or lowest Patriarchate, till long after by another grant. But if the Power was not fixed to the place, but the Itinerant Apostles, then it is nothing to prove any Governing Church over others, as being affixed to such a place: Nor shall we easily find the Apostles Itinerant Successours in that power.

§ 22. II. It is certain that Christ chose twelve Apostles (besides Paul) who had a preeminence before other Ministers; and that he joyned with them some Prophets and Evangelists, appointing them all to gather Churches through the world, discipling
discipling and baptizing Nations, and teaching them all things that he commanded (a work to be still done, and to which he promised his presence to the end of the world:) And that these having gathered Converts, set over them fixed Bishops (or Pastors or Elders) to be their constant Guides, in Teaching, Publick Worship, and Discipline, under Christ the great Prophet, Priest and King of the Church. And that to the Apostles first, and by them to others, he gave them the Keys (that is, the Judging Power of reception, and rejection, and the Official Power of pronouncing God's reception or rejection of them according to his Word.)

§ 23. There is not the least evidence that these Apostles did affix a Superior Power over the other Churches to any particular seats, Patriarchal or Metropolitan, much less National; or that any of them exercised Government over the rest; or that they themselves did fix themselves as Bishops to any twelve or thirteen Cities in the world; much less to twelve Kingdoms.

§ 24. There is no notice in Church-history of any one National Church-power (Priest or Synod) settled, asserted or exercised under Heaven, of above three hundred years. Egypt and Assyria that were prophesied to be Christian Nations, never were distinct Christian Kingdoms, but parts of the Empire; nor had a National Church or Head (being but parts of such a Church:) Nay, when Rome got the National Primacy, it had not such a Priestly Governing Soveraignty as the Jews High-Priest had.

§ 25. Though there was no Christian King for three
three hundred years (unless he of Edessa, or Lucius of England, of whom we have little certainty; but it's like that both were subjects to others) yet if a Supream Church-Power had been necessary, the Apostles would have before erected it; which they never did: For even Rome pretendeth to be by them made the Ruler of the whole world, and not a meer National Head (which Constantinople claimed, but not as of Apostolical institution.)

§ 27. The question whether the Jews, had they believed, should have continued their High-Priest and Church-Policy, is vain as to our purpose; 1. It being certain to Christ that they would be dissolved by unbelief: And 2. he having settled another way, and changed theirs: 3. And if their Priesthood and Law (except as it typified spiritual things) had stood, yet it would not have bound the Gentile Christians in other Nations.

§ 28. When Emperours became Christians, they did not set up the Jewish Policy, nor thought themselves bound to it; no nor any settled Priestly Supremacy for National Government: For Councils were called but on rare accidents by the Emperours themselves, and to decide particular cases about Heresies: And the Pope had but the first voice in such Councils.

§ 29. But if every Nation must have the Jewish Policy, then the whole Empire must then have one High Priest, and then the Pope hath a fair pretence to his claim of a Divine Institution, as the Church Soveraign of the whole Empire, which, it's like, was then seven parts in eight of the whole Christian world at least, (unless Abas-
fa were then generally Christians, as now.) But then his power would change with the Empire, and fall when it falleth.

§ 30. III. But if the question be only whether a National Priestly Soveraignty be lawful? or whether God's general Rules (for Concord, Order, Edification) do bind the Churches prudentially to erect such a form? To this they sayas followeth.

1. We will first lay hold on certainties, and not prefer uncertainties before them. We are sure that such a power of Apostles and Pastors as is before mentioned, was established; and that the junior Pastors were as Sons to the seniors, ordained by them: Whether the power of Ordaining and Governing Ministers was by Apostolical Establishment appropriated to men of a superior degree in the sacred Ministry, seemeth to us very dark. 2. We are past doubt that all particular Churches, by Apostolical order, had Bishops; and that a Church was, as Hierom faith, Plebs Episcopo adunata, and as Ignatius, the Unity of every Church was notified by this, that to every Church there was one Altar and one Bishop (at that time) and as Cyprian, Ubi Episcopus, ibi Ecclesia. 3. And we are satisfied, that every Presbyter is Episcopus Gregis, whoever claim to be Episcopi Episcoporum (which the Carthage Council in Cyprian renounced.) 4. And we are satisfied that no Church-superiors have authority to destroy the particular Church-form, Ministry, Doctrine, Worship or Discipline, which were setled by the Holy Ghost in the Apostles; And that the privileges and duties of these single particular Churches, being plainest and surest in Scripture, they must be continued whatever Canons or
Commands of any superior Priests should be against them. 5. Nor can they force any man to sin: 6. Nor have any Priests a forcing power, by the sword or violence, but only the power of the Word and Keys, that is, of taking in, or putting out of the Church; where they have power, and binding men over, on just cause, to the judgment of God. The power that they have is from Christ, and for him, and not against him; and for the Churches edification, and not destruction; and what is pretended contrary to this, is none. They cannot dispense with the Laws of God, but preach and execute them. 7. And these things being thus secured, though in our doubts we dare not swear or subscribe that National, Patriarchal, Provincial, or Metropolitical Powers are of God's institution; yet we resolve to live in all Christian peaceableness and submission, when such are over us.

§ 31. And we must profess that when we find how anciently and commonly one Presbyter in each Church was peculiarly called the Bishop, without whom there was no (ordinary) ordinations, and against whom in matters of his power none was to resist, and also how generally the Churches in the Roman Empire conformed themselves to an imitation of the civil power (as to their limits) in all the official part (being all subject to the Emperour, who set up no Ecclesiastical Peer,) we are not so singular or void of reverence to those Churches, as not by such notices to be much the more inclined to the aforesaid submission and peaceableness under such a power; nor are we so bold or rash as to reproach it or condemn the Churches and excellent
excellent persons that have practised it.

§ 32. Nay we have already said, that securing the state, worship, doctrine and true discipline of the inferior particular (Parish) Churches, there are some of us that much incline to think that Archbishops, that is, Bishops that have some oversight of many Churches with their Pastors, are lawful successors of the Apostles in the ordinary part of their work. And such of us have long ago said, that the Episcopal Government of the Bohemian Waldenses described by Commenius and Lascitius, is most agreeable to our judgment of any that we know exercised: Therefore that which we humbly offered for our concord in England at His Majesties Restauration, was Archbishop Ufbers form of the Primitive Church Government, not attempting any diminution of the Power, wealth or honour of the Diocesanes or Archbishops, but only a restauration of the Presbyters to their proper Office-work, and some tolerable discipline to the particular Parish Churches.

§ 33. But we must ever much difference, so much of Church order and Government as God himself hath instituted, and is purely divine and unchangeable, from those accidentals which men ordain though according to Gods general Rules: For these are often various and mutable, and are means to the former, and never to be used against them. And of these accidentals of Government we say as they that say no such form is fixed by God. Concord, order & decency and edification are always necessary, But oft times it may be indifferent whether concord, order and decency be expressed by this accidental way or that. And
that which is most congruous for order, decency, edification and concord in one Countrey, Church or time, may be incongruous in another. Therefore if the question be but how far the giving one Bishop or Pastor power over others, or making disparity of Cities in conformity to the state, be prudently to be chosen; we only say, so that Gods establishment be not violated, whatever we might think best, we presume not herein to give Laws to the Lawgivers, nor to obtrude our Counsel uncalled, on our superiours, much less seditiously to oppose their Lawful institutions.

§ 34. But to those that think that Gods fore-said General Laws (of order, concord, edification) do make such a policy ordinarily necessary in the Churches, as imitateth the Jews, or the civil form of Government, we humbly offer to their consideration; 1. If so, then it would have been the matter of an Universal Law, (with its due exceptions;) And then Christ the only Universal Lawgiver would have made it: For if he have not made all necessary Universal Laws, his Laws are imperfect; And then there should be some other Universal Lawgiver to supply that defect: But there is no other upon earth (whether Pope or Council.) 2. It is contrary to the nature of undetermined circumstances to be alwaies the same, and so to be fit matter of such Universal or fixed Laws: The cases will vary, and then so will the duty; 3. There will be great diversity of the interest, and ingeny of the Judges of the case in several Countries and ages: And therefore though some think the said imitation of the civil state alwaies best, yet others will not.

§ 35. But if such a settlement were certainly best,
best, let it be remembred, 1. That the Jews had not under the chief High-Priest, one in every City or Tribe like Diocesan Bishops. 2. That their Synagogues had discipline within themselves; ever where there was but a Village of ten persons, there was a Presbyter that had the power of judging offenders.

§ 36. What man doth prudently set up, man may prudently alter as there is cause. Greg. Nazianzen earnestly wisheth that there were no difference of Place or seats among the Pastors of the Church. And therefore he neither thought their Government of each other to be of Divine right, nor of prudential necessity or use: Else he would have been against it. And the whole Greek Church did, and still doth take the seats of pre-eminence to be but of man's appointment, or else they would never have changed them, and set Constantiople so high as they did: And the Council of Calcedon expressly determineth, that Rome was by the fathers made the chief seat because it was the seat of the Emperour; which was mutable.

§ 37. The Councils in those daies were about Popes or Patriarchs, and could depose them: And yet it is most evident to any man considerately reading such history, that all the Councils, called before Christian Emperours gave them more power and conjoyned their authority, did meet only for acts of Agreement and not of Regiment over each other: Many such synods are mentioned by Eusebius: And the Right Reverend Arch-bishop Uther declared his judgment so in general that Councils had but an agreeing power, and not a Regent power over the particular Bishops. Yet
Yet these two things must be supposed, 1. That the Pastors in a synod are still Rectors of their flocks, and their Canons to them may be more authoritative than a single Pastor's words: 2. That God's Law bindeth us to keep love and concord, and the Agreements of Councils may determine of the matter in alterable points; and so even absent and present Bishops may, 
concordia gratia, be obliged by God's Law to keep such canons as are made for concord, and so they may be the matter of our duty. But seeing the Church for 300 years, judged Councils to have no proper Governing power over particular Pastors; and Bishops, or Patriarchs singly had ever less power than Councils, it followeth that then a Churches Government of disparity and supræordinate Bishops like the civil, or like the Jews, was not then taken to be of divine right, nor then of any right at all.

§ 38. And as to the doubt [whether it began after 300 years to be a prudential duty or at least most desirable] when we hear what is said on both sides we think it not easy to judge, either how much in such a case Christ hath left to humane prudence, nor which way the scales of prudence herein will ordinarily turn. On one side it is said 1. That it is absurd that there should be no appeals for injured persons to a superiour power; 2. And that the dissensions of the Church else will be remediless, and all will be broken into heresies and sects; 3. And that Apostolical men of a higher rank than meer Presbyterers will else have no convenient opportunity to excercise their Governing power, if it be not tyed to fixed seats.

§ 39.
§ 39. On the other side they plead; 1. That it is safer for the Church to have Religion in the power of many Bishops or Pastors, than that one High Priest or Patriarch should have power to corrupt it, or silence the faithful preachers, or persecute the people when ever he proveth a bad man: Yea they say it must be rare if he be not bad, seeing it is certain that the most proud and worldly men (which are the worst) will be the most earnest seekers of rich and honourable places; and he that seeketh will usually find, 2. They say Christ directly forbad this to his Apostles Luk.22. That which they strove for was it that he forbad them: But that which they strove for was who should be the chief or greatest (and not who should tyrannize) 3. They say that all Church history assureth us that there have been more Schisms and scandalous contentions about the great superiour Bishopricks far, than any of the rest: It is a doleful thing to read the history of the Churches of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Rome: Gregory Nazianzen giveth it as the reason, why the contention at Cesarea was so lamentable, because it was so high an Archbishoprick. The whole Christian world hath been scandalized, torn and distracted by the strife of Bishops of and for the highest seats. Their famous General Councils which we justly honour for their function and that which they did well, were shamefully mili-
tant: even the first and most honoured Council at Nice, was with great difficulty kept in Peace by the personal presence, wisdom and authority of Constantine, preaching peace to the preachers of peace, burning their libels of mutual accusa-
tion,
tion, & silencing their contentious wranglings and confreining them to accord. Nazianzens descrip-
tions of the ignorance and insolence, and naughti-
ness of the Clergy, Orat. 1. and of the shameful
state of the Bishops, Orat. 32. must make the
readers heart to grieve. The people he descri-
beth as contentious at Constantinople yet as ended
with the Love of God, though their zeal wanted
knowledge, pag. 528. But ( the Courtiers, as whe-
ther true to the Emperors he knew not, but for
the greatest part persidious to God: And the Bishops
as sitting on adverse thrones, and feeding adverse
opposite flocks, drawn by them into factions, like the
clefs that Earthquakes make, and the pestilent dis-
eeases that infect all about, and distracting and di-
viding all the world, separating the East from the
West, by the noise, of mens et ruus, antiquus et novus;
nobilior aut ignobilior; multitudine opulentior aut
tenue; raging like furious horses in battel, and like
madmen casting durt into the air, and under their
heads fulfilling their own contentions and becoming
the determiners of wicked ambition and magnificence,
and unrighteousness and absurd judges of mat-
ters: The same men ( faith he ) are to day of the
same throne ( or fide ) and judgement, as we are,
if so our leaders and chief men carry them: To mor-
row if the wind do but turn, they are for the con-
trary seat, and judgement. Names ( or votes ) follow
hatred or friendship: And which is most grievous,
we blush not to say contrary things to the very same
bearers; nor are we constant to our selves, being
changed up and down by contention; you would say
we are tossed like the waving Euripus: Therefore
he professeth it unseemly for him to joyn with
them as he would not leave his studies and peace,
to go play with the Lads in the streets, pag. 524.

The like he hath in his Poems de vita sua, pag. 24, 25, 26, 27. Oi vide pedesici, &c.

"Etenim Magistri plebis atque antistes,
Sanélát datóres spiritus, & qui thronis
Fundunt ab altis verba quos patitur saíus,
Cunctis pacem jugiter qui predicant,
In ade media vocibus claríssimis,
Tanto surióre se petunt sibi invicem
Tumultando, contrahendo copias,
Carpendo se le mútuo linguá efferrá,
Saliendo, mentis ut solent sana impotes
Prædando quos quis ante prædari quærat
Rabida imperandi dam tenet mente sitiis;
(Quinam ista verbis, & quibus digne eloquar?)
Oræm univerfam prorsus ut divulgerint,
Orumq; jam & Hesperum scindit magis
Ardens simulatas, quam loci vel climata;
Namq; illa si non finis, & media unius
At hos ligare vinculum nullum pores:
Non caufa, Pictas, (bis hoc excogitat
Ad mentiendum prona, sed Lis ob Thronos:

[* Some say that Gregory himself forsook the place; but it was when he saw that they would put him out: Some say that it was not the same Council that put him in, but it is an error. When Melecrus was dead, more Bishops came from Egypt and turned the stream. And they named many to succeed him, to the Emperour; out of whom he chose an unbaptized Layman Nectarius Niceph. /. 12. c. 15. so that the Emperour then chose the Bishop in that manner.]

Are not these doleful Narratives and Characters of those Primitive Bishops (even in those happy
happy days of good Theodosius? But all this is yet little to what the same man faith of Bishops in his last Oration de Episcopis, Vol. 2. too sharp and large to recite. Perhaps it will be said, that it was the Macedonian or Arrian Bishops that he meant: So one Papist was not ashamed to answer me, when the whole scope of his writing speaketh the contrary, that he speak of the Council at Constantinople, and other such, and expressly faith in his Epist. 59. to Sophronium, pag. 816. si eos inveneritis non ob fidei doctrinam, sed ob privatas simulatae inter se distractos & divulsos, quod quidem ipse observavi. But some will say that he was wrongfully cast out by that Council of Constantinople, and he speaketh but of that, or that injury made him satirical by exasperation. But 1. The places cited shew that he speakeoth not of that Council only: And Epist. 55. Procopio pag. 814. he faith ( refusing to come to a Council ) ego si vera scribere oportet hoc animo sum, ut Ommem Episcoporum Conventum fugiam: quoniam nullius concilii finem latum & faustum vidi, nec quod depulsionem malorum potius quam accessionem & incrementum habuerit: pertinacis enim contentiones & donsand cupiditates ( ne me quaso gravem & molestem existimes hac scribentem ) ne ullis quidem verbis explicari queant, citiusque aliquis improbitatem arcissetur, dum aliis judicem se praebet, quam ut aliorum improbitatem comprimat.] And that injury made Gregory injurious is an injurious conjecture, seeing all his endeavours in these businessses were for piety and peace: And it was partly for his speaking for the Peace of the Church of Antioch, (which had long had two Bishops, Paulinus and Meletius, and Flavianus, who had taken an oath not
not to be their Bishop while either of them lived; intruded by Perjuries and the Bishops wills that this Council turned against Gregory; (and because they chose him not.) And for peace he quit his place; and many and earnest Epistles he wrote after to the Civil Magistrates, to keep the Bishops in peace at the next Councils, lest Religion should be quite shamed and weakened by them. And was not the contention at the two Councils of Ephesus more stigmatized by Historians than this that Gregory so lamenteth? when they seemed rather to fight, than peaceably to seek for Truth; in the latter of which Flavianus received his deaths hurt, and the history of the better of them between Cyril, and Nestorius, and John. Antiochenus, is sad to read.

The very controversy with its consequence was lamentable when one Council of Bishops at Constantinople had cast out excellent Gregory; another near cast out excellent Chrysostom, his free speech and strict life being not endured, and chose an old useless man Arsacius; Atticus, and Sisinus that succeeded him being dead, the people did so dislike all the clergy of Constantinople, that they would have one like Chrysostom of a Monastery by Antioch; Nestorius a man of study, retirement, a poor garb, a strict life, abhorring publick contentions, and loving quietness, but of a pious zeal against dissenters called heretics, as enemies to the Churches unity and peace; so that he presently persecuted many of them even the Novatians themselves, and stirred up the Emperour to root them all out, and by Gods just judgement received such measure as he had measured. A quarrel arose whether Saint
Mary should be called The Mother or Parent of MAN, or that Parent of GOD: Nestorius, to the end the controversy, was against both, and would have her called, The Parent of Christ who was God and Man (but not of God: ) Some Startled at this; And Cyril of Alexandria (a man of great parts, spirit and power, the head of a turbulent people, the first Bishop, faith Socrates, that assumed the Sword) wrote Letters of reproof to him; and Celestine, Bishop of Rome seconded him: yea Cyril followeth it with writing upon writing, to prove that S. Mary must be called the Parent of God; with so great a number of words, and so many Anathematisms, as made the noise and flame great, but ambiguity made it seem dangerous to many; so that it grew to a great and open controversy, whether Nestorius or Cyril was a damnable Heretick; some so calling one, and some the other; so that the Emperor Theod. 2. was fain to call a General Council at Ephesus, to prevent the utter confusion of the Churches: There Nestorius came first, and once only appeared; and being charged with the Heresie of denying Mary to be the Parent of God, he told them, that he would not say that God was two or three months old, and so departed. To Cyril's large writings, he returned a short Letter, professing, that he was for the distinction of Natures only in the Unity of Person; but at large proveth that Christ's Godhead had no beginning, that it could not suffer, or die, nor rise again; and therefore that those things which were said of the Manhood, must not be said of the Godhead, that it was begotten, dyed, &c. unless they would be Hereticks or Pagans. Read their confession brought
brought into the Council against them by Chary-\(\textit{fius}\) and their Anathemata's after; and I think you will see, that the error of Nestorius lay in his want of skill in speaking, and that one side spoke of a phrase \textit{de abstrato}, and the other of the Concrete: and if so, both meant the same thing, though Cyril was judged to use the most skillful words: Cyril denied not but that the Deity was not begotten or Crucified, but said that God was begotten and Crucified, and was passible; Nestorius denied not that he who was God in one person with the manhood, was begotten, Crucified and passible, but not the Deity. But Cyril said that the phrase \textit{[God was born; Crucified, \\&c.]} was good; yea necessary; and not (without anathemarized heresie) to be denied, because in one person the titles and actions are communicable: Nestorius said, that it was wicked to communicate the infirmities of humanity to the Deity, as to say, God did grow bigger, and was afraid, and was hungry, and needed help from Angels, and died.) For he thought this phrase applied it to the Deity: (Let any man that's impartial, judge whether this Controversie were not about words rather than matter.) Theodoret was a greater Scholar than Nestorius, and he became the Champion of his Cause, supposing that \textit{Locutio formalis est maxime propria}; and therefore that he that faith: God had a beginning, increase, death, passions, must be supposed to mean it, \textit{qua Deus,} as he is God: And so two Saints, St. Cyril and St. Theodoret, fell at large to prove each other damnable Hereticks. John, Patriarch of Antioch, being far off, was long in coming to the Synod. Memnon, Bishop of Ephesus, joyning with Cyril, before he Bishops came, begun and condemned, and deposed
deposed Nestorius as a Heretic. Nestorius let them all alone, and medled little himself, alleging that Candidianus Comes forbade him to appear. But when John of Ant. came, he took Nestorius's part, and gathered a Council with himself, and Candidianus the Emperour's Officer took his part. John's Council condemned and deposed Cyril and Memonon, as they had done Nestorius: And thus two Councils at Ephesus fate damning one another. The Emperour knew not what to do with them, but requireth each party to send some of their Bishops to him: when they came, he permitted them not long to come neerer than Calexdon, for fear of tumults: while they were there, the people of Constantinople flocked to them, and most of the people being for Nestorius, and most of the Courtiers, Clergy and Monks against him, they fell into dissention to the itoning of some about their Meetings, for Preaching to the People. Theodoret and his Associates prosecuted it against Cyril, as those that declared their resolution to die rather than yield to his Heresies (as they called them) and accused him as if he had been the most proud, unquiet troubler of the world. The other side answerably accused them of dangerous blasphemy and heresie. At last the Emperour thought it the best way for peace, to send John Comes Largitionum with power and commission to depose the Leaders that each Party had deposed, viz. Nestorius, and Cyril and Memonon: But John wrote an Epistle to the Emperour, how furious they were against each other, and how Cyril's Party would not hear the Emperour's Letters, because Nestorius was there, and how they raged and fell to fighting (a dole-
ful story.) But at last the Emperor seeing that Cyril had the stronger (and the orthodox) side; and the Court and Clergy being against Nestorius, and yet being loth to divide Job, Antioch, and the Oriental Bishops from the rest, thought it the most healing way to depose Nestorius alone, and restore Cyril and Mammern, and to charge (magna cum severitate jubeat, faith Bin. Notes) Job. Ant. to be reconciled with Cyril, and to unite; so that Job. and Theodore, and the Oriental Bishops moved with fear, and desiring peace, sent their Confession to Cyril, and Cyril said, it was the same that he meant; and so they were suddenly made all Orthodox, that had not understood it but by the Rod: But Nestorius returned to his Monastery by Antioch (Chrysostom's place) and there liv'd four years in great peace and reputation; but then he was no longer to be there endured, but banished into foreign Countries, driven about in sufferings, in which he died. And Theodore, it seems, was not well reconciled, when hearing of the death of Cyril, he wrote to Job. Antioch. that now there was hope the Churches might have peace, the great enemy of all peace being gone to the place where such men cease to trouble, &c. But so great was the rupture thus made, that to this day it is not healed, great part of the East adhering then to Nestorius, and those Country-Christs being called Nestorian Hereticks and out of the Church by the Papiits to disgrace them, because they will not own their Pope Nestorius being thus condemned, Eutyches thought he would be far enough from his Heresie, and said, that the Union of Christ's two Natures made them to be but one. This Heresie one
Council at Constant, under Flavian, condemned. Another after by the countenance of the Emperor acquit him: The Emperor Theod. 2. commandeth a General Council again at Ephesus, and maketh Dioscorus President; who being Cyril's Successor, though he had held to his Doctrine against Nestorius, for the Unitive Predication; and though he professed that the Synod medled not de fide, but about matter of Justice between Flavian and Eutyches, yet countenanced by the Emperor, he domineered, and by threatening got all the General Council save the Popes Legates to subscribe against Flavian, and he was beaten, and died of the hurt, faith Bin. Notes, In hoc tam horrendo Episcoporum suffragio sola Navicula Petri incolumis emergens, salvatur. The whole Council went against the Pope, and the right: But sure Christ's United Natures are in several senses both two and one; but two in the primary and most proper sense.

Thus you see what unhappiness even this National Government of Bishops in those good times was lyable to. It was by Bishops striving who should be chief that the Donatists set up against the Catholicks, and the very Novatians were not free; much less the Appolinarians, and most others that caused the Schisms of those times, in which the Bishops were almost ever the chief cause. Even such worthy men as Theophilus, Alex. and Epiphanius could not endure Chrysostom; such men ejected him once and again, as Theodoret faith he purposely forbear eth to name for reverence of their virtues. And if you come to the fourth Great General Council at Calcedon you will find the same cause of lamentation.
RATION, and that even worthy men in such temptations are frail, when a new Emperor Martian was on the other side, (the right;) when DIOSTCORUS had professed that he was neither for transmutation, division, nor confusion of Christ's natures (and therefore was for distinction;) when the Egyptian Bishops professed their content with the Synod, only craving that they might not be put to Anathematize DIOSTCORUS till they had another Patriarch, but so long to delay; when they professed that if they did, they were sure to be killed when they came home, and falling on the Earth cried to their brethren Miseremini Miseremini spare us or kill us here; yet they cry out hereticks, hereticks, away with them, till the civil Judges rescued them: and how many of these had but lately subscribed against Flavianus at Ephesus, (& here were in one point for Leo, and in another against him?) Leo's Epistle which was for their cause against DIOSTCORUS they cried up; and condemned DIOSTCORUS for excommunicating the Pope; but the Canon for exalting Constantinople, they maintained against Leo's will, and contemptuously cried out Qui aliter sentiunt Romam ambulent; he that readeth the clamours at this Council, and how the same Bishops that had lately subscribed the condemnation of Flavianus with DIOSTCORUS were zealous here on the other side, and cried out omnes peccavimus, excusing it by their fear of threatnings and Souldiers, when a poor Christian woman could have suffered Martyrdom rather than sin; And he that readeth how after all this they were so ready to Anathematize others, and to condemn the prostrate Egyptian Bishops, will think
tffiat be feeth the first Council of Constant inople as described by Nazianzen here exemplifid, notwithstanding the honour that is due to them for their orthodoxy. You see in this much how the great Bishops at the first five General Councils (Nic. i. Const. i. Eph. 1. & 2. And Calced.) did carry it. But when they were asunder were they setled, & did they keep the Churches in concord by these Councils? Let us but, for one instance, consider what followed this excellent Council of Calcedon; 1. Leo the Bishop of Rome approved it against Dioscorus, but abhorred the 28th Canon, which set up Constantinople with equal privileges, and that above Alexandria and Antioch: So that the Pope rested not in this Council. 2. What sedition there was at Alexandria upon the change made by this Council all the daies of Martin, and of the murder of Proterius presently after, Liberatus in Breviario, and many other tell at large. 3. In Palestine the Monks that had been at the Council, returned lamenting that the faith was there betrayed, and stir'd up their fraternity to rescind the acts: They expelled Juvenal Bishop of Jerusalem; The Empress Endocia took their part: They killed Severianus Bishop of Scythopolis: They compelled men to communicate with them: They murdered Athanasius a Deacon at Jerusalem for contradicting them, and gave his flesh to dogs; They compelled Dorotheus the Emperours Lieutenant to joyn with them, till after 20 months, Juvenal was restored Niceph. l. 15. c. 9. And in many Countries this contention followed; and the women Endocia and Pulcheria had no small hand in all, till Pulcheria procured Endocias Conversion to approve the Council. 3. Where
3. When Leo came to reign, the sedition revived at Alexandria between the murderers of Præterius: Timothy Elurus made Bishop by the Councils enemies, deposed by Leo, and Timothy, Salophaciolus put in his place, and all was in confusion. The Egyptian Bishops write to the Emperor against the Eutychians; The Emperor sends forth his circular letters for the Council; Niceph. l. 15. c. 17. 18. 19. 4. At Antioch, Petrus, Caphus ambitious of the Bishoprick, got into Martyrium place by Leo's help, and anathematized all that would not say that God was Crucified and Suffered, and tore that Church in pieces: Martinus, when he could do no good, forsook them, with these words [Claro rebellis et populo inobedienti & ecclesiae contaminata nuncio remitto:] Cnaphus reviled the Council: Leo for this banished him: Stephanus, a friend of the Council, succeeded him; him boyes killed with sharp quilts and cast him into the river for favouring the Council: And Calendion succeeding him, made them Anathematize the aforesaid Cnaphus. Leo being dead, dissolute Zeno reigned Basiliscus taking advantage of his lewd life, usurped the Empire, and made use of the Schisms to promote his ends: And first publisheth his circular against the Council of Zalcedon; to this faith Niceph. l. 16. c. 4. besides the three Patriarchs no less than five hundred Bishops subscribed, and renounced the Council. But Acacius of Constantin, and Dav. Columella perswaded Basiliscus quickly to write clean contrary Letters for the Council, seeing that this was like to prove the stronger side. And when Zeno was restored, who was for the Council, the Asian Bishops turned again, and wrote
wrote to Acaéus to be pardoned, saying that they subscribed to Basiliscon's first Letters, not voluntarily, but through fear Nœph. i. 16. c. 9. Then things were turned back again; till Zeno thought it the best way to write his Henoticon or a Conciliatory edict, that none should be forced to profess themselves either for or against the Council, perceiving that the Bishops would never come to agreement, either as for it or against it: But this ended not the divisions: But at Antioch Calendion was cast out. And Pet. Cnapheus got in again: And at Alexandria between Peter Moggus and John striving who should hold the place, all was in confusion. Yea the Schism reached to Rome also; for Moggus at Alexandria Anathematizing the Council, and persecuting dissenters, The Emperour seeks to reconcile them: Felix at Rome condemneth Acaéus at Constantinople, for communicating with Moggus: Acaéus condemneth Felix, blotting his name out of the Sacred Albe. Acaéus dyeth, and the Emperour found it so hard to choose a Patriarch, that should cause no sedition, that he will have God choose one; and to that end puts a blank paper on the Altar, and another requesting God that an Angel might write there the name of the Patriarch that should possess the place: The doors are lock't, and forty days fasting and prayer commanded to prevail with God: One Flavius bribeth the Key-keeper, who was the Emperours Lord Chamberlain, and he writeth, Flavius name in the Paper and sealeth up the door again, and so there was a Patriarch chosen by an Angel: but dyed suddenly within four months: But before he dyed, he joyned with Peter
Peter of Alexandria by synodal Letters to Anathematize the Council of Calcedon and yet wrote to the Bishop of Rome that he renounced Communion with Peter, and he wrote to Peter that he renounced Communion with the Bishop of Rome. Euphemius succeeded him, and he rasied Peter's name out of the Book, and joyned with the Roman Bishop. Peter and Euphemius as Generals were gathering synodical Armies against each other, and Peter dverth. Athanasius that succeeded him, would fain have reconciled his Church but could not: Palladius succeeded Peter Cnapheus at Antioch: Both these Patriarchs joyn together to curse the Council of Calcedon; They die: John succeeded at Alexandria and Flavianus at Antioch: These also joyn to curse the Council, while the Patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople are for it, and curse them. Zeno dieth, and Anastasius Dioscorus is chosen Emperour. He (faith Niceph. l. 16. c. 25.) being a man of Peace, and desiring the ceasing of all contention, left all to their liberty to think of the Council of Calcedon as they pleased: Hereupon the Bishops fell into three Parties; some fervent for every word of the Council; some cursed it; and some were for Zeno's Henoticon, or silence, or suspension: These renounced communion accordingly with one another; the East was one way; the West another; and Libya another: Nav, the Eastern Bishops among themselves; the Western among themselves, and the Lybian among themselves, renounced communion with each other (Niceph. c. 25.) Tanta confusio mentiumque Caligo (faith the Hittoriar) orbem universum incfert. The Emperour having resolved to keep peace, and make
make no change, was forced to fall upon those of both sides that were most turbulent. At Con-
stantinople he put out Euphemius (or for dislike of him.) This Emperor, before his inthroning, had given under his hand to Euphemius, a pro-
mise to stand for the Council: He demanded his writing again; Euphemius denied him, and was cast out: Macedonius succeeded him: He had the same writing: The Emperor demanded it of him: He also denied him: The Emperor would have put him out: The people rise up in sedi-
tion, and cried, It is a time of Martyrdom: Let us all stick to the Bishop: And they reviled the Emperor, calling him a Manichee, unworthy the Empire. The Emperor was fain to submit to Macedonius, who sharply rebuked him as the Churches enemy; but in time he remembred this, and cast out Macedonius, and burnt the Councils Acts, and put Timothy in his place, who presently pull'd down the Image of Macedonius: The Patriarchs also of Alex. Antioch, & Bishop of Jerusalem were all cast out, even those that were against the Council. Pet. Chnapheus had made one Xenonas a Persian servant & unbaptized, Bishop of Hierapolis: He was against Images, and brought a troop of Monks to Antioch, to force Flavianus the Bishop to curse the Council: Flavianus de-
nied it: The people stuck to the Bishop, and so unansweredly disputed down the Monks, that so great a multitude of them were slain, as that they threw their bodies into the River Orontes, to save them labour of burying of them. (Nicep. c.27.) But this was not all; another troop of Monks of Cæsaria, that were of Flavianus side, hear-
ing of the tumult, flockt to Antioch, and made ano-
another slaughter as great as the former (faith the Historian.) For this the Emperour banished Flavianus, whose followers thought his punishment too great after all these murders. Peter being dead, the Bishops of Alexandria, Egypt and Libya fell in pieces among themselves; each having their separate Conventions: The rest of the East also separated from the West, because the West would not communicate with them, unless they would curse Nestorius, Eutyches, Dioscorus, Moggus, and Acacius. And yet (faith Niceph. l. 16. c. 8.) Quis Germaniae Dioscori et Eutychetis sectatores suae, ad maximum paucitatem redacti sunt. Xenaias bringeth to Flavian the names of Theodore, Theodorite, Ibas, and others, as Nestorians, and tells him, if he anothermatize not all these, he is a Nestorian, whatever he say to the contrary: Flavian was unwilling, but his timorous fellow-Bishops persuading him, he wrote his curse against them, and sent it to the Emperour. Xenaias then went further, and required him to curse the Council: They prevailed with the Isaurian Bishops to consent, and all renounced the refusers as Nestorians: And thus the Council having (in name) condemned the Nestorians and Eutychians, the Eutychians called all Nestorians that cursed not the Council, and got many cast out. After Flavian, Severus got in at Antioch: The first day he cursed the Council (though it's said that he swore to the Emperour before that he would not) Nicep. c. 29. In Palestine there were renewed the like confusions about the condemnation of Flavian and Macedonius: About Antioch Severus Letters frightened many Bishops to curse the Council, and those
that held two Natures: Some Bishops revoked their sentence, and said they did it for fear: Some stood out: And the Isaurian Bishops, when they repented, condemned Severus himself, that drove them to subscribe: And some Bishops fled from their Churches for fear. Cosmas and Severianus sent a condemnation to Severus: The Emperor hearing of it, sent his Procurator to cast them out of their Bishopricks for presuming to condemn their Patriarchs. The Procurator found the people so resolute, that he sent word to the Emperor, that these two Bishops could not be cast out without blood-shed: The Emperor answered, that he would not have a drop of blood shed for the business. Helias Bishop of Jerusalem, found all the other Churches in such confusion, condemning one another, that he would communicate with none of them but Euphramus at Const. Nicep. c. 32. And that you may see how people then were moved, a Monk or Abbot Theodosius gathering an Assembly, loudly cried out in the Pulpit, ['If any man equal not the four Councils with the four Evangelists, let him be Anathema.' This voice of their Captain resolved them all, and they took it as a Law, that the four Councils should be [sacr is libris accensenda] and wrote to the Emperor certamen se de eis ad sanguinem nse] subiuros. (This was then the submission to Princes by the adherents to the Councils of the Bishops. And they went about to the Cities to bring them to joyn with them. The Emperor wrote to Helias to reform this: He rejecting his Letters, Souldiers were sent to compel them. The Orthodox Monks gathered by the Bishops, tumultuously cast the Emperours Souldiers out of the
the Church: (c. 34.) After another conflux they anathematized those that adhered to Severus. The Emperour provoked, sent Olympius with a band of Souldiers to conquer them. He came and cast out Helias; and put in John: The Monks gather again, and the Souldiers being gone, they cause John to engage himself to be against Severus, and stand for the Council, though unto blood; which, contrary to his word to Olympius, he did. The Emperour deposed Olympius, and sent another Captain Anastasius, who put the Bishop in prison, and commanded him to despeire the Council; consulting with another Bishop, he promised to obey him, if he would but let him out of prison two days before, that it might not seem a forced act: This being done, the Bishop contrarily to the Congregation in the pulpit, before the Captain cryeth out [If any assent to Eutyches and Nestorius (contraries) and Severus and Soterichus Caesar, let him be Anathema: If any follow not the Opinions of the four universal Synods, let him be Anathema.] The Captain thus deluded, fled from the multitude, and was glad to save himself: The Emperour being offended at this, the Bishops write to him that at Jerusalem, the fountain of Doctrine, they were not now to learn the Truth; and they would defend the Traditions, if need be, even to blood] Nicop. c. 34.

Timothy Bishop of Constantinople, took the man-pleasing way, and one while was for the Council, another while he cursed it. Being to choose an Abbat, the Abbat refused his election, unless he consented to the Council of Caledon. Timothy cursed those presently that received not the Council: His Archdeacon hearing him, reproached
reproached him that like Eusebius, roled every way: The Emperour hearing it, rebuked him, and Timotheus withdrew the charge and presently cursed everyone that received the Council. Niceph. b. 35. Yet Rome though now under another King (Theoderick an Arian Goth) had a part in the Schism: Festus a Roman Senator was sent from Theoderick to the Emperour on an Embassie: Which when he had done, he defined that Constantinople would keep holy daies for Peter and Paul as Rome did, and he prevailed: And he secretly assured the Emperour that Anastasius Bishop of Rome would receive the Henotic-con (to suspend the consent to the Cæcédon Council) and would subscribe it. But when the Embassadour came home, the Pope was dead: To make good his word, he got a party to choose Lawrence Pope, that would do it: The people (that then had the chief choice) chose Symmachus so there were two Popes: And the sedition continued three years not without slaughterers, rapings and other calamities (Niceph. b. 35.) till Theoderick an Arian more righteous than the Popes, called a synod and confirmed Symmachus: But Lawrence stirred up the people to sedition and was quite degraded. The Empe- rour favouring the addition [Qui Crucifixus est pro nobis] the people sediously cut off a Monk's head and set it up on a pole inscribing it an enemy to the Trinity: The Emperour overcome with their confusion and orthodox rebellions, called an assembly and offered to resign his Crown, desiring them to choose another; which move them with such remorse, that they desir'd him to resume his Crown and promised to for- bear
But he dyed shortly after. But I must not transcribe historical Volumes. Justin succeeded Anastasius in the Empire, and Justinian him. These were for the Synod: But Theodore Justinian's Wife was against it: Some thought by compact, that each part might have a head, which was indeed but one (Niceph. l. xvi. c. 7.) Should I tell you in their reigns how the Ecclesiastical war continued; how Pope Agathon munus imposuit Menas Constant. quod ante a nunquam factum est, Niceph. c. 9; How Menas and the Pope excommunicated one another, and how Justinian used Vigilius the Pope, &c. it would be over tedious to tell. I have wrote this much to shew you how far the Patriarchal seats conducted to the Churches peace, and how far the four first Councils of Bishops caused Christian Love and Concord: No such things can be said of the Arabians, and Novatian Phrygians and others that had Bishops in the villages: Should I but now turn to Rome and tell you what was done there; all this Confusion, blood and misery is but a jest to it: But I have said enough of that in many treatises against Popery; and particularly of the above 40 years Schism when they had 2 or 3 Popes at once; and of the above 50 Popes that Baronius and Genebrard themselves call Apostatical, put in by whores and poyson, men not to be named, save to keep a reckoning of the times; many damned by Councils as horrid Adulterers, Murderers, Simonists, Hereticks, or Infidels: Nor will I recite how in the many wars between the Popes and Emperours, the Bishops swore, and unswore, and forswore as the upper side compelled them, as Urspergensis com-
complaineth. Nor will I stand to tell you, how the Pope and Patriarch of Constantinople (to whom adhere those of Antioch; Alexandria and Jerusalem) have these thousand years almost, divided and distracted the Christian world, by striving which should be the greatest; when Christ had so fully decided the case: But what now, if after so many hundred years confusion it should prove, that all this air was in the dark, and that Nestorius Eutyches, and Dioscorus were of the same mind except in words: Can the tongue of man then sufficiently express the Bishops guilt? A rare French Divine and Philosopher David Derodon hath written a Treatise de supposito, copiously proving that Nestorius was orthodox, and Cyril an heretick, and all the first Ephesian Council that adhered to him; that Eutyches and Dioscorus taught but the same heresie that Cyril did; that the Council of Calcedon ignorantly condemned Nestorius and truly established his opinion, and cried up Cyril and damned his doctrine: And he citeth abundant passages out of Cyril, where he expressly denyeth two natures in Christ (as Ep. 2. ad厮ess. In Christo duas naturas, unitas afferimus: post unionem vero adempta jam in duas divisione, unam esse credimus naturam filii incarnati:) And that Nestorius expressly assureth that there are two natures and but one person: The citations are numerous and undeniable. But I think that Cyril, Eutyches and Dioscorus (who were all of one mind,) did mean that the natures were but one, in opposition to division, but not in opposition to distinction. And that Nestorius said they were two as distinguished but not as divided, and all th
this blood, separation and confusion was between men of one mind, for want of skill in the explication of words, and through worldly designs. I know some will say, were all these Councils of Bishops such fools in comparison of you? But can a man deny notorious truth in reverence to Bishops? If so, which part of the Bishops must I believe if they say the snow is black: The Arrianists, and Entsychians were far the greater number.

And now as the best Philosophers think that experiments de facto must be premised to the Theory, so we think this touch of history must be considered by them that think Jewish High Priesthood, or National, Patriarchal or Metropolitical superiority is the necessary means of the Churches Concord: Let them compare the dissensions caused by little village Bishops and synods for mere Concord, yea or by separating heady people, with these which Patriarchal and Metropolitical seats have caused, and they will appear to be to them but as a scuffle at Billingsgate to the French Wars: And yet we have instanced but in the best times of dominion, in comparison of which Councils, Prelates and later times have been a meer hurricane. In a word, they that think that the mischiefs of superior seats are greater than the benefits; do appeal to all Church history, whether they have not been the true and principal causes of the distractions of the Christian world, and of the long division of the East and West, and of many civil and grievous wars.

§ 40. And to the objections they say, I. As to Appeals and Government of Inferiors, I. That the last appeals have ever been made to General Councils: And how they went when ever the V Prince
Prince did but countenance error, (as in the daies of Constantius and Valens, many great Councils that were for the Arrians, and in Theodosius Juniors time, for the Eutychians &c.) is too sad to think on. And is it not far more dangerous for many hundred in a Council to bear down a whole Empire or Kingdom, and raise persecution, and there be no appeal from them, than for a poor Priest to put a man from the Sacrament in his own Parish Church? How many Councils have been against Images in Churches, and how many for them, condemning one another's acts? What good will appeals do to such, 2. In doctrinal cases the consent of many tends to concord: But in cases of personal practice, are they fit judges to appeal to, that dwell many hundred miles off, and know none of the persons; suppose a poor man in England is put from the Communion by a Parish-Priest (yea, perhaps an hundred or many hundred in some parishes) because he findeth some to be utterly ignorant some to be drunkards, fornicators, heretical, &c. If these appeal but to a Diocesan which dwelleth 20, miles from some, 40, or 60, or 100 miles from others, the remedy is worse than the disease: For if the Priest must travel so far, and bring his witnesses and plead the cause with men that never saw the party before, (where neighbourhood giveth a surer knowledge than any such examination of strangers can do, and a strange Chancelor or Diocesan knoweth not which witnesses are most credible) and all this while his Pastoral Charge (perhaps many thousand souls) must be neglected, while the Minister is prosecuting these appealing sinners; will not the evil of this be greater than the benefit? But how much more if every
every sinnen must appeal to a Patriarch many hundred miles off? A sober mind will be ashamed to think of the process of such a suit. If you say that it is not in the case of such sinners as these whereof every Parish abounds, that you would have appeals, at least not to Patriarchs, so far off; I answer, 1. Then answer your own objection: What remedy shall they have if the Bishop wrong them? 2. What is the case than that you suppose such superordinations of power necessary for? If you say, If Ministers themselves should be excommunicate, It is answered, That none but Bishops or other superior powers pretend authoritatively as Rectors to excommunicate Pastors; Therefore this is nothing to them that are against all such superiority of Pastors: Where none such are, none such can excommunicate, or be injurious. And if there must be a higher Bishop to deliver men from the injuries of a lower, who should deliver us from him, who may injure Kingdoms?

Obj. But it is supposed that Patriarchs are wiser and better men than Metropolitans, and those than Bishops, and those than Priests: And that a meer Priest is not to be trusted with the power of the Keys.

Anf. 1. The power of the Keys of his particular Church is essential to his Office; 2. They that will make Priests of raw lads and naughty fellows, and then plead that such must not be trusted with the Office which they themselves ordained them to, do condemn themselves by such allegations, 3. The old Church Government was, for every particular Church, no more numerous than our Parishes, to have a Bishop and Presbyters: And these were thought sufficient to judge who was fit for their own Communion; 4. Hierom was but a Priest, &c. And Macedonius; Nestorius; Dioscorus; Timothy Elur
Elurus, Peter Moggus, Gregory Alex. Lucius Al.
Job. Al. Theodosius Al. Eulalins Antioch.
Emphronius Ant. Placitus Ant. Stephanus Ant.
Leontius Ant. Endoxius Ant. Euzoius Ant. all
Hereticks were all Patriarchs; and to reckon the
enormities of the Roman High Priests, is a needless work. Is it to be supposed then, that these were
better than Priests? Doth Christ say that it is as hard for a rich man to enter into Heaven as for a Camel to go through a needle's eye, and shall we
that are Christians say, that it is to be supposed
that the rich clergie are better men than the poor
When Greg. Nazianz. Saith that such great places
use to make Bishops worse than they were before.
All History tells us what striving there was for such
places: When Eusebius refused Antioch, two Priests
were presently at Constantines elbow to beg that place, and he was fain to mention them (though they were not chosen.) What a stir did Maximus
make at Constantinople, Egypt, and with the Empe-
rour to have got Gregories place at Constantinople?
And so with others. And is it not a fleshly, proud
and worldly mind (which is the work of the De-
vil) which is the importunate seeker? And must
we needs appeal to such? 3. But to come neerer,
what need is there of any such appeal or such a
Government, if, 1. A Bishop with his Presbyters
be over every particular Church (associated for
personal Communion in holy doctrine, worship
and Conversation?) 2. And if these Churches
associate for meer concord and mutual help (and
not for Governing Bishops?) 3. And if the Ma-
gistrate govern them all as he doth Philosophers,
Physicians, &c. For 1. If a Bishop of a particular
Church deny one the Sacrament or excommunicate
him
him, he doth it justly or unjustly: If justly, the person must submit: If unjustly, he may be received by a neighbour Bishop who is not bound to reject those whom upon trial he findeth to have been wrongfully excommunicated: All neighbour Churches must refuse those that are by any one excommunicated justly; but not all that are wrongfully cast out. Some say that he that doth excommunicate doth cast a man out of the whole Church, and therefore no one else may receive him: But unexplained words must not serve to confound truth, Souls and Congregations. Every Minister is a Minister in the Universal Church (as every Physician and Schoolmaster is in and to the Kingdom indefinitely not universally) but his work and power are commensurate; his power being only to and for his work. Therefore the Bishop or Pastor of one particular Church or Parish, is bound to confine his ordinary labour to them, though occasionally he may help others. And accordingly his power is to use the Keys ordinarily for his own Church only, as to the direct effect: though Extraordinarily he may use it in other Churches when called thereto; and by consequence it may reach further: For few Bishops will think if another Bishop come into their Dioceses or Parishes and excommunicate divers of their flocks, that they and all others are bound to stand to such mens sentence, and to hold such excommunicate. That which a Pastor doth in ordinary Excommunicating, is to declare (after proof) that This person is by his sin and impenitency made incapable of Communion with the Church, and therefore to require him to forbear it, and the people to avoid Communion with him; and to pronounce him unpardoned before God,
ill be repent. Now if this be done by one known to be heretical with whom the other Churches have no Communion, those other Churches are not bound to deny that man Communion. Nor yet if he offer himself to their Communion, and they examine the matter, and find him wronged. It is concord in good, and not in evil, that we are bound to by the command of God: Therefore if any man be wrongfully put out of this Church, the next may and should receive him: And what necessity is there then, of going a thousand or an hundred miles to a Pope, or Patriarch, or Diocesan, to right him? And whoever thought that there was need of an Universal Physician, or Schoolmaster, or a General Council of such to receive appeals from Patients and Scholars that are wrongfully turned out of the Hospital or School? The Caviller will here tell you of disparities in the cases; but the question is, whether the disparities be such as alter the reason of the Conclusion. What man of conscience will be a Physician, Schoolmaster or Pastor, that hath not power to judge whom to receive for his Patient, Scholar, or part of his flock, but must take all that some other man shall send to him, or command him to receive, and give them what others command him to give? An Apothecary may do so, but not a Physician. What if a man had no other scandal, but to say, I will not take you for my Pastor, nor take myself obliged to answer you, speak with you, give you any account of myself, nor be questioned by you on any accusation, must I be constrained to suppose this man to be one of my flock in despite of his own denial? If the freedom of consent be not mutual, but I must be constrained to take those for
for my charge as Christians, that renounce such a relation, or will not own it; a Pastor is not a free man, nor hath any power of the Church-Keys, but is as an irrational Slave, a Cryer, or Executioner, that must but execute another man's commands.

2. But if there be need of appeals, and our own actions must not be free, why will not the Synods of Neighbour-Pastors met only for Counsel and Concord (and not to command the Pastors) suffice for such persons to appeal to? And what if I turn a servant out of my house, or from his meat, and he may take another Master when he will, must there be an universal Judge of all family cases, that shall force me to keep my servant against my will? Is it not enough that I know why I am unwilling to keep him, who am no way more bound to him than to others, but by my own consent? What if (as Nazianzen left Sasimis, Constantinople, and Nazianzum at last) I should give up my whole Charge and Bishoprick, and say, I will be a Pastor to none of them any more, (upon sufficient reasons, as Latimer did:) Is it not better for the people to take another, than to accuse me at Rome, or Canterbury, as wrongdoing them?

3. But if all this serve not (neither the sufficiency of Pastors for one single Parish, nor yet the Counsel of all the Neighbour-Pastors or Bishops,) what is there more to be done, which the authority of Princes and Magistrates may not do? All Christians confess (almost) that no Bishops or Pastors, as such, have from Christ any forcing power over the flocks; that belongeth to the Magistrates only; And they are to keep peace, and force us to our certain duty. And I would ask the contrary-minded, whether if Bishops, Patriarchs and Coun-

V. 4 cils
cils had no forcing power, but only to excommunicate by the application of God's word, and leaving all men to their consciences, would this sort of Government serve their turn, and keep out Heresies, or maintain order and unity? They say no, themselves: And next, whether it be not certain, and confessed, that the Pastors have no other power, but the Magistrates only?

Obj. But shall all men gather Churches, and teach Heresie, and do what they will?

Ans. 1. The power of Popes, Patriarchs or Councils, did not prevent it, when there were all the Heresies that fill Epiphanius Volumes: And when the far greatest part of the Clergy was long Arrian: And when the Nestorians and Eutychians so greatly multiplied after the condemnation of the Councils: And when the Novatians lived so many years in reputation: and when the Donatists nor they were not diminished by Prelates or Councils Censures, till the sword dispersed them. And cannot the Sword be drawn without such as have no power of it?

3. And as to the last (and greatest) reason, that the Apostles have Successors who must orderly exercise their Government; it is answered 1. The common doctrine of the Church was, that all Bishops are their Successors so far as they have Successions; and every Church of one Altar had a Bishop in the daies of Ignatius, and long after. 2. The Council of Carthage said, None of us calleth himself Bishop of Bishops. 3. But if any be set as the Bishop of many Bishops and Churches, so be it they use no violence, but govern volunteers as all the old Bishops did, and forbid them nothing commanded of God, nor command them any thing
thing which God forbiddeth, and destroy not the order, doctrine, worship or discipline of the lesser particular Churches, we have before said, that we shall submit to such.

§ 41. IV. As to the question, whether the Government settled by Christ in National Churches be (as to the Clergy from all parts, Monarchical) Aristocratical or Democratical, and who must have the summam potestatem? The disagreement of the persons that we have herein to do with, puts us into utter despair of any solution. And what good will it do us to believe that some must be obeyed, if we cannot be certain who it is.

§ 42. V. And to the question, Whether the King be the formal, or only the accidental Church-head? We find no more agreement. 1. Some think that the King, as Melchizedek, is a mixt person, secular and Clergy, and hath both Offices to use and communicate, as they say, the Princes before Aaron had. 2. Others say, that this is not so, but that the Clergy-jurisdiction, distinct from the Priestly common power, is a branch of the Christian Magistrates power, and so derived from the King. 3. Others say that the Church, formally, is distinct from the Civil State, though not always materially: And that the King as King, is but an Accidental Civil Head, as he is over Physicians and Schoolmasters, being neither himself; and that the National Church must have a formal Clergy-head, (Personal or Collective) which shall in suo genere, be the highest, though under the Magistrates Civil Government, as Physicians are. 4. The Papists say, that all National Churches are under the Pope as Universal Pastor, who may alter them as he seeth cause. 5. Some moderate men say, that only Diocesan (and Metropolitical) Churches are jure Divino,
vino, and that they are called National, only improperly from one King, or concording association as ab accidente, and not properly from any formal Clergy-head.

§ 43. VI. Lastly, which is the formal Head of the Church of England, and so what that Church is, we are left as much uncertain. 1. If it be only a Civil Head that denominate it One, then it is but a Christian Kingdom, which we never questioned. And Dr. Rich. Cosins, in his Tables of the English Church-Policy, faith [That the King hath Administrationem supremam magisque absolutam, qua dicitur Primatus Regius. And Tho. Crompton in his dedication of it to K. James, faith [Ecclesiastica Jurisdictione plane Regia est, Corone & dignitatis vestre Regia prima, praecipua, indivisibilis pars: Ecclesiastica leges Regia sunt, neque alibi orientur, aut aliunde sustentantur, aut fulciuntur: penes Ecclesiasticos judices per Archiepiscopos & Episcopos, derivata a Rege potestate, jurisdictio Ecclesiastica consistit: And yet our Kings and Church explaining the Oath of Allegiance, declare that the King pretendeth not to the Priesthood, or power to administer the Word and Sacraments; but, as Crompton adds from Constantine, is extra Ecclesiam constitutus a Deo Episcopus; alii intra Ecclesiam Episcopi. This is plain: If they hold to this, and claim no power in the English-Policy, but as the Kings Officers, in that part which belongeth to Christian Magistrates, who will oppose them? But this reacheth not to the Keys, Preaching or Sacraments. 2. Some say that the King is partly a Clergy-man, as Melchizedek, and so that he is the formal Head, and might perform the Priestly Office if he would: But this our Kings have themselves renounced. 3. Some say
that the Archbishop of Canterbury is the formal Head; but that cannot be, because he is no Governor over the Arch-Bishop of York, or his Province. 4. Most say that the Convocation is the formal Church-Head, which makes it One Political Church. But 1. If so, then why faith the Canon that the Convocation [is the true Church of England by Representation] and those excommunicate that deny it? We enquire after the Church-Head or Governor: And that which is but the Church it self by representation, is not its Head, unless the Head and Body be the same, and the Church govern it self, and so it be Democratical: The governed and Governors, sure, are not the same. 2. And the Supream Power is supposed, by those that take Episcopacy for a distinct Order, to be in the Supream Order only: But the far greater part of the Convocation are not of the Supream Order: Nay, thus the Presbyters should be partly the chief Governours of the Bishops while they make Canons for them. 3. When we did but motion that according to Arch-Bishop Ufiers form of the Primitive Episcopacy, Presbyters might joyn with the Bishops in proper executive Church-government instead of Lay-Chancellors, and such like, they decryed it as Presbytery, and call us Presbyterians ever since: And if they say that the Presbyters have so great a part in the Supream Government it self, which obligeth all the Nation, how much more would they be themselves Presbyterians, which they so abhor?

§ 4.4. Having oft said that we desire Christian Kingdoms as the great blessing of the world, we mean not either that 1. All in a Kingdom should be forced to be baptized, or profess themselves Chri-
Christians, whether they are so or not: For lying will not save men, nor please God; and even the Papists are against this: 2. Nor that all should be supposed to be Christians that are in the Kingdom. But that the Kings be Christians, and the Laws countenance Christianity, and the most or ruling part of the Kingdom be Christians, and all just endeavours used to make all the rest so: The Ancient Churches continued them Catechumens till they were fit for Baptism; and though they were for Infant-Baptism, they compelled none to be baptized in Infancy, or at Age, but left it to free choice. They baptized but twice a year ordinarily. They kept many offenders many years from communion. And if Crabs Roman Council sub silva, be true, they at Rome admitted not penitents till forty years (understand it as you see cause:) The true Elibertine Canons kept many out so many years, and many till death, and many absolutely, as shewed that they were far from taking all the Nation into the Church. And the Christian Emperours compelled none. It was long before the greatest part of the Empire were Christians. In the daies of Valens, the Bishops were some of them banished into places that had few Christians, if any. In France it self, even in St. Martin's daies, the Christians of his flock were not the most, but he wrought miracles to convince the Heathens that raged against Christianity, where he dwelt, &c.

§ 1. There are two appendent Controversies handled by some that write for National Churches; which need but a brief solution: The first is, whether it be not an Independent Error to expect real holiness in Church-members, as necessary in the judgment.
ment of charity? The second, Whether it be not such an Error to require the bond of a Covenant besides the Baptismal Covenant?

§ 2. To the first we say, that so much is written on this point by one of us in a Treatise called Disputations of Right to Sacraments, &c. that we think meet to say no more: The Opponents now confess that it must be saving Faith and Consent to the Baptismal Covenant that must be professed: And Papists and Protestants agree with all the Ancient Church, that Baptism putteth the true Consenter into a state of certain pardon and title to life: And God maketh not known lying, a condition of Church-communion: He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved. It is true, that God hath not made Ministers Arbitrary Judges of mens secret thoughts, but hath limited them in judging to take their tongues that profess Faith and Consent to be the Indices of their minds: But sure the power of the Keys containeth a power of judging according to Christ's Law, who is to be taken into the Church by Baptism, and who not: If only the seeker be made Judge, it will be a new way of Church-Government, and a bad. And then the question is, 1. Whether he that accepts ones profession seemingly serious, of Faith and Consent, and that de præsente, is not bound to hope in charity that such a one doth not lie or dissemble? 2. Whether a baptized person, as such, have no right to our special love which we owe to those that we hope are true Believers, and sanctified; but only to our common love and kindness, which belongeth to those also that are the heirs of Hell? Some friends that are gone from extrem to extrem, and in remembrance of their ancient Schisms, can look
look but one way with impartial sense, and that
have made their repentance the passage to a grea-
ter error and sin, should betterbethink them
them what they do. They did well to stand still
in the way of Schism, when they saw here a leg,
and there a hand, and there an arm in their way;
and who but a mad-man indeed would not: But
if they have impartially read Church-history, and
the works of such Fathers as give us historical no-
tices, and ever since Constantine made a Bishoprick
a bait to a proud and worldly mind; even such as
Nazianzen, Basil, Chrysostom, Isidore Pelusiota, Hi-
Iary Pictav. and the over-orthodox disputations of
Cyril, and the Epistles of Theodoret rejoicing at his
death, and abundance of such like; had they seen
in the way of Church-pride and tyranny, not here
a leg, and there an arm, but here a hundred car-
kasses, and there a thousand; here two thousand
godly faithful Preachers silenced, and many thou-
sand dry Vines planted in their rooms, and there
whole Kingdoms interdicted, and their Churches
shut up; here Churches and Kingdoms turned in-
to confusions about a word, or about the interest
of Prelates, striving which should be the Chief, and
have their will and rule the rest; and there hundred
thousands murdered in the name of Christ, for
obeying him, and bloody wars managed by the
Clergy against Christian Emperours, and Kings
stabbed one after another; and most of the Chi-
ristian world, Roman, Greek, Moscovites, Armenians,
Abissines, degenerated into doleful ignorance and
dead formality under the Government of great
High-Priests, and millions of the vulgar bred up
in ignorance and senselsness of spiritual and eternal
things; this should stop them, (at least from ser-
ving the master of such designs) as much as a leg, or an arm in the way.

3. At least we would intreat them to hate that mistake, which will pretend to do all this for charity, unity and the Churches good; and to believe that it is no sign of charity. 1. To believe that charity should not be exercised in judging that men professing saving faith do speak the truth, and have the faith that they profess: 2. Nor to teach all Christ's Church, that a baptized Church member as such is to be lookt on but as a man in a state of damnation; and no man is bound to love him as a true Christian with a special love: 3. And that to prove that a man is not to be taken for a true Christian, but to be admitted into Church Communion as one that shall have a greater damnation than heathens, without a further renovation, is a great act of Charity, Contrary to the uncharitable narrowness of others. These are too great recussels from Anabaptistry, but not from real Schism.

§ 3. As for those that will not take the intelligent serious profession of true Faith, and Covenant-Consent for a credible sign of the sincerity of the Professor, till they can sufficiently disprove it, but will be the arbitrary Judges of mens hearts, either as pretended heart-searchers, or by self-devised, or uncertain signs, not taking up with this Profession, we are no Patrons of such mens presumption and uncharitableness.

§ 4. There are various degrees of Credibility in mens professions; some give us so much as is next to certainty; some but small hopes: But yet till we can disprove them, we are to take their professions as credible in some degree. And if they prove false, it is they that will have the loss.

§ 5.
§ 5. II. The second case about Church Covenants deserveth no longer a discussion. He that will put any article unnecessary into any such Covenant, sinfully corrupteth the order of the Church: As if he would bind the people to be Church Governours, or never to depart from that particular Church but by the consent of the Pastor, or the flock, or any such like: And he mistaketh that will make a more explicite contract to be more necessary than it is. But it seemeth strange to us that any understanding Christian should deny; that consent is absolutely necessary to the being of an adult member both of the universal, and each particular Church respectively. What bindeth a man to consent is another question, but if he be any member of the Church till he profess consent, we know not what a Christian or Church member is. An explicite covenant is necessary to our relation to the Universal Church: for it must be solemnized sacramentally: That we express it by writings or words is not of necessity to our membership of a particular Church: But consent is necessary; And mutual consent expressed satisfactorily, is a contract or Covenant: If the Pastor say all that consent, hold up your hand, or stand up, or stay here while the rest depart, &c. these are significations of consent: And if it be notified that all that appear at the solemn Assemblies, and attend the Pastors Ministry, shall be taken for Consenters, their presence and attendance is a profession of Consent indeed, and so a covenanting. But though the most explicit be not necessary ad esse, no man can give a reason why it should not be best ad bene esse, seeing the most intelligent and plain dealing in the great things of God, are most suitable to the work, and fittest
fittest to attain the end: why should we not deal openly and above board?

§ 6. It is certain that to be a Christian maketh no man a member of any man's particular flock or charge. And it is certain that none can be such without consent. And it is certain that the Pastor is not to take every Atheist, Jew, Infidel, Papist, Heretick, &c. in his Parish for a member of the Universal, or of that particular Church. Therefore he must know whom to take for such. And it is certain that the consent must be mutual, so far is the Pastor from being a slave, and bound to every man's desires, that he is entrusted with the Church Keys himself.

§ 7. A worthy person on this subject maketh these six things sufficient to such Church relation: 1. That they be baptized Christians; 2. Neighbours bound to mutual love; 3. And apt to Neighbourly duty; 4. That providence make us such Neighbours; 5. Scripture Churches took their name from cohabitation: 6. The command of authority, that so it shall be. Frest suit. pag. 260.

Ans. By making these six the sufficient proof of Parish Churches, our friend unhappily would consequently unchurch them all: For if this were all, certainly they were none at all. For all these (which he maketh more than they are) are but the dispositio materia, antecedent to any reception of the form, 1. For all that he inferreth or can infer from them all is obligation to consent and to other duties after consent. But obligation maketh not the relation of a member: All that are obliged to be Christians are not Christians: All that are obliged to be Pastors are not Pastors: Nor all that are obliged to consent first and to do the duty of Pastors after
after: Even as all that are obliged to consent to be subjects, Husbands, Wives, Masters, Servants, Tutors; Scholars, &c. are not such: If meer obligation serve to one relation, why not to others? 2. Else a man might be a true Pastor unchosen, unordained and against his will. For he may by his qualifications be obliged to be ordained and to become a Pastor. 3. And so the people may be the flock of one that was obliged to be their Pastor, when another is set over them and in possession, because it was the first that was obliged, and they to choose him: And so utter Confusion will come in: And if a man can prove that another man's wife and servant was obliged to be his, he may take them as his indeed. 3. By this rule all the Papists, Seekers, Quakers, &c. that renounce our Churches, should yet be members of them, because they live in the Parish, and are commanded to be members: Which who believeth? 4. A member of a Church hath right to Communion and Ministerial vigilance and help: But so hath not every baptized person that is commanded to be a member, and obeyeth not that command. If a man say to a Pastor, I will be none of your flock, or Church, but yet I require you to do the office of a Pastor to me, though I renounce your relation to me, and the people to use me as a member of the flock, because I am commanded to be a member, this were a strange claim. 5. If this did hold, then no man that liveth in the Parish could be a proper separatist, so as to break off himself from that Church, nor become a member of another, unless he apostatized from Christ: For he would be still under the Magistrates Command and obligation: But the consequent is absurd: Why do
the same men speak so much against schismatical rending mens selves from the true Churches, and gathering other Churches, if there be no such thing? The Laws change not, which oblige them. 6. They that are against schism and singularity, should be against this opinion, because (as it is utterly absurd, so) it is notoriously contrary to the Judgment of all the Christian world in all ages to this day, as acquaintance with Church history may fully inform them. They have ever taken mutual consent between the Pastors and the flock to be necessary to the being of a particular Church; and that whatever they were obliged to, they were not actually related to each other as Pastor and flock till they consented: And therefore have noted schismatical Churches in the same Cities that have been no parts of the Church which they disowned.

§ 8. But it is objected, that this unchurcheth our Parish-Churches, and all the Churches in the world.

*Ans.* Not one: But the contrary would. Our Parish Churches are associated by mutual consent: The Pastor expresseth his consent openly at his institution, induction and officiating: The Flocks shew their consent by actual submitting to his Ministerial Office: They hear him, and communicate ordinarily with him, and seek Ministerial help from him; though all that are in the Parish do not so, those do it that are indeed his flock, or Church. They do not perhaps by *word* or *writing* covenant to submit to him as their Pastor, but they do it by actual signification of consent to the relation. And the Bishops in Consecration enter into a Covenant to watch over the flock (as do the Priests) and the Priests promise (if not swear, in X 2 England)
England) to obey them: This is a Covenant.

§ 9. It is objected that this is a disparagement to Baptism, which is the only Church-making Covenant.

Ans. Baptism only, as such, maketh us members of the universal Church; but is not enough to make us of any Ministers special flock: I am not a member of the Church of York, Norwich, Bristol, &c. because I am baptized: Nor am I a member of the Parish-Church now where I was baptized. Consent to be a Christian is one thing, and consent to be a member of this particular Church, and to take this man more than all the rest about us, for the Guide of my soul, is another.

§ 10. And if a man would say, I will be a member of this Parish-Church, and you shall perform so much of your Office as I desire, and no more; I will hear and receive the Sacrament but when I please, and I will not admit you to catechize or instruct any of my family, nor visit the sick, nor will I be responsible to you for any thing that I hold, or say, or do; nor have any thing to do with you, but in the Church; is a Minister bound to do his office to men, or take them for his special flock on these terms? The ancient Churches had abundance of strict Canons; if the people should have chosen a Bishop, and said, We will obey none of these Canons, nor you, but you shall be our Bishop on our terms, was he bound to have consented, and to have been such a Bishop? This is really the case of no small part of England, though they say it not openly by words.

§ 11. It is objected, that as Apostles, so ordained Ministers have their authority before the consent of the people and receive it not from them.

Ans.
Who ever questioneth it, that is considerate, as to an indefinite charge in the Church universal? But what's that to the question? Are all the Ministers in the world bound to be the Pastors of this Parish or Diocese? Our question is what constituteth the relations between a Pastor and his Particular flock? Doth not the ordainer here say, Take thou Authority to Preach the Word of God, &c. when thou art thereto lawfully called? Because a man is a Licensed Physician without me, doth it follow that he is my Physician without my consent? 2. Are all those Church-members that Ministers are authorized to preach to? Then all the Heathen-world are Church-members. 3. They receive not authority from the people; but their consent is necessary to make themselves capable receivers of the relation and right of Church-members. God, and not the Wife, giveth the Husband the superiority; but he is no such Husband to any that consenteth not.

§ 12. God hath laid mens rights and benefits on their wills, so that no man can have them against his will. It is a great priviledge to have right to communion with a particular Church, and to this or that faithful Pastors oversight: And its new Doctrine to say, that unwilling persons have this right, because they are willing of something else, viz. to be members of the Church universal.

§ 13. We conclude therefore that both extremes here are false; 1. That men can be adult members of a particular Church that consent not, or taken for such that no way signifies their consent, and that it is not useful ad bene esse, that this consent
consent be intelligent and express, and that the Offices consented to be truly understood. 2. That a written, or verbal covenant is of absolute necessity; or that men should tie themselves to any thing doubtful, or unnecessary, but only to the relation and duties of members (as of the universal so) of that particular Church. Both these extremes we do renounce. Mr. Zachary Cawdry a Conformist, hath shewed in a particular Treatise for Church-covenanting, how far he is from the mind of those Objectors; for he would have the people engaged by covenant to their Bishops and Priests.

§ 14. To conclude, though we renounce fanatical Enthusiasts, yet serious consideration maketh some of us think, that too little notice is taken of the HOLY GHOST setting Pastors over the flocks, which the Scripture mentioneth: And though none on pretence of the Spirit must reject order or ordination, nor make themselves the sole Judges of their own sufficiency; yet 1. The due qualification of men with wisdom, faith, love, and heavenly zeal, and ability, is the most excellent part of our Calling to the Ministry. 2. Ex quovis ligno non fit Mercurius; without necessary fitness no man is a true Pastor having not dispositionem receptivam: And without eminent fitness, few are eminently serviceable. 3. Experience assureth us, that though the Office hath supernumeraries, yet of worthy men God never yet raised up supernumeraries, but the scarcity is lamentably great. 4. All therefore that are duly qualified, and have opportunity, should be chosen, ordained, accepted, and accept the Call, if not offer themselves, in case
case they cannot otherwise enter. 5. The Ordainer doth but ministerially invest him with the power, whom the Spirit of God hath qualified for it, by the inward Call. 6. In case the Ordainers by envy, or malignity, or faction, refuse such, where there is true Necessity, and Opportunity, we conceive that mutual consent of the people and themselves, may suffice to the orderly admittance into the Office, much more if the Magistrate also consent: Of which see Voetius de desparata Causa Papatus, and a Dispute of Ordination, by R. B.
Three Venerable Monitors

TO

NONCONFORMISTS.

I. An Epistle of an African Council, (in Cyprian 68. p. 200.) to Faelix a Presbyter, and the Laity at Legio and Asturica: And to Lælius the Deacon, and the Laity at Emerita, concerning their Bishops Basilides and Martial who were Libellatists *

* When persecution was hot, some that would not offer Incense at Idols Altars, nor renounce Christ, yet to save their lives did, through fear, in secret, hire another to subscribe their names to a sinful profession; and these were called Libellatios; and it troubled the Churches whether, and when they should be received to communion upon their repentance.

When we were met together, most beloved Brethren, we read your Letters, which for (or in) the integrity of your faith, and the fear of God you wrote to us by our Bishops Felix and Sabinus, signifying that Basilides and Martial being blotted (or defiled) with Libels of Idolatry, and guilty of heinous crimes, ought not to exercise the Office of Bishops, and administer the Priesthood of God: And you desired us to write back to you hereof, and that your necessary solicitude might be
be eased either by the comfort, or the help of our judgment or sentence. But to this your desire, not so much our Counsels as Gods Precepts give an answer, in (or by) which it is long ago (or already) by the heavenly voice commanded, and By the Law of God prescribed, who, and what sort of men must serve at the Altar, and celebrate the Divine Sacrifices. For in Exodus God speaketh to Moses, and warneth him, saying, Let the Priests who draw near to the Lord God be sanctified, lest God forfake them; and when they come near to minister at the Altar of the Holy, let them not bring themselves into sin, lest they die. And in Leviticus God commandeth and faith, Let not the man that hath a blemish or vice draw near to offer gifts to God. 2. Which things being already spoken and manifest to us, it is necessary that our obedience attend to God's commands: Neither may man's indulgence accept the person, or grant any thing to any one in such things where God's prescription, intercedeth and giveth a Law. For we must not forget what God by the Propet Esaias faith to the Jews, reproving them, and angry with them, that condemning the commands of God, they followed the doctrines of men. This people, faith he, honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far separated from me; and in vain do they worship me, teaching the commands and doctrines of men: which the Lord also in the Gospel repeateth and faith, Ye reject the command of God, that you may establish your own tradition. Having these things before our eyes, and carefully and religiously considering them, in the Ordinations of Priests, we ought to chuse no Bishops but men unspotted and entire, who holily and worthily offering the Sacrifices
fices to God, may be heard in the prayers which they make for the safety of the people of God; seeing it is written, that God heareth not a sinner, but if any man worship God, and do his will, him he heareth. 3. For which reason, with full diligence, and sincere prayer, those men must be chosen to the Priesthood, whom it is manifest God doth hear. And let not the Lay people flatter themselves, as if they could be free from the Contagion of the crime, when they communicate with a sinful Priest, and give their consent to the unjust and unlawful Episcopacy, of their Governour, seeing by the Prophet Hos: a God's censure threateneth, and faith, Their Sacrifices are as the bread of sorrow; all that eat of it shall be defiled: Teaching and shewing that all they do sin who are defiled by the sacrifice of a prophane and unjust Priest; which we find also manifested in Numbers, where Corah, Dathan and Abiram challenged to themselves against Aaron the licence of sacrificing. The Lord there by Moses commandeth that the people be separated from them, lest being joyning to the offenders, they be guilty of their crimes. Be separated, faith he, from the Tents of those obdurate men, and touch nothing which is theirs, lest ye perish with them in their sins. 4. Wherefore the Lay people, obeying the Lords commands, and fearing God, must separate themselves (a peccatore praposto) from a sinful Prelate (or Pastor) and must not mix themselves at the sacrifices of a sacrilegious Priest; because they chiefly have the power either to chuse Priests that are worthy, or to refuse those that are unworthy: Which very thing, we see, descendeth from Divine Authority, that the Priest, the Lay people being present, be chosen under the Eyes of All,
All, and by the publick judgment and testimony be approved worthy and meet: As in Numbers the Lord commanded Moses saying, Take Aaron thy Brother, and Eleazer his Son, and set them before all the Congregation on the Mount, and take off Aaron's stole, and put it on Eleazer his Son, and let Aaron die there. God commandeth that the Priest be made before all the Congregation; that is, he instructeth us, and sheweth that the Priestly Ordinations should not be done, but under the conscience of the assisting people, that the Lay-people being present, either the crimes of bad men may be detected, or the deserts of good men predicated; that for that Ordination may be just and legitimate, which hath been examined by the judgment and suffrage of All. 5 Which thing is after observed according to the Divine Magisteries in the Acts of the Apostles, when Peter spake to the Lay-people about Ordaining a Bishop in the place of Judas, Peter, faith the Text, stood up in the midst of the Disciples, for the multitude was together in one. And it was not only in the Ordinations of Bishops and Priests, but of Deacons also, that we note the Apostles to have observed this. Of which also in their Acts it is written, and the twelve, faith the Text, called together the whole Laity of the Disciples, and said to them. And the whole business is managed thus diligently and carefully, the whole Laity being convocate, lest any unworthy person should creep into the Ministry of the Altar, or the place of Priesthood. For God himself manifesteth by the Prophet Osee, saying, They have made themselves a King, but not by me; that unworthy men are sometimes ordained by man's presumption, and that these things are displeasing
pleasing to God, which come not of a legitimate and just Ordination. 6. For which cause it is diligently to be observed and held as of Divine Tradition, and Apostolical Observation, which is held also with us, and in a manner (or almost) through all the Provinces, that to the right celebrating of Ordinations, all the next Bishops of the Province come together to the Lay-people to whom the Bishop (propositus) is ordained, and that a Bishop be made, the Lay-people being present, who most fully know every man's life, and discern every man acting by his conversation; which we see done also with yourselves in the Ordination of our Colleague Sabinus, that by the suffrage of the whole fraternity, and by the judgment of the Bishops, who at the present met, and who wrote Letters of it to you, the Episcopacy should be delivered to him, and hands should be laid on him instead of Basilides. Nor can it rescind the Ordination which was rightly perfected, that Basilides, after his crimes detected, and his conscience laid bare by his own confession, going to Rome, deceived our Colleague Stephen, who lived far off, and was ignorant of the matter of fact, and of the silenced truth, that he might compass to be unjustly replaced in his Bishoprick, from which he had been justly deposed. 7. The effect of this is, that the offences of Basilides are not so much abolished, as cumulate, that to his former sins, the crime of deceit and circumvention is added. For he is not so much to be blamed, that was negligently deceived, as he to be execrated that fraudulently deceived him. But if Basilides can deceive men, he cannot deceive God. For it is written, God is not mocked. Nor will fallacy profit Martial to keep him
him who is involved in great offences, from a right¬
ful losing of his Bishoprick. Seeing the Apos¬
tle warneth us, and faith, A Bishop must be without
crime as the Steward of God: Wherefore, see¬
ing (as you wrote, beloved brethren, and as Fe¬
liax and Sabinus our Colleagues aslere, and as
another Felix of Caesar Augusta, an honourer of
the Faith, and a defender of the Truth, signifieth
by his Letters) Basilides and Martial are con¬
taminated by a wicked Libel of Idolatry. And Ba¬
filides, besides the blot of this Libel, when he lay
lick blasphemed God, and confessed that he blas¬
phemed, and because of the wound of his con¬
science voluntarily deposing his Episcopacy, turned
himself to a repentence, begging pardon of God,
and being satisfied, if he might but communicate
as a Lay-man. And Martial, besides the filthy
and dirty feasts of the Gentiles, and the oft fre¬
quenting of their Colleges, and the deposing his
Sons in the same College after the manner of the
exterior Nations, in proflane Sepulchres, and bu¬
rning them with aliens, did also by publick acts
with the Dacenary Procurator, testifie that he
obeyed Idolatry: And seeing there are many
other and great offences in which Basilides and
Martial are held guilty; in vain do such men en¬
deavour to usurp to themselves the Office ofBi¬
shops, when it is manifest that such kind of men
may neither be Guides of the Church of Christ,
nor ought to offer Sacrifices to God: Especially
when Cornelius also our Colleague, a pacifick and
just Priest, and honoured by God's vouchsafement
with Martyrdom, did with us, and all the Bishops
settled in the whole world, decree, that such men be
not admitted to Repentance, but that they be pro¬
hibited
hibited from Clergy Ordination, and Priestly honour. 8. And let not this move you, most beloved Brethren, if with some in the last times, their slippery Faith do nod, and their irreligious fear of God do shake, or paciskick Concord persever not: It was foretold that these things would be towards the end of the world; and by the joint-witness of the Apostles it was foretold, that the world declining, and Antichrist drawing near, all good things would fail (or decay) and evil and adverse things increase (or prosper.) And yet, though it be in the last times, neither is Evangelical vigor so fallen in the Church of God, or doth the strength of Christian Virtue or Faith so languish, but that there remaineth a portion of Priests, which yields not to these ruins of things, and shipwreck of Faith, but as strong and stable do with observation of fear maintain the honour of the Divine Majesty, and the Priestly dignity. We remember and hold, that when the rest did yield and fall, Mathatias did valiantly defend the Law of God: And that when the Jews failed and departed from Divine Religion, Elias stood and strove sublimely: That Daniel, neither deterred by the solitude of a strange Country, nor by the infestation of daily persecution, did frequently and valiantly give glorious testimonies (or Martyrdoms) and that the three young men, neither broken with years, nor threats, did faithfully stand out against the Babyloman fires, and even in their captivity conquered the conquering King. 9. The number (or party) of prevaricators or trayors that now rise up in the Church against the Church, and have begun to spoil both Faith and Verity, shall see it; that yet with the most there remaineth
eth a sincere mind, and entire Religion, a soul devoted to none but their Lord and God; and that other mens pernicious hefs doth not depress the Christian Faith to ruine, but doth more excite it, and exalt it unto glory. Even as the blessed Apostle Paul exhorteth and faith, What if some of them have fallen from Faith? shall their unbelief make void the faith of God? God is true, and every man a lyar: And if every man be a lyar, and God only be true, what else should we, Gods servants, do, and specially his Priests, but relinquish the errors and lies of men, and keeping the Lords commands, remain in the truth of God? Therefore, most beloved brethren, though there have been some of our Colleagues, who think that the Divine Discipline shoule be neglected, and do rashly communicate with Basilides and Martial, that ought not to trouble our Faith, seeing the Holy Ghost in the Psalms doth threaten such, saying, Thou hatest Discipline, and hast cast my words behind thee: If thou sawest a Thief, thou concurredst with him, and didst place thy portion with Adulterers. It sheweth that they are made Conforers and partakers of other mens sins, who have been coupled with the sinners. And Paul the Apostle writeth the same thing, and faith [Whisperers, detractors, haters of God, injurious, proud, boasters of themselves, inventers of evil things; who when they knew the judgment of God, they understood not that they that do such things are worthy of death; not only they that do them, but they that consent to them that do them. He faith, that They that do such things are worthy of death. He manifesteth and averreth that not only they are worthy of death, and come to punishment who do the evils, but they
they also who consent to them that do such things, who while by unlawful communication they are mingled with bad men, and sinners, and impenitent persons, they are polluted by the contact of the guilty; and while they are joyned in the fault, they are not separated in the punishment. Wherefore, most beloved brethren, we both praise and approve the religious care of our integrity and faith; and as far as we are able by our Letters, exhort you, that you do not by sacrilegious communion mingle your selves with prophane and blotted Priests (or Bishops;) but in religious fear do keep entire and sincere the firmness of your Faith. I wish, most dear Brethren, your continual welfare.

II. A Letter of the famously Learned and Holy Robert Grossthead, Bishop of Lincoln, to Pope Innocent the fourth, and his Cardinals, containing the reasons of his Nonconformity to their Commands; Translated out of Matth. Paris, An. 1253. pag. 871, 872.

Sith M. Paris, In these daies when the Lord Pope Innocent the 4th. had signified by his Apostolick Writings, commanding the Bishop of Lincoln that he should do somewhat which he took to be unjust, and dissonant to reason, as he frequently did to him and other English Prelates; he wrote back to him in these words [Be it known to your discretion, that I devoutly and reverently, with filial affection, obey the Apostolical Precepts: And being zealous of the paternal honour, I am against and resist the things which are against the Apostolical mandates For:
For I am bound to both by God's Commands: For the Apostolick mandates, neither are, nor can be any other, than consonant and conform to the Apostles Doctrine, and to the Doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ himself, the Master and Lord of the Apostles, whose type and person the Lord Pope chiefly beareth in the Hierarchy of the Church*. For our Lord Jesus Christ himself saith, He that is not with me, is against me. But the most Divine Sanctity of the Apostolical Seat, is not, nor cannot possibly be against him (Jesus Christ) Therefore the tenor of the foresaid Letter is not consonant to the Apostolick Sanctity; but very much absonant and discordant: First, because of the superaccumulated Non obstante of that Letter, and such like, that are dispersed far and wide, not brought in by any necessity of observing the Law of Nature; whence a deluge of inconstancy, audaciousness, and procacy, immodesty, lying, deceiving, hardly believing or trusting any doth arise: And from these a deluge of innumerable vices, moving and troubling the purity of the Christian Religion, and the tranquility of social humane conversation.

Moreover, next after the sin of Lucifer, which in the later times will be also the sin of Antichrist the Son of perdition, which the Lord will destroy with the spirit of his mouth, there neither is, nor can be any other kind of sin so adverse and contrary to the Apostles and the Evangelical Doctrine, and so hateful, detestable and abominable to our Lord Jesus Christ himself, as to kill and destroy souls by defrauding them of the care of the Pastoral Office and Ministry: Which sin they are by most evident
testimonies of Sacred Scripture known to commit, who being placed in the power of Pastoral Care, do get the salary of the Pastoral Office and Ministry, from the milk and fleece of the sheep of Christ, who are to be made alive and saved, but administer not their dues. For the very not administering of the Pastoral Ministries, is, by the Scripture Testimony, the killing and destroying of the Sheep. And that these two sorts of sins (though with disparity) are the worst, and inestimably superexceeding every other sort of sin, is manifest by this, in that they are (though with disparity and dissimilitude) directly contrary to the two said existent things that are best: For that is the worst thing that is contrary to the best: And as much as lieth in the said sinners. One of these sins is the destruction of the very Deity, which is supernaturally, and supernaturally Best; the other is the destroying of the Deformity and Desication, which is Best Essentially and Naturally by the gracious participations of the beams of the Deity. And because, as in good things, the Cause of good is better than its Effect; so also in evils, the Cause of evil is worse than its Effect. And it is manifest that the Introducers of such most evil Murderers of this Deformity and Desication in the Sheep of Christ, in the Church of God, are worse than these most evil Murderers themselves, and nearest to Lucifer and Antichrist; and in this pestilence they are gradually the worst, by how much they superexcel, who were more obliged to exclude and extirpate such destroyers from the Church of God, by the greater and diviner power, given them by God for Edification, and not for Destruction. It cannot be therefore that a most holy Apostolick Seat (to which by
by our most holy Lord Jesus Christ, all power is given, as the Apostle witnesseth, for Edification, and not for Destruction) should ever command, bid, or any way endeavour any such thing, or any thing verging towards such a sin, so odious, detestable and abominable to our Lord Jesus Christ, and so utterly pernicious to mankind. For this were either a defection, or a corruption, or an abuse of his evidently most holy and full power, or an utter elongation from the Throne of the Glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the nearest confession in the Chair of Pestilence, to the two foresaid Princes of darkness, and of the pains of Hell. No one that in immaculate and sincere obedience is subject and faithful to the same Seat, and not by Schism cut off from the Body of Christ, and the same holy Seat, can obey (such) Mandates or Precepts, or any endeavours whatever, whencesoever they flow, though it were from the Supream Order of Angels *, but must necessarily with his whole power contradict them and rebel: Wherefore, Reverend Lords, from the duty of obedience and fidelity, which I owe to the Parent of the holy Apostolical Seat, and out of the Love of Union in the Body of Christ with it, I do alone (unice) filially and obediently disobe, contradict and rebel against the things contained in the foresaid Letter, and especially as is before touched, they most evidently verge towards the sin which is most abominable to our Lord Jesus Christ, and most pernicious to mankind, and are altogether adverse to the sanctity of the Apostolical Seat, and are contrary to the Catholick Faith. Nor may your discretion therefore determine any thing hard against me, because all my contradiction and action in this Cause is not in-

* Or Anglorum, for its a various Lection.
deed contradiction or rebellion, but a filial honouring of God's command due to a Father, and of you. Briefly recollecting all, I say, that the holiness of the Apostolick Seat can do (or hath power to do) nothing but that which tendeth to edification, and not to destruction*. For this is the plenitude of power, to have power to do all to Edification. But these that they call [Provisions] are not for Edification, but for most manifest Destruction. Therefore the Apostolick Seat cannot accept them, because flesh and blood, which shall not possess the Kingdom of God, hath revealed them, and not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is in Heaven.

III. Bishop Sanderson in his Oxford Praelections de Juramento, faith, as followeth, (The Reader is desired to see his whole words, that he say not they are mangled, or any thing omitted which he would have had put in; and to consider how far the case of Oaths, and Covenants, Promises or Professions is the same.)

Page 30, 31. 1. Simplicity above all things becometh an Oath: That is, The nature and obligation of an Oath is such, that whoever shall bind himself by so sacred a bond to do any thing, he may be altogether held by the Religion of an Oath, and feriously from his heart intend, and as much as in him lieth, diligently endeavour faithfully to do all that which he hath promised to
to do, without all craft, fraud, or ill deceit or dissimulation. (See the rest there.)

Page 32, 33, 34. Contrary to this simplicity of an Oath, are two sorts of simulation; one as to the foregoing part, which is either antecedent or concomitant with the act of swearing: of which, though the former be the worser, yet neither of them is free from perjury. David seemeth to comprehend both in Psal. 15. and 24. [He that sweareth not deceitfully, that is, with a mind to deceive—And He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not] that is, who when he hath bound himself by an Oath, will rather, even to his own great loss, perform that which he incommodiously swore, than for any temporal commodity violate his faith. —These things the greater part of men now in being, seem to me not to think of, or not seriously; who fear not to swear without any ambage prolixly, and in the very words, whatsoever is proposed to them, by such as have power to do them hurt: Yea and think themselves the only wise men, and disdainfully deride their simplicity and vain fear, who, lest they hurt their consciences, fortooth, do seek a knot in a rush, and vex (or solicit) the forms prescribed by such as can proscribe them: And they securely free themselves from all crime and fear of Perjury, and think they have well cared for themselves and their consciences, if when they swear, like the Jesuits, they can but any how defend themselves by tacite equivocations, or mental reservations, or subtle forced interpretations, and quite alien from the words: Or else after they have sworn, can find out some artificial evasion, as a hole to get out by, as the εὐθὺς ἀφελέσθαι, by which so to defraud the Oath,
that taking the words, yet the sense may be eluded by some Sophism, and all the force of it wholly be enervated. The old Christians received not this Theology: The founder Heathens received not this Moral Philosophy: Much otherwise out of them, faith Augustine ["They are perjured who keeping the words, deceive the expectation of them that they swear to] And otherwise, faith Cicero, 

[That is to be kept which is so sworn as the mind of the Imposter conceived it should be done.] Read the proofs, p. 34, &c. 1. From many Texts of Scripture: 2. From God's own example: 3. From the nature of Truth: 4. From the end of an Oath, p. 38. which is the confirmation of a doubtful matter; that is, that of things otherwise uncertain and depending on humane credit, there should be had such certainty as humane affairs require. For an Oath was instituted by God, by force of the Light of Nature, for a remedy of humane defects about Truth; that among mortals it should be Truths last garrison, as oft as all other kinds of proof do fail. But this end would be wholly overthrown, and there could be no certain credit among men, if it were free for the swearer, at his own arbitration, what he speaketh in words to cause belief, by some tacite ambiguity in swearing, or after he hath sworn, by finding out some new, and as it were, posthumous comment so to disable it, as that it shall lose all its force, and be utterly ineffectual. If either of these were lawful, an Oath should not be the end of strife, but the beginning, and should rather give occasion for new contradictions and strifes, than end the old ones. Open but this window once, and then what can be thought of so false, for the defence whereof
whereof some effuge or lurking hole may not be devised, whereby it may be freed from being a lie. In the mean time, what perverseness is it that should by dishonest men be turned into an instrument of deceiving, which was instituted by the most wise God to be a help to credit (or mens belief of one another?) Verily, unless one will rather use God's sacred institution to another purpose, than that to which it was instituted (which a godly man will not easily do) that which is the end of an Oath, the same ought to be the end of the swearer: And that is, so to make the hearer to believe, that he may become more certain and secure of the Truth of that which before was doubtful. But he that dissembleth, studieth to breed a false belief in the hearers, and so doth not only suffer another to be deceived (which yet is contrary to Charity when he may and ought to hinder it;) but also intendeth to deceive; which is not only against all Justice and Honesty, but it is also conjoined with the greatest wrong to God, and contempt of his name. And verily to me scarce any other sort of Perjury doth more diametrically seem to be against either the scope of the third Commandment, or the very words (of not taking the name of God in vain) than that which ariseth from this dissimulation. For as the word Vanity doth properly and adequately comprehend all that which is any way false; so in a certain peculiar sort, and most properly, that which is so false as yet to bear a shew of Truth. (See the rest.)

The second which pertaineth to the interpretation of an Oath, is this, The Obligation of an Oath is of strict right——That is of so just an interpretation
tion of right, that the words of the Law may not
be drawn further than is meet for the sake or fa-
vour of any party; nor constrained to serve any
man's fact or commodity. In a word, strict Right,
is not here taken so as to exclude an interpretation
tempered with equity, but to exclude an interpr-
etation of Law (or right) corrupted by favour (or for
any ones sake)---The extrems are A Rigid inter-
pretation, and A Favourable---A just interpreta-
tion is the mean between both, which searcheth
after the true and genuine sense of the Law, with-
out respect at all to persons, out of natural equity
and justice, and from the words themselves, as
they agree with equity and justice. And if this
may be plainly made out in the words themselves,
that it is in every case simply to be retained.---
See the rest.

P. 45. When I say that an Oath is of strict right,
it is so to be understood, that the meaning of the
Oath, which is plain enough in the words, is al-
ways to be held. But where the sense is doubt-
ful, every one must take great heed, lest we too
much indulge our selves, and our own affections;
and lest we grant our selves too liberal and lax a
license of interpreting, that we may the easilier
get our selves out of the bond of the Oath which
we are tied by; and lest we fasten (or feign) any
sense on the Oath taken, or on any part of it, for
our own commodity or profits sake, which any o-
ther pious and prudent man, of a freer judgment
as not interested in the cause, would not easily
draw from the very words themselves.

The Reason is twofold; one in respect to others,
for fear of scandal, lest any that is weak, drawn by
our example, think he may do that which he feeth
us
us do, though unacquainted with those subtilties, by which only we use to defend our selves from the crime of Perjury. The other in respect of our selves, for fear of perjury; which most grievous crime undoubtedly we commit, if that more benign interpretation chance to deceive us, which made us bold to take the Oath. This reason resteth on that general, and most profitable rule, which bids us [in doubtful cases take the safer side: ] But it is the safer not to swear, when the words of the proposed Oath, according to the common and obvious sense of the words, seem to contain somewhat unlawful in them; rather than by a Lax Interpretation so to soften them for our own use, that we may the more securely swear them: Seeing we know that such an Oath may be refused without danger of perjury, but we know not that it can be taken without danger or fear of it.

P. 46, 47, 197. Yet we must take heed that this strict interpretation turn not into a Rigid one—of common right these exceptions and conditions (of promissory Oaths) are ever understood: [1. If God permit: 2. Saving the Right of others. And, as far as is lawful; Saving the Right of Superiors: 3. Things standing as they do, or in the same state: As far as I am able, &c.]

P. 49. But if any admit more dubious exceptions—he boldly and rashly removeth God’s boundaries of an Oath, and openeth a wide door to all kind of Perjury.

P. 193. The third Case is, when one imposeth an Oath of an ambiguous sense, only requiring that those words be sworn, permitting the Swearer to understand the words in what sense he will: I say, it must deservedly be suspected that an Oath offered
offered on such a condition hath some latent ill deceit, and therefore is to be refused by a pious and prudent man; & to me seemeth to be disallowed for three cases: 1. In respect to the Oath itself, in which Truth is first required: But a speech of indefinite and ambiguous sense before distinction made, is no true proposition; yea, no proposition at all; when a proposition, as Boys know, should signify truth or falsehood without ambiguity. 2. In respect of him to whom we swear: For the proper end of an Oath is, that he to whom it is made have some certainty of a thing before uncertain. 3. In respect to the swearer himself, who if he take an Oath in such condition, prepareth either a scandal for his neighbour, or a snare for himself. For such collusion cannot be imagined to look any other way, than either to draw others by our example to take the same Oath (though with a reluctant conscience) which is to scandalize our neighbour: or that somewhat else be after required of us to be done by virtue of that Oath, which is either unlawful, or incommmodious; which is to lay a snare for our selves. Let a wise man therefore take heed that he suffer not himself to be imposed on by these Arts; or lest he so much value the favour or fear of any other man, as to swallow the bait when he knoweth that the hook is under it. Verily, that all may be rightly done when you swear, it is expedient that all parties be clearly agreed of the sense of the words that are interested in the matter; which by the Antients was called [Liquido jurare] [Scis tamen, & liquido juratu dicere posse]. And in the old form, he that imposed the Oath was wont to say to the swearer [Qui de re peto liquido]
luido jures] (that is, [Of which I require thee to swear plainly.)

P. 55, 56. The question, Whether this or that Oath be lawful? much differeth from this, [Whether this or that Oath bind?] For though it be certain that we ought not to take the Oath, which we know that we ought not to keep; yet it may come to pass, and often doth, that we ought to perform that which we ought not to have taken. 

Joshua's Covenant with the Gibeonites, is a most clear example of this. -- An Oath may be said to be unlawful two ways; either as to the matter sworn, or as to the Act of swearing. An Oath unlawful as to the matter sworn, bindeth not at all. An Oath unlawful in respect to the Act of swearing, bindeth, unless otherwaies hindered.

P. 74, 75. A thing lawful in itself may be unlawful by accident; -- as by the error of the swearer, or the ill effect of the thing sworn. The third Case is, When one promiseth by an Oath to do somewhat perhaps lawful in itself, which yet he thinketh unlawful, or at least feareth lest it be not lawful: As if any one before these times, admitted to an Ecclesiastical Benefice, had promised to observe in Publick Worship all the Rites commanded by the Ecclesiastical Laws, as the Surplice, the sign of the Cross at the sacred Font, kneeling in receiving the Sacrament, and such like, which yet by some light prejudice he thought were superstitious and Popish. The question is, What obligation there is in this case? I say, 1. Such an Oath cannot be taken during such error, without grievous sin. For he sinneth grievously that sinneth against his conscience, though erroneous. For when the Judgment of the Intellect is every ones nearest Rule
Rule of action, the will, if it follow not, that judgment failing from its Rule, must needs be carried into sin. It's a common saying, [He that doth against his conscience, buildeth to Hell.] Verily he that sweareth what he thinketh unlawful, would swear if it were indeed unlawful; & that becometh unlawful to him that is lawful to another; as the Apostle judgeth, Rom. 14. 14. ---2. I say, such an Oath doth not bind --- Because an Oath cannot take away a former obligation, nor induce another obligation contrary to it. But that Oath which is taken against the dictate of conscience, had a former obligation arising from that dictate. For the dictate of conscience, whether right or erroneous, alwaies obligeth, at least not to act against it. But a following Oath cannot remove that obligation, but is it self invalid, and loseth its obliging force. 3. But if the swearer after better taught, do see and correct his error, the Oath which bound him not before, beginneth then to bind him.

P. 77. Other Cases there are of things by Accident unlawful, by reason of ill effects of the thing itself; as it may be a hinderer of a greater good, or a cause, at least an occasion of evil.--- The fourth Case is, when the thing sworn seemeth unlawful, as hindering the effect of some antecedent good, as of a Vow or Promise made before: As if one that had before-hand bound himself to some work of Piety or Charity, after take an Oath that hindereth the fulfilling of the former Vow. As if one that vowed to give half his gain weekly to the poor, shall after swear to give it all to the war: --- This case hath no difficulty; I plainly answer, --- such an Oath is neither lawful nor obligatory, because that the former obligation, whence-
whencefoever contracted, whether by Covenant, or by Vow, or by bare Promise, or by meer Office (or Duty) remaineth valid, and puts a bar to every following contrary act. --

(Read Pвел. 4. § 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. what he faith for the obligation, 1. Of spontaneous Oaths; 2. Of Oaths caused by fraud; 3. Or by fear extorted; 4. Even of Oaths to Robbers.)

P. 110. 3. He that taketh an Oath imposed by one that had no just authority, but not otherwise vicious, is bound to perform what he swore.

(Read p. 175, &c. what he faith at large against equivocation, stretch'ing reservations, as opening the door to all lying and perjury, and frustrating the end of Oaths.)

P. 195. Of the latitude and extent of an Oath, How far the sense is to be measured by the scope *: As when the Cause of the Oath was particular, but the words are general, e. g. The Popes Usurpation was the Cause of the Oath of the Kings Supremacy: --- But the words of the Oath so affect the Kings Supremacy, as exclude all others as well as the Pope, from exercising supreme Power in this Kingdom: Answ. Such an Oath obligeth as to the words themselves in their utmost latitude: The Reason is, because the intention of the Law, though made on a particular occasion, is general, to hinder all incommodities of the same kind for the future.---As Lawyers fetch not the sense of Laws from the Proem, but from the body of the Statute, so we must judge of the just interpretation of an Oath, not by the promised recognition, or other preface, but by the body of the Oath it self.

P. 208.
P 208. He is always perjured that intendeth not what he promised: but he is not always perjured that performeth not what he promised. (The bond being dissolved.)

P. 227. Vows made to God, as a party, cannot be relaxed by man (though men may give away their own.)

If you swear for the sake of another, as to his honour, obedience, profit, or other good, the Oath bindeth not, unless he for whom you swear, take it as acceptable and firm.

P. 242. Concl. 4. It is a grievous sin to impose an Oath unduly, on another. As 1. An Oath not established by Law or Custom, &c. 2. An Oath that is repugnant, or in the sense that the words hold forth in the common use of speaking, seemeth repugnant to any Oath by him formerly lawfully taken. 3. They that constrain men to swear to a thing unlawful, as against our duty to God, or our Superiours, or the Laws of the Kingdom, or against good manners, or that which is otherwise dishonest, and may not be kept. 4. He who imposes an Oath of ambiguous sense, or any way captious; to enshrine the conscience, life, liberty or fortune of his neighbour. 5. He that without necessity, by fear compelleth, or by Authority impelleth, or by counsel, example, fraud, or other artifice or reason induceth another to swear, who he knoweth will swear against the judgment of his conscience. I would all men in great power would remember how filthy a character Jeroboam branded his own conscience, fame and name with, that made Israel to sin: and how greatly they provoke God's great wrath against themselves, that abuse their power to other mens ruine, which God
God gave them for edification, and not for destruction.

P. 243. Concl. 5. An offered Oath is not to be taken with a reluctant or doubting conscience:
1. Because what is not of faith is sin. 2. Because we must swear in judgment, which he doth not that swears in his consciences judgment. 3. Because this is done for some temporal commodity, or to avoid some loss, or obtain some gain, or to get some man's favour, or such like: But how unworthy of a Christian is it, to set God behind the World, Heaven behind Earth, the Soul behind the Body, eternal joy behind temporal gain, the hope of the life to come behind present ease, inward peace behind outward! 4. Because he that so swears evidently exposes himself to the danger of Perjury (a most heinous sin.) For he that for hope or fear of any temporal commodity or discommodity can be induced to swear that which he ought not, it is scarce credible but he may by the like hope or fear be drawn from doing what he swore. And PERJURY was by the very heathens accounted one of those most heinous sins, which they believed would bring the wrath of the Gods not only on the guilty, but on their posterity, yea on whole nations, much more is it to be feared of us, who worship that one true God, who hath solemnly professed that he will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain. Left, while which way ever we look we see such a great and luxuriant crop of Oaths and Perjury, even already white to the Harvest, God the most righteous judge should quickly put in the sickle, utterly to cut down so pernicious and profane a nation. We have long felt that our most merciful Father
Father is angry, and that the infinite patience of God is turned into fury, being infinitely wronged, and (if I may so say) overcome. It is not easy to say, for which sins this chiefly is, when all sins are very great. But verily he that will seriously think, since God hath begun to scourge us by a neerer rod, how we have not grieved for these grievous sins of swearing and perjury, yea how greatly on one side is increased, the unbridled and unpunished licence of swearing and blaspheming, and on the other side the soul hypocrisie of forswearing on pretence of religion; it can scarce be, but that of Jeremy will come into his mind, Because of Oaths the land mourneth. These things being so neer, Fathers and Brethren, we that are here and all others that wish well to the publick peace of the Kingdom and Church, and the private peace of their own hearts and consciences, must be intreated that they first carefully beware of the name of God, and the crime of violated fidelity, and wholly avoid unnecefsary Oaths, and constantly refuse those that are unduely imposed (or offered) by others; and fulfill those faithfully that are duly and rightly taken by our selves; and then that as much as we are able, we strenuously restrain the liberty of finning in others; and that we pray to our most Good and Great God continually that, being taught by his scourge, and admonished, and humbled under his mighty hand, we fly to his mercy, acknowledge his justice, implore his grace, for the pardon of our sins, the amendment of our lives, and the safety of our souls, by and for the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ; To whom with the Father, and the Spirit, the Three one-Omnipotent God be Kingdom, Power, and Glory for ever. Amen.
It's like Dr. Sanderson had some special eye to the Scots Covenant; but doubtless he made not any new or singular Doctrine for that end, which will not hold true in all cases by him described.

Mr. Rich. Hollingworth in a late Plea for the Church of England, vehemently urging the execution of the Laws against Nonconformists, faith Page 71. [1. Thereby (by Perjury) the conscience of the Minister is debauched, and he thereby made very unfit to give those instructions, and wholesome counsel to the people that otherwise he might do: For all wilful sins, especially such a Notorious one as Perjury, hardens a man's mind, and divests him, till repentent of, of all the necessary and useful influences and assistances of God's good Spirit, and maketh him careless, as of his own, so of the souls of others: And a man so easily ensnared by such a sin, is easily induced by any temptation to a neglect of those duties which his Office calls for, and a remiss performance of those Ordinances which were designed and commanded on purpose to reform and instruct the people.

And page 73. [They must be accountable at the last day, not only for their own sin, but for that very sin of Perjury, which the vicious Priest is guilty of: For he that inviteth a man to a sin, is reckoned as if he had committed the sin himself.]

What then would become of me, if I undertook to justifie the Perjury of multitudes?—yea, if also I did by Preaching, earnestly press Magistrates to execute the Laws upon many hundreds of Christ's Ministers, because they dare not venture on that which they fear (on such reasons as are here rendred) to be a participation of many thou-
thousand Perjuries, nor on the heinous sacrilege of deferting their sacred function, and encouraging near two thousand silenced Ministers to do the like by my example, besides many other feared sins: If I were the man that for this did plead and beg that they might be laid in Gaols with rogues, and pay forty pound a sermon and be banished five miles from all Corporations &c. and all this as necessary to the Church and as for God, fathering it all on him who is the God of Truth and Love; and pretending that there is no need of their Ministry, because that I and such as I, do better perform all that office against ignorance, ungodliness and popery without them, &c. How could I expect regard when I preached against the sins of others? Or with what face could I do it? When my sin shall be opened to me, must I not with Origen after his fall, instead of preaching, shut the book, and weep, remembring Psal. 50. 16, 17. and the dreadful third Commandment; and tremble when I thought of death and judgment? For a Judas in Christ's family sinneth at a dearer rate than strangers, and will quickly find his gain too hot to hold, and those that hired him to be woful Comforters, who will turn him off with a [see thou to that. ]

Obj. Fewer words might serve.
Ans. Nondum satis dicitur, dum non satis discitum. Nec paucis dicendum est, quod paucis non discern- dum est.
While I long wondered that I could not see what satisfied both all the Learned Convocation, and the Parliament, for the truth of the Rule in the Liturgy to find out Easter day for ever, which is contrary to our Almanacks, and we must all be silenced (and ruined for Preaching) unless we profess that we assent to it, I met with no Conformist that gave me any other satisfaction, than to refer me to Dr. Pell's Book: And meeting him happily, I craved his information; and the grave, learned, honest Doctor was so far from making me a Conformist, that he professed the passage now is indefensible.

I was lately assaulted with this, as the strongest Argument for Conformity [Deliberate lying is no sin, but a duty when it doth no harm but a necessary good; As by a Physician to save his patient, or to save a man's life much more to save souls by preaching.]

Ans. This case requireth a longer answer than I have here room for: Briefly. 1. God best knoweth: who is wisest and meetest to Govern the world, for the good of all; and he forbids it. 2. This principle believed would make all men untrustily to each other, while every man would think he had reason to lie, when his interest required it; and untrustiness overthroweth all humane politics, societies and converse, and so would do a thousand fold more harm to Kings, Subjects and all, than the saving of a man's life would compensate. 3. It's hypocritie to sin my self that I may preach against sin in others, 4. The Church of God is against this doctrine, & fathers; And the best casuists have copiously confuted it, though some Jesuites are more lax, and use to serve their interest by it.

5. Ap
5. At least, methinks that where Jesuites thing is cry-
ed down, men should not judge my fearing a lie, a
crime that rendreth me intolerable in the Ministry,
and my preaching without it to deserve a Gaol and
utter ruin; and the same to near 2000 others; the
silencing of whom will one day prove no indifferent
thing: And they that think it harmless publickly,
Ministerially upon deliberation to profess a fals-
hood, may shortly think it a duty to swear it: But
I believe that God will not hold that person,
Church or Kingdom guiltless, which taketh his
name in vain; see Dr. Hammonds Catechism on the
3. Commandment.

FINIS.
ERRATA's

Reader,

THE smaller literary mistakes are left to thy own ingenuity, the greater errors of the Press, thou art desired thus to correct.

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